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MURDER OF THE PRINCESS DE LAMBALLE.

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY M. A. THIERS.

Translated,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE

MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BY

FREDERICK SHOBERL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY AND HART.

1840.

Printed by
Haswell, Barrington, and Haswell.

CHRONOLOGY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1789.

May 5. Opening of the States-general at Versailles—The tiers-état, 661 deputies; nobles, 285; clergy, 308; total, 1254.

6. Division between the different orders respecting the mode of verifying their powers.

10. The electors of Paris declare themselves in permanent session.

23. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the tiers-état, the different orders meet separately. The clergy and nobility communicate to the tiers-état the renunciation of their privileges, and submit to pay their proportion of the public burdens.

June 17. The deputies of the tiers-état, already joined by some of the clergy, declare their assembly to be the only legal one, and constitute themselves as *The National Assembly.* The Assembly declares all the taxes illegally imposed, but it authorizes the levy of them provisionally, *only till the day of its first separation*, from whatever cause that separation may proceed.

20. The Oath of the Tennis Court.

23. Royal Session of the States-general.

27. The union of the several Orders in the National Assembly.

30. The Parisians set at liberty the French guards imprisoned in the Abbaye.

July 2—9. A great number of troops collected around Paris.

11. Change of the ministry—Dismissal of Necker.

12. Riots in Paris. The Prince de Lambesc at the head of the German dragoons charges the populace in the Tuileries. Camille-Desmoulins, in the garden of the Palais-Royal, recommends an appeal to arms. The green cockade is assumed. Conflict between the French guards and a detachment of the Royal German regiment.

13. First organization of the militia of Paris. The barriers attacked and burnt.

14. Storming of the Bastille. Massacre of the governor De Launay and Flesselles, *prévot des marchands.* The red and blue cockade (the city colours) substituted for the green cockade.

15. The King and his brothers repair to the National Assembly. The troops collected round Paris dismissed. Approval of the institutions of the national guard. The electors nominate Bailly mayor of Paris, and Lafayette general-in-chief of the national guard.

16. Recall of Necker—Count d'Artois and the Prince de Condé emigrate.

17. The King proceeds to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris. Bailly thus addresses him: "Sire, I bring you the keys of the city of Paris; they are the same which were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people; the people have reconquered their King." The assembled multitude applauded this address: the King assumed the red and blue cockade. His presence quiets the tumult.

22. Fresh disturbances on account of the dearness of corn. Massacre of Foulon and of Berthier de Sauvigny.

26. The tricoloured cockade adopted. On presenting it to the electors Lafayette predicts that it will make the tour of the world.

Aug. 1. The cannon of Chantilly and of the Ile-Adam taken possession of and brought to Paris.

4. The National Assembly decrees that the constitution shall be preceded by the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. Spontaneous abolition of the feudal system and of all privileges in France.

18. Democratic insurrection at Liege.

23. Decree proclaiming liberty of opinions, religious as well as political.

Aug. 31. Suppression and dissolution of the French guards.
Sept. 9. The National Assembly declares itself to be permanently assembled.
10. It adopts as a principle that the legislative body shall consist of only one chamber.
Oct. 1. Declaration of the Rights of Man in society.
2. Entertainment given by the Life-guards at Versailles.
5, 6. The populace at Versailles. The King and all his family are brought to Paris.
14. The Duke of Orleans quits Paris for a time and goes to England.
19. The first sitting of the National Assembly at the archbishop's palace.
21. Decree conferring upon the tribunal of the Châtelet the cognizance of the crime of *high treason against the nation*. Martial law introduced.
Nov. 2. Ecclesiastical property declared national property. The Abbé Maury, being threatened with death *à la lanierne*, escapes by saying to those who have come to attack him, "Well, and shall you see any the clearer for that, do you think?"
6. Institution of the society of "The Friends of the Constitution," which subsequently became "The Society of the Jacobins." The National Assembly transfers its place of meeting to the Riding-house of the Tuileries.
Dec. 19. Creation of territorial assignats.
24. Decree declaring Frenchmen who are not Catholics admissible to all offices both civil and military.

1790.

Jan. 15. Division of France into eighty-three departments.
21. Equality of punishments enacted, whatever the rank of the culprits.
26. The Assembly forbids its members to accept any office under government.
Feb. 13. Abolition of monastic vows. Suppression of the religious orders.
19. Execution of the Marquis de Favras, declared guilty of high treason.
20. Lafayette proclaims, in the National Assembly, that *when oppression renders a revolution necessary*, INSURRECTION IS THE MOST SACRED OF DUTIES.
March 16. Abolition of "*Lettres de cachet.*"
17. Appropriation of ecclesiastical property to the repayment of the assignats.
28. Suppression of the salt-tax.
April 1. Publication of the "Red Book." The secret expenses of the court had annually been at the lowest, in 1787, 82,000,000 livres; at the highest, in 1783, 145,000,000 livres.
29. Free trade in corn.
30. Institution of the jury.
May 10. Massacre of the patriots at Montauban.
12. Institution, by Lafayette and Bailly, of the Society of 1789 (afterwards the club of the Feuillans) to counterbalance the influence of the Jacobin club.
22. The Assembly decrees that the right of declaring war and making peace belongs to the nation.
June 3. Insurrection of the blacks in Martinique.
9, 10. The civil list fixed at 25,000,000 livres.
19. Abolition of nobility.
July 10. Decree restoring to the heirs of Dissenters expelled by the edict of Nantes their confiscated property not yet sold.
14. First National Federation.
Aug. 6. Abolition of the *droits d'aubaine* (seizing the property of Aliens).
16. Justices of the peace instituted.
31. Revolt of the Swiss soldiers of Chateau-Vieux.
Sept. 4. Dismissal and Retreat of Necker.
6. Suppression of the parliaments.
10. Funding of the public debt.
29. Creation of 800,000,000 of forced assignats.
Oct. 9. Insurrection of the mulattoes in St. Domingo.
Nov. 4. Insurrection in the Isle of France.
27. Civil constitution of the clergy. Institution of the Tribunal of Cassation.
Dec. 30. Institution of patents for inventions.

1791.

Jan. 28. The French army is increased to the war establishment.
Feb. 12. Abolition of the monopoly for the cultivation of tobacco.
19. Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.) gratifies the populace who surround his palace, by assuring them that he will never emigrate.

Feb. 28. The leaders of the populace proceed to Vincennes and attempt to massacre the prisoners. The day of the Daggers. The nobles with concealed arms assemble at the Tuileries. The King, in order to prevent a conflict between them and the national guards, commands them to lay down their arms. They obey; and are afterwards insulted and ill-used.

April 2, 4. Death and funeral of Mirabeau.

23. Louis apprizes the foreign courts that he has taken the oath to observe the *future* constitution.

May 4. Annexation of Avignon and of the Comtat Venaissin to France.

15. Admission of the free people of colour to an equality of political rights with the whites.

June 2. Louis XVI., being intimidated, gives his consent to many decrees from which he had previously withheld it.

5. The decree passed, wresting from the King the privilege of pardoning criminals.

10. Louis XVI. secretly protests against the sanctions which he has given to decrees, and also against those which he may hereafter give.

19. Robespierre is elected public accuser for the tribunal of the Seine.

21—25. Flight to and return from Varennes. The emigration of Monsieur.

26. The Life-guards disbanded.

July 6. Appeal of the Emperor Leopold to the sovereigns of Europe to unite for the deliverance of Louis XVI.

7. Louis XVI. disavows the armaments equipping by the emigrants.

11. Petition for the King's dethronement. The remains of Voltaire transferred to the Pantheon.

17. The unfurling of the red flag.

21. Institution for the deaf and dumb established.

25. Treaty of Berlin against France between Prussia and Austria.

30. Suppression of decorations and orders of knighthood.

Aug. 17. Decree enjoining emigrants to return to France.

27. Treaty of Pilnitz intended to consolidate the coalition.

Sept. 3—13. Completion and presentation of the constitution to the King.

14. Louis XVI. accepts the constitution and swears to maintain it.

29. Decree relative to the national guard.

30. Last sitting of the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly during the three years of its existence, enacted 1309 laws and decrees relative to legislation or to the general administration of the state.

Oct. 1. First sitting of the Legislative Assembly.

5. Commencement of the famine. The farmers refuse to take assignats in payment for corn. Decree taking from the King the titles of Sire and Your Majesty.

14. The King issues a proclamation to the emigrants exhorting them to rally round the constitution.

16. He writes to his brothers to induce them to return to France. All the men of talent in Europe are invited by the Assembly to communicate their opinions on the civil code. The minister of war announces that 1900 officers have left their regiments and emigrated.

28. Decree requiring Monsieur to return to France within two months, upon the penalty of being deprived of his right to the regency.

30. Massacres at Avignon. The slaughtered prisoners are thrown into an ice-pit.

Nov. 12. The King refuses to sanction the decree against the emigrants.

17. Petion is elected mayor of Paris.

22. Port-au-Prince (St. Domingo) burnt.

26. Chabot enters the King's presence with his hat on.

29. The Assembly requires the King to call upon the princes of the empire not to allow the assembling of emigrants in their territories.

Dec. 2. Manuel elected procureur-syndic of the commune.

14. The King announces to the Assembly that he will declare war, if the foreign courts disregard his declarations in favour of the Revolution.

19. The King puts his *veto* to the decrees relative to priests who refuse to take the civic oath.

20. Notification, in the name of the King, to the Elector of Treves to disperse the emigrants collected in his states.

31. The Assembly suppresses the ceremony usual on New Year's Day.

1792.

Jan. 1. The King's brothers as emigrants, are decreed under accusation.

23, 24. First pillage of the grocers of Paris.

Feb. 7. Treaty between Austria and Prussia to *quell the disturbances in France.*
9. The property of emigrants sequestrated.
March 1. Death of Leopold II. His son Francis succeeds him.
2. Institution of the King's constitutional guard.
3. Murder of the mayor of Etampes in the execution of his duty.
19. Amnesty granted to the assassins of Avignon.
28. Decree admitting men of colour and free negroes to the exercise of political rights.
29. Assassination of Gustavus III., King of Sweden.
30. Appropriation of the property of emigrants to defray the expenses of the war.
April 6. Suppression of religious communities. Prohibition of ecclesiastical costumes.
20. Declaration of war against Austria.
28. First hostilities and reverses in Belgium. General Theobald Dillon murdered by his soldiers.
May 3. Decrees of accusation passed against Boyou, author of *l'Ami du Roi* and Marat, author of *l'Ami du Peuple.*
29. The King's paid guard disbanded. The National Assembly constitutes itself in permanent session.
June 8. Decree ordaining the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris. Opposed by the King.
12, 13. Dismissal of the ministers, Servan, Roland, and Clavières.
20. The populace at the Tuileries.
26. First continental coalition against France.
28. Lafayette appears at the bar to demand, *in the name of his army*, the punishment of the authors of the outrage of the 20th.
July 7. Francis II. elected Emperor of Germany.
6. All the ministers of Louis XVI. resign.
11. Decree declaring the country in danger.
14. Third Federation.
30. Arrival of the Marseillais in Paris.
Aug. 10. The Tuileries attacked and stormed.
11. Suspension of the King—Formation of an executive council.
13. Imprisonment of the King and the royal family in the Temple.
13—21. The foreign ambassadors leave Paris.
14. Decree directing the sale of the property of the emigrants.
18. Flight of Lafayette, after attempting in vain to induce his army to rise in favour of Louis XVI. and the constitution.
28, 29. Law ordaining domiciliary visits.
Sept. 2. Confiscation of the property of the emigrants.
2—6. Massacres in the prisons of Paris.
9. Massacre of the prisoners from Orleans at Versailles.
16. The Garde-Meuble robbed of the jewels and precious stones belonging to the crown.
20. Battle of Valmy.
21. Closing of the Legislative Assembly, after passing, between the 1st of October, 1791, and the present day, 2140 decrees relative to administration or legislation—Opening of the National Convention—Abolition of royalty—Proclamation of the republic.
22. Commencement of the republican era—Decree ordaining the renewal of all the administrative, municipal, and judicial bodies, *as suspected of being gangrened with royalism.*
23. Entry of the French into Chambery—Conquest of Savoy.
28. Nice taken.
29. Louis XVI. separated from his family and removed to the great tower of the Temple.
Oct. 8. The siege of Lille raised, after an heroic defence by its inhabitants.
9. Law ordaining the *immediate death* of every emigrant taken in arms.
10. The titles of *citoyen* and *citoyenne* adopted instead of *monsieur* and *madame.*
15. Suppression of the order of St. Louis.
22. Entire evacuation of the French territory by the allies.
23. Law banishing the emigrants in mass and for ever, and decreeing the penalty of death against all, without distinction of age or sex, who shall return to France.
Nov. 6. Victory of Jemappes.
7. Decree for putting Louis XVI. upon his trial.
19. The Convention, by a decree, promises aid and succour to all those nations which may desire to overthrow their governments.
20. Discovery of the iron chest.
Dec. 4. Decree pronouncing the penalty of death against all who shall propose or attempt to restore royalty in France.

Dec. 11. First examination of Louis XVI.
16. Decree banishing the Bourbons, with the exception of the prisoners in the Temple and Philip Egalité (the Duke of Orleans,) respecting whom the Convention reserves to itself the right of deciding hereafter—Philip Egalité continues to sit in the Convention.
25. Louis XVI. writes his will.
26. Defence of Louis XVI. delivered by Desèze.
27. Commencement of the debates in the National Convention.
31. England refuses to recognise the minister of the French republic.

1793.

Jan. 13. Basseville murdered at Rome.
14. End of the debates in the Convention relative to Louis XVI.
15—20. Votes and scrutinies for the sentence on Louis XVI., the appeal to the people, the reprieve, &c.
20. Notification to Louis XVI. of the sentence of death pronounced upon him—Last interview of the King with his family—Murder of Lepelletier St. Fargeau.
21. Execution of Louis XVI.
24. The Convention in a body attends the funeral of Lepelletier, to whose remains are awarded the honours of the Pantheon.
28. Louis Xavier (Monsieur) assumes the title of Regent of France, and proclaims Louis XVII. King.
31. Incorporation of the county of Nice with France.
Feb. 1. The Convention declares war against England and Holland.
24. Decree ordaining the levy of 300,000 men.
25, 26. Plunder of the grocers' shops in Paris.
March 5. The colonies declared in a state of siege.
7. The Convention declares war against Spain.
9. Commissioners of the Convention sent with unlimited powers into the departments——Abolition of imprisonment for debt—First coalition against France formed by England, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, the Roman States, Sardinia, and Piedmont.
10, 11. Institution of the revolutionary tribunal.
12. Committees of *surveillance* established in Paris.
11—15. Insurrection in La Vendé—Cholet taken by the insurgents.
18. Battle of Neerwinden.
21. Decree ordaining the punishment of death against all who shall propose an agrarian law.
25. Institution of the committee of general safety.
28. The emigrants banished for ever—Confiscation of their property.
April 1. Defection of Dumouriez.
6. The committee of public welfare instituted by a law.
9. Apprehension of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité), and imprisonment at Marseilles of all the members of the family of the Bourbons not confined in the Temple—Representatives of the people sent to the republican armies.
13. Marat decreed under accusation by the Convention.
14. The Spaniards overrun Roussillon.
24. Marat acquitted and carried in triumph to the hall of the Convention.
May 4. A *maximum* fixed for the price of corn and flour.
10. First meeting of the Convention at the Tuileries.
18. The Girondins obtain the institution of the commission of the twelve to watch the motions of agitators.
20. Forced loan of 1000 millions imposed upon the rich.
26. Insurrection in Corsica.
29. Insurrection in Lyons against the Jacobins.
30, 31. } Revolution of May 31. Downfall of the Girondins.
June 1, 2. }
5. Federalist insurrection at Marseilles and Caen.
8. Blockade of the ports of France by England.
9. Protest of 73 deputies against the acts of the Convention on the 31st of May and the 2d of June.
10. Saumur taken by the Vendeans—A decree that absolute necessaries shall not be taxed.
21—24. Insurrection in St. Domingo—The Cape burned.
23. Martial law repealed.
29. The constitution submitted to the primary assemblies.

June 28, 29. Nantes attacked by the Vendeans.
July 3. Decree commanding the siege of Lyons.
4. Foundlings named the children of the country.
13. Marat assassinated by Charlotte Corday.
24. Capitulation of Mayence.
26. Establishment of telegraphs.
27. Robespierre nominated a member of the committee of public welfare.
28. Capitulation of Valenciennes.
Aug. 1. Marie Antoinette removed to the Conciergerie.
7. Decree declaring Pitt an enemy of mankind.
8. Suppression of all academies and literary societies.
10. The constitution of 1793 accepted by the deputies of 44,000 communes of republic.
15. Institution of the great book of the public debt.
22. Adoption of the first eight heads of the civil code.
23. Law ordaining the levy *en masse*.
Sep. 5. Decree enacting that a revolutionary army shall travel over the departments with artillery and a guillotine.
7, 8. Victory gained over the English at Hondschoote.
11. Establishment of the *maximum* for corn and flour.
15. Investment and siege of Toulon.
17. Law of the suspected.
Oct. 10. Lyons taken by the army of the Convention—The government declared revolutionary till a peace.
15, 16. Victory of Wattignies—The blockade of Maubeuge raised.
16. Marie Antoinette condemned and executed.
17—19. Defeat of the Vendeans at Cholet—Passage of the Loire.
31. The Girondins executed.
Nov. 6. The Duke of Orleans (Philip Egalité) executed.
10. The Catholic worship superseded by that of Reason—Revolutionary massacres at Lyons.
11. Bailly executed.
16. Lotteries suppressed.
Dec. 4. Organization of the Revolutionary government.
12, 13. The Vendeans defeated at Mans.
20. Toulon retaken.
22. The Vendeans defeated at Savenay.
26, 27. The lines of Weissenburg retaken—The blockade of Landau raised.

1794.

Jan. 1. Decree enacting that every condemned general shall be executed at the head of his army.
4. Noirmoutiers taken—D'Elbée executed.
16. Marseilles declared rebellious and to have lost its name.
21. Decree enacting that the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. shall be celebrated as a national festival—Drownings (*noyades*) at Nantes.
Feb. 4. Decree abolishing slavery in the colonies. The negroes declared French citizens—Decree enacting that sentences upon ecclesiastics shall be executed without appeal.
15. The Convention determines that the national flag shall be composed of three vertical stripes of equal breadth—red, white, and blue.
22. A *maximum* fixed for articles of ordinary consumption.
24. Decree qualifying denouncers to be heard as witnesses.
March 5. Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., executed.
22. Decree proclaiming justice and integrity the order of the day.
April 1. The executive council suppressed and succeeded by twelve commissions composed of members of the Convention, and subordinate to the committee of public welfare.
4. Decree enacting that accused persons brought before the revolutionary tribunal *who resist the national justice* shall not be allowed to plead, and sentenced forthwith.
5. Decree that every member of the Convention shall give an account of his conduct, moral and political, and of his circumstances.
14. Decree that the remains of J. J. Rousseau shall be removed to the Pantheon.
16. Decree that all those who live without doing anything, and complain of the Revolution, shall be transported to Guiana.
May 7. The Convention acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being.
10. Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI., executed.

May 18. Victory of Turcoing.
22. Execution of young females at Verdun.
26. Decree that no quarter be given to the English and Hanoverians—Collioure, St. Elme, and Port-Vendres retaken.
June 1. Establishment of the School of Mars in the plain of Sablons—Sea-fight of the 13th of Prairial—Heroism of the crew of the Vengeur.
8. Festival of the Supreme Being.
10. Decree that any moral document may be used as evidence against a person accused before the revolutionary tribunal; and that there shall be in future no official defenders.
23. Battle of Croix-des-Bouquets.
25. Charleroi taken.
26. Decree that corn and forage of this year's growth be put in requisition—Victory of Fleurus.
27. Institution of a police legion for the city of Paris.
July 4. Decree that the foreign garrisons in French fortresses, which refuse to surrender within twenty-four hours after the first summons, shall be put to the sword.
6. Landrecies retaken.
26. (8th of Thermidor.) Robespierre at the Jacobin club.
27, 28. (9th and 10th of Thermidor.) Downfall of Robespierre.
29. Execution of eighty-three members of the general council of the commune outlawed on the 27th.
Aug. 1. Fouquier-Tinville apprehended.
12. A new revolutionary tribunal installed.
16. Quesnoy retaken.
23. All persons of seventy in confinement set at liberty.
24. Decree limiting the powers of the committee of public welfare.
27—30. Valenciennes and Condé retaken.
31. Explosion of the powder-magazine at Grenelle, by which fifteen hundred persons lose their lives—Decree for checking the progress of Vandalism—The monuments of the arts and sciences placed under the care of the authorities.
Sept. 1. Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois, turned out of the committee of public welfare—That committee had been prorogued and re-elected fourteen times successively.
10. Attempt to assassinate Tallien.
24. Destruction of the English settlements at Sierra-Leone.
Oct. 2. Victory of Aldenhoven.
7. Lyons resumes its name.
10. Institution of the Conservatory of Arts and Trades.
12. The Convention forbids all political correspondence between popular societies in their collective name.
20. The Normal School instituted.
23. The School of Mars suppressed.
Nov. 1. Great dearth. The inhabitants of Paris receive but two ounces of bread per day. The busts of Marat and Lepelletier destroyed.—The body of Marat dragged from the Pantheon and thrown into a sewer.
9. The Jacobins attacked by the Gilded Youth.
12. Decree suspending the meetings and closing the hall of the Jacobin club.
17—20. Battle of Montagne Noire, in which the two commanders-in-chief, Dugommier and La Union are slain.
Dec. 2. Amnesty offered to the Vendeans and Chouans, who shall lay down their arms within a month.
8. The deputies proscribed on the 31st of May, 1793, readmitted into the Convention.
9. Decree that *in future the secrecy of letters shall not be violated in the interior.*
16, 17. Carrier condemned and executed.
24. The laws of the *maximum* repealed.
30. The decree enacting that no quarter shall be given to the English and Hanoverians repealed.

1795.

Jan. 19. Declaration of Russia that "there is no longer either a kingdom or republic of Poland"—The French enter Amsterdam—Conquest of Holland.
20. A Dutch fleet taken by French cavalry.
Feb. 2. Repeal of the penal laws issued against Lyons.
6. Holland abolishes the stadtholdership, and constitutes itself a republic.
9. Treaty of peace between France and Tuscany.

Feb. 15. First pacification of La Vendée, called the pacification of La Jaunaie.
Mar. 2. The late members of the committee of public welfare placed under accusation.
8. The outlawed deputies readmitted into the Convention.
15. Decree that each inhabitant of Paris shall be allowed but one pound of bread per day; labouring people only to have a pound and a half.
21. Institution of the Central School of Public Works (afterwards the Polytechnic School) —Law against seditious assemblies.
April 1. Transportation of the late members of the committee of public welfare (12th Germinal).
5. Treaty of peace between the French Republic and the King of Prussia.
7. Establishment of the uniformity of weights, measures, and coins, upon the decimal system.
24. Massacres in the prisons of Lyons.
May 7. Execution of Fouquier-Tinville and fifteen jurors of the revolutionary tribunal.
16. Alliance between the French and the Batavian republics.
17—19. Jacobin insurrection at Toulon.
20. Disturbances of the 1st of Prairial.
22. Insurrection of the fauxbourg St. Antoine.
24. Disarming of the fauxbourg St. Antoine and the sections of Paris.
30. The public exercise of the Catholic religion authorized.
31. The extraordinary revolutionary criminal tribunal suppressed.
June 1—5. Insurrection at Toulon quelled.
2. Funeral honours paid to Féraud, the deputy, murdered on the 1st of Prairial.
8. Death of the Dauphin, son of Lewis XVI.
17. Death of Romme, Goujon, Soubrani, &c.
24. Charette again takes up arms in La Vendée,
27. Institution of a police legion for the safeguard of Paris.
July 21. The emigrants lay down their arms at Quiberon.
22. Treaty of peace between France and Spain signed at Basle.
Aug. 3. Institution of the Conservatory of Music.
22. The new constitution, called the constitution of the year III, adopted.
23. Decree definitely dissolving the popular societies.
30. Decree enacting that two-thirds of the members of the new legislative assemblies shall be, for the first time only, exclusively chosen from the National Convention.
Sept. 23. Proclamation of the acceptance of the constitution of the year III by the people.
Oct. 1. Belgium and all the conquered countries on the left bank of the Rhine incorporated with the Republic.
2. Landing of Count d'Artois in Ile-Dieu.
5. Insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire.
25. Formation of the Institute decreed.
26. End of the National Convention, after passing 8370 decrees.
28. First meeting of the Council of the Ancients and the Council of the Five Hundred.
Nov. 1. Formation of the Directory—Laréveillère-Lepaux, Le Tourneur, Rewbel, Barras, and Carnot, chosen directors.
4. The Directory establishes itself at the Luxembourg.
17. Evacuation of the Ile-Dieu.
23—27. Battle and victory of Loano.
Dec. 26. The daughter of Louis XVI. exchanged for, 1, the representatives and General Beurnonville, delivered up to the Austrians by Dumouriez; 2, Maret and Semonville, diplomatic envoys, seized by the Austrians in 1793; 3, Drouet, the ex-conventionalist, made prisoner in 1792.

1796.

Jan. 1. Institution of the ministry of the police.
Feb. 2. The twelve municipalities of Paris installed.
24. Stofflet, again in arms in La Vendée, taken and shot.
Mar. 29. Charette shot at Nantes.
April 2—9. Insurrection in Berry, which is quelled immediately.
11, 12. Battle of Montenotte.
13, 14. Battle of Millesimo.
22. Battle of Mondovi.
May 10. Battle of the bridge of Lodi.
15. Treaty of peace between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia—The French enter Milan.
June 4. Battle of Altenkirchen gained by Jourdan.

June 21. Armistice granted to the Pope by Bonaparte.
23. Morea crosses the Rhine at Kehl.
29. The castle of Milan taken.
July 9. Battle of Ettlingen gained by Moreau.
Aug. 5. Victory of Castiglione.
15. Definitive pacification of La Vendée.
18. Offensive and defensive alliance between France and Spain.
Sept. 5. The French enter Trent.
8. Battle of Bassano.
15. Battle of St. George—Wurmser blockaded in Mantua.
Oct. 2. Battle of Biberach, gained by Moreau.
8. Spain declares war against England.
10. Treaty of peace between the Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies.
22. Corsica retaken from the English.
Nov. 15—17. Victory of Arcole.
Dec. 20. Rupture of the conferences opened at Paris with Lord Malmesbury.
24—27. Expedition to Ireland; productive of no result.

1797.

Jan. 9. Capitulation of Kehl, after the trenches had been opened forty-eight hours.
14, 15. Battle of Rivoli.
16. Battle of La Favorita—Capitulation of Provera.
Feb. 2. Mantua taken.
5. Surrender of the *tête de ponte* of Huninguen.
19. Treaty of peace of Tolentino between the French Republic and the Pope.
Mar. 16. Passage of the Tagliamento.
April 15. Preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, signed at Leoben.
18. Battle of Neuwied gained by Hoche.
20, 21. Passage of the Rhine at Diersheim, by Moreau.
May 16. The French enter Venice—Overthrow of the old Venetian government.
31. Revolution at Genoa—Creation of the Ligurian republic.
June 28. Occupation of Corfu.
July 9. Establishment of the Cisalpine Republic.
Aug. 24. Repeal of all the laws relative to the exile or confinement of priests refusing to take the oath.
Sept. 4. Violent proceeding of the 18th of Fructidor.
17. Rupture of the conferences at Lille opened for peace with England.
19. Death of General Hoche.
30. Law for dividing the public debt into three thirds, of which one only is consolidated
Oct. 17. Treaty of peace signed at Campo Formio between France and Austria.
Dec. 9. Opening of the congress of Rastadt.
10. Solemn reception of General Bonaparte by the Directory.
28. Riot at Rome—Murder of General Duphot—The French legation leaves the Papal territories.

1798.

Jan. 1. Law concerning the constitutional organization of the Colonies.
5. Forced loan of eighty millions to defray the expense of the preparations for an invasion of England.
27. Invasion of Switzerland.
Feb. 10. The French enter Rome.
15. Abolition of the Papal government—The Roman republic proclaimed.
Mar. 1. The Rhine acknowledged by the congress of Rastadt as the boundary of the French Republic.
5. Berne taken.
April 17. Organization of the national gendarmerie.
19. Landing of the English near Ostend: all killed or taken.
26. Incorporation of Geneva with France.
May 1. Holland reconstitutes itself by the name of the Batavian republic.
9. The English evacuate St. Domingo.
19. Sailing of the expedition for Egypt.
June 10—13. Taking of Malta.

July 1—3. Landing in Egypt.
21. Battle of the Pyramids.
27. Suspension of commercial relations between France and America.
Aug. 1, 2. Sea-fight at Aboukir.
21. Creation of the Institute of Egypt.
22. Landing in Ireland of 1150 French under the command of Humbert.
Sept. 5. Establishment of the conscription.
8. Humbert, attacked by 25,000 English, is forced to surrender.
12. The Porte declares war against France.
Oct. 8. Battle of Sedyman.
22—24. Insurrection at Cairo.
Nov. 24. Imposition of a tax on doors and windows.
Dec. 5. Battle of Civita Castellana—Defeat of 40,000 Neapolitans under General Mack, by 6000 French, under Macdonald.
6. Declaration of war against the Kings of Naples and Sardinia.
9. Ratification of the treaty of peace between the French and Helvetic republics.
8—10. Occupation of Turin by General Joubert—The King of Sardinia cedes Piedmont to France.
14. Reoccupation of Rome by Championnet.
18. Treaty of alliance between England and Russia against France.

1799.

Jan. 23. Naples taken by Championnet.
March 1—4. Hostile movements of the French and Austrian armies on the Rhine.
7. Coire taken—Conquest of the country of the Grisons by the French.
10. Expedition to Syria—Jaffa taken.
25. Defeat of the French at Stockach.
27. Seizure of Pope Pius VI., who is carried to France.
16. Victory of Mount Tabor.
April 27. Defeat of the French at Cassano.
28. Murder of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt.
May 21. The army of the East raises the siege of Acre.
24. The citadel of Milan taken by Suwarrow.
June 8. Zurich taken by the archduke Charles.
17, 18. Events of the 30th of Prairial—Three of the directors are turned out by the legislative body.
17—19. Defeat of the French at the Trebbia.
July 12. Law authorizing the relatives of emigrants and nobles to be seized as hostages.
25. Victory of the French at Aboukir.
30. Mantua taken by the Austrians.
Aug. 15. Defeat of the French at Novi.
22. General Bonaparte quits Egypt.
29. Death of Pope Pius VII. detained a captive at Valence.
Sept. 19. Defeat of the Anglo-Russian army at Bergen in Holland.
25—29. Battle of Zurich. Defeat of the united Austrians and Russians.
Oct. 16. Arrival of Bonaparte in Paris.
18. Capitulation of Anglo-Russians at Alkmaer.
Nov. 9, 10. Revolution of the 18th Brumaire—Bonaparte proclaimed provisional Consul.
Dec. 16. Law organizing the Polytechnic School.
26. Constitution of the year VIII—Bonaparte nominated First Consul, Cambacérès and Lebrun associated with him as second and third Consuls.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

Of all the native historians—and their name is Legion—who have written on the subject of the French Revolution, the two most distinguished are decidedly Messrs. Thiers and Mignet. Both these eminent men are remarkable for the impartial tone of their narratives, considering how recent are the stirring events of which they treat; for the accuracy of their details; for the skill with which they compare and sift conflicting evidence, and the general justness of their conclusions; and for the luminous and succinct manner in which they trace, step by step, the progress of the most awful moral convulsion that the world has yet known. They do not mix themselves up with the strife, or take part in the feverish emotions of the chief combatants, but stand aloof, as shrewd and cool lookers-on. They enlist neither under the banners of the Gironde nor of the Mountain; they swear neither by the sovereignty of Louis, nor by that of the People; they are neither Orleanists, nor Septembrizers, nor Terrorists; but act upon the broad, enduring principle of giving fair play to all parties.

But though both possess these important historical requisites nearly equally in common, there are points in which they differ widely from each other. Thiers shows more of the journalist—Mignet more of the philosopher in his work. The former, when once he is fairly embarked on his task, after a few introductory observations of no great pith or moment, moves right on, narrating events as they occur, frankly and minutely, without much troubling himself with investigating causes; the latter is frequently halting, for the purpose of indulging in speculations, which, although correct and pertinent in the main, are occasionally somewhat too subtile and refined for the taste of the general reader. In their various delineations of character, Thiers exhibits the most worldly tact—Mignet the most metaphysical acuteness, especially where he has to draw such a portrait as that of the Abbé Sieyes, whom, because he was like himself, a lover of abstract speculation, and addicted to considering the theory rather than the practice of Government, M. Mignet has painted *con amore*, and in his brightest colours. We cannot help thinking, however, that Burke and Napoleon were nearer the mark, when they pronounced this well-intentioned but somewhat crotchetty Abbé to be little better than a mere visionary.

To the general reader Thiers's work will always present more attractions than that of M. Mignet—for this plain reason, that although it contains less of what has been called "the philosophy of history," it is of a far more animated, practical, and dramatic character. There is a shrewd, business-like air about it—although here and there the author would evidently desire

to be thought a profounder reasoner than he is—that all can understand and appreciate. Hence the secret of the great success that it has met with on the continent. In a word, Thiers the historian is a perfect *fac-simile* of Thiers the statesman—an adroit, keen, clear-headed man of the world, with no strong passions or prejudices to warp or lead astray his judgment.*

It is to be regretted that an author so well versed in the annals of his country as M. Thiers, has not thought it worth his while to enter more into detail on the subject of the numerous secondary causes which helped to bring about the French Revolution. It will be observed that, after a few brief introductory paragraphs, of a didactic rather than an historical character, he comes at once to his subject, as if he took for granted that all his readers were as well acquainted as himself with the remote, as well as with the immediate, origin of that memorable event. His history may be said to commence with the derangement of the national finances after the death of Maurepas; but the seeds of the revolution were sown long before his time. The immediately propelling cause was no doubt financial, but the struggle had become necessary—it may also be said—from the day of the decease of the Grand Monarque.

After the cessation of the wars of the Fronde and the death of Mazarin, Colbert, whose knowledge of finance had introduced him to the notice of that wily minister, succeeded to power. This great statesman, who was far in advance of his age, was every way calculated to make France happy and flourishing. Accordingly, under his beneficent auspices, she made rapid strides towards prosperity. Commerce was encouraged—domestic dissensions were healed, as if by magic—navies equipped—colonies founded—the fine arts and literature patronised—the authority of the law respected—and the duty of toleration enforced in religious matters, Colbert was essentially a peace Minister; and, had he been permitted to retain his authority, and to put in force his projected reforms, the majority of which were of a grand and comprehensive character, it is not impossible that the constant struggles which ultimately terminated in revolution might have been avoided, or at any rate retarded for years; but unfortunately all his patriotic efforts were thwarted by the intrigues of his sworn foe, the war minister, Louvois, who, by flattering the humours and pandering to the ambition of Louis, plunged France into a destructive and extravagant war with Europe, the effects of which, felt heavily during this showy monarch's reign, were felt with still more severity by his feeble and thoughtless successors.

It was at this disastrous period that absolute monarchy was definitively established. The crown arrogated the right to dispose alike of person and of property without the slightest regard to law or equity. The nation, though divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, may yet be said to have consisted of but two distinct parties—the privileged and the unprivileged. The latter of course constituted the great mass of the community. On them fell the chief burdens of the state; for the noblesse were, to a great degree, exempt from imposts; and the clergy had the convenient privilege of taxing themselves. "This order," says M. Mignet, "was divided into two classes, one of which was destined for the bishoprics, abbacies, and their rich revenues; the other, to apostolic labours, and to poverty. The *tiers-état*, borne down by the Court, and harassed by the noblesse, was itself separated into corporations, which retaliated upon each other the evils and oppressions that they suffered from their superiors.

* For a brief but well-written character of Thiers as an historian, the reader is referred to a review of Mr. Carlyle's French Revolution, which appeared in the "Times" newspaper a few weeks ago.

They possessed scarcely a third part of the soil, upon which they were compelled to pay feudal services to their lords, tithes to their priests, and imposts to the King. In compensation for so many sacrifices they enjoyed no rights; had no share in the administration; and were admitted to no public employments."

Such was the condition of France at the most imposing period of Louis XIV.'s reign. Colbert would have gone far to remedy this state of things—for he was as bold and determined as he was sagacious; but he had passed from the theatre of action, and henceforth there was none to interfere with the monarch's will. The noblesse could not, even had they desired it—for they were reduced to a state of perfect dependence, which however they bore with equanimity, receiving its price in pleasures and in royal favour; and still less could the parliament, for it had no longer a will—not even a voice of its own. Nevertheless, though manacled in every limb, France bore with this state of affairs during the life of the Grand Monarque, for its innate vanity was gratified by his military glories, by the splendour of his court, and, above all, by the intellectual triumphs of the age. On a superficial view, the country would never have appeared so prosperous as at this splendid epoch. But though all on the surface looked plausible enough; though pleasure and festivity were the order of the day; though the military and literary glories of France were known and respected throughout Europe, and she herself held the first rank among nations; the earthquake was at work beneath, destined soon to explode with terrific energy.

Despite the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which added so greatly to the discontent of the most industrious and intelligent portion of the community, and the subjection in which he held all classes, the highest equally with the lowest of his people, Louis was by no means a tyrant in the ordinary acceptation of the term. He was simply a selfish and ambitious man. His youth had been wholly neglected; he was never taught the duties which a sovereign owes to his subjects, but held it as an axiom not to be controverted, that the many were made for the one. Passionately fond of excitement, and incapable of self-restraint, these factitious, unhealthy feelings made him in his meridian manhood a lover of war, as in his age they converted him into a bigot. Of the real condition of France, and of the irreparable injuries which his reckless extravagance was yearly inflicting on her, he knew nothing. Surrounded by sycophants—hailed by grave divines and renowned wits as the pride and saviour of his country—he had little difficulty in persuading himself that he was all, and more than all, that he was said to be. It was his leading defect throughout life to be ever mistaking the show for the substance of national prosperity.

The exertions which this monarch made to encourage a taste for literature, and to diffuse intelligence among his people, conduced, even more than his own improvident system of government, to sow the seeds of revolution. By creating a habit of reflection among those who up to his time were, comparatively speaking, immersed in ignorance, he went far, without meaning to do so, to establish public opinion; and every one knows that the spirit of inquiry once set in motion cannot be stopped; for it is like the rising tide, which, however it may seem to recede, gains ground with every wave. Accordingly, the impulse given to intellect by Louis, went on increasing, quietly and insidiously, year by year. The *tiers-état* began to look about them, to discuss the causes of the evils under which they had so long groaned, and to speculate on the nature of the remedy.

While the popular mind was thus rousing itself from the torpor of ages, a sect of philosophers and sophists arose, who gave it precisely that sort of

impetus which it was so well fitted to receive. From the period when these men obtained notoriety by their writings, a revolution became inevitable. They dispelled, as with an enchanter's wand, the Cimmerian gloom of centuries. Not a question in religion, jurisprudence, legislation, finance, or social polity, escaped their searching scrutiny. They exposed the wrongs, and pointed out the rights of their countrymen; but while they did this, they at the same time advocated doctrines wholly incompatible with the well-doing of civilized society. Mr. Alison, alluding to the startling effects produced by these men, observes that they "took place under the feeble successors of the Grand Monarque. In the philosophical speculations of the eighteenth century, in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and the Encyclopædists, the most free and unreserved discussion took place on political subjects. By a singular blindness the constituted authorities, how despotic soever, made no attempt to curb these inquiries, which, being all couched in general terms, or made in reference to other states, appeared to have no bearing on the tranquillity of the kingdom. Strong in the support of the nobility and the protection of the army, they deemed their power beyond the reach of attack; and anticipated no danger from dreams on the social contract, or the manners and spirit of nations. A direct attack on the monarchy would have been followed by an immediate place in the Bastile; but general disquisitions excited no alarm either among the nobility, or in the government. So universal was this delusion, that the young nobility amused themselves with visionary speculations concerning the original equality and pristine state of man; deeming such speculations as inapplicable to their case as the license of Otaheite or the equality of Tartary."

Foremost among those whose writings tended to inflame and pervert the public mind were Voltaire and Rousseau. The former of these had every possible requisite for such a task. Shrewd, calculating, and cunning as a fox: a wit without heart, an innovator without principle; an expert sophist, the light thin soil of whose mind could not nourish the tree of knowledge; acquainted with society in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest; a contemner, less from sound conviction, than from the instincts of overweening self-conceit, of all systems of religion, government, and morals—this "brilliant Frenchman," as Cowper justly calls him, was just the man to precipitate the grand crisis of the Revolution. All who read, could understand him. There was no affected mysticism in his manner, no power of deep reflection, for his thoughts lay on the surface; he was uniformly concise, lucid, and plausible; and set off his style by all the graces of the most sparkling wit and cutting sarcasm. His favourite mode of dealing with the most momentous matters, was by insinuation. He sneers away a moral principle in a sentence, and disturbs one's faith in religion and humanity, by a terse and sparkling allegory. That he effected some good in his generation, is unquestionable. He denounced the avarice and negligence of the privileged priesthood; lashed the insane rage for war, then so general on the continent; exposed the vices and imbecility of the noblesse; and did not spare even the throne itself. Had he stopped here, it had been well; but his restless intellect spurned all decent restraints, perversely confounding the distinctions between truth and falsehood—sophistry and common sense. Like an Irishman in a row, he laid about him with his club without the slightest regard to consequences. Cynical by nature, the crimes and utter callousness that he observed among the higher classes made him a sceptic to all generous emotions; as the corruption of the privileged clergy made him reject all belief in Christianity. Hazlitt, who of all men in the world was the least likely to underrate him, has well observed that "the poisoned wound he inflicted was so fine as scarcely to be felt, until it rankled and fes-

tered in its mortal consequences; and that he loved to reduce things below their level, making them all alike seem worthless and hollow!"

Of a far different order of intellect, but in his way equally influential, was Voltaire's great rival, Rousseau. The object of this insidious sentimentalist was—in politics, to bring about republicanism; in ethics, to subvert the entire frame-work of society, and introduce universal license; in religion, to do away with faith grounded on the convictions of reason, and to substitute in its stead the cant of instinct and sensibility. His specious, shallow, tinsel eloquence, which was mistaken for the sterling ore of thought, turned the brain of all France. Because his ideas were eccentric, they were accounted profound; and his studied lewdness was received as the prompting of a healthy and impassioned temperament. We who live in more enlightened times, when the public mind is able to detect the true from the false, and, if crazed for a season by some pet crotchet, never fails soon to right itself, can scarcely imagine the effect which Voltaire and Rousseau, assisted by the Encyclopædists, produced in their day. That a convulsion would have taken place, even without their aid, is unquestionable; but equally certain is it that they greatly contributed to hurry on the crisis. The effects of their writings may easily be traced in the sophistical speculations of the unworldly Girondins—the republican cant of the Dantonists—and the sentimental infidelity of the worshippers of the Goddess of Reason.

The radical defect of all Rousseau's writings was the substitution of sentiment for principle. Never was man so glaringly deficient in what may be called the moral sense. His mind "wore motley," and was made up of inconsistencies. While he professed to inculcate a system of the purest ethics, he lived in avowed adultery with a woman old enough to be his mother; and wrote upon the duties owing by parents to their children, while he sent his own to the Foundling Hospital! That he was actuated throughout his literary career by no better feeling than a mere morbid craving for notoriety is evident from one of his published conversations with Burke, wherein he observes that, finding that the ordinary vehicle of literature was worn out, he took upon himself the task of renewing the springs, repainting the panels, and gilding the whole machine afresh. In other words, he was solely anxious to create a sensation, no matter how eccentric were the means which he employed for that purpose.

It was the fashion of the day, even among the court circles—where the spirit was utterly unknown—to praise this man as the apostle of liberty. This is certainly a saving clause in his favour—or at least would be so, were it not altogether fallacious. Rousseau's love of independence was purely a factitious feeling, else wherefore happened it that he was the slave of his own diseased imagination? To be the true apostle of freedom the man himself must be free. No mean distrusts—no maudlin misanthropy—no sensual, prurient fancies—must interfere with, or influence, his opinions. He must tower above the ordinary level of mankind as much in conduct as in intellect; for by the union of worth and genius alone is the world's conviction insured. Yet it has been urged by those, who, seduced by their talents, would fain make excuses for their sophistries, that Rousseau and Voltaire acted from the best intentions. This is pure cant—the plea urged by every knave for his offences against society. The bar of Old Bailey is filled every session with the best intentions; they figure unequivocally in the police-offices; people the vast pasturages of Australia, and form—says the quaint old Spanish proverb—the pavement of hell itself!

While Voltaire and Rousseau, in conjunction with the Encyclopædists, were thus striking at the roots of social order, under the pretence of invigorating

them, the court and the noblesse—frantic suicides!—were assisting them by every means in their power, first, by their applause, and secondly by their vices. Louis XV., an imbecile sensual prince, without vigour, principle, or consistency of character, set an example of gross licentiousness, which his courtiers were not slow to follow, and which furnished the sophists with ample food for sarcasm and declamation. Under the disastrous reign of this monarch, justice was bought and sold like any other commodity. A liberal present, the promise of promotion, the smiles of a beautiful wife or mistress, could, in seven cases out of ten, sway the decision of a judge. Criminal commissions, the members of which were nominated by the crown, were frequently appointed, thus rendering personal liberty as insecure as real property. Warrants of imprisonment, too, without either accusation or trial, might consign obnoxious individuals to a dungeon for life. Moreover, enormous debts were contracted without national authority; and the public creditors were kept wholly in the dark as to the state of the national finances.

Another predisposing cause to revolution was the preposterous salaries of the civil servants of the crown, and of the aristocratic officers of the army, who, though paid at a rate which would now appear incredible, yet made a point of neglecting their duties, or bribing others to perform them. Everywhere corruption stalked abroad with unblushing front. It wore the general's uniform—the judge's robe—the bishop's hood. It had the privilege of the *entré* at court, and sate next the monarch at the royal banquet. The most important functions of government were carried on in the *boudoirs* of mistresses; the petticoat decided questions of war or peace; and he would have been deemed a most incompetent Minister indeed, who would have dared to controvert the opinions of a Pompadour or a Du Barri. Pope has admirably described this state of things in his magnificent epilogue to the satires:

> "In soldier, churchman, patriot, man in power,
> 'Tis avarice all, ambition is no more;
> See all our nobes begging to be slaves!
> See all our fools aspiring to be knaves!
> All, all look up with reverential awe
> At crimes that 'scape or triumph o'er the law,
> While truth, worth, wisdom, daily they decry,
> Nothing is sacred now but villany!"

The *tiers-état* were become quite intelligent enough to appreciate the condition of France at this critical period; but as yet they stifled their indignation, or only gave vent to it in occasional remonstrance. The stream still flowed on smooth, and the Court, because they heard not the thunder of the cataract, imagined that they were far removed from danger. Infatuated men! They were already within the Rapids!

The spirit of discontent that prevailed among the middle classes, prevailed still more strongly among the peasantry; and with good cause, for their local burdens, and the services due by them to their feudal superiors, were vexatious and oppressive in the extreme. "The most important operations of agriculture," says an historian who has been already quoted, "were fettered or prevented by the game laws, and the restrictions intended for their support. Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, were permitted to go at large through spacious districts without any inclosure to protect the crops. Numerous edicts existed, which prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; mowing hay, lest the eggs should be destroyed; taking away the stubble lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; manuring with night soil, lest their flavour should be injured. Complaints for the infraction of these edicts were

all carried before the manorial courts, where every species of oppression, chicanery, and fraud were prevalent. Fines were imposed at every change of property in the direct and collateral line; at every sale to purchasers; the people were bound to grind their corn at the landlord's mill, press their grapes at his press, and bake their bread at his oven. Obligations to repair the roads, founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced with the most rigorous severity; in many places the use even of handmills was not free, and the seigneurs were invested with the power of selling to the peasants the right of bruising buckwheat, or barley, between two stones. It is vain to attempt a description of the feudal services which pressed with so much severity in every part of France." Mr. Young, who travelled through France about this period, bears equal testimony to the wretched condition of the peasantry. "With a very few exceptions," he observes, "they were in the most indigent state—their houses, dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture—their dress ragged and miserable—their food the coarsest and most humble fare. They were oppressed by their feudal superiors with a variety of the most galling burdens." No wonder that when the Revolution at length broke out, these slaves of ages rose enthusiastically at the first summons of the demagogues and anarchists!

Another just cause of discontent was the intolerable pride and insolence of the old aristocratic families. These men were spell-bound by the charm of caste—the veriest slaves to conventional etiquette. They built up a wall of demarcation between themselves and the rest of the community, as if they were fashioned of more "precious porcelain;" held all the useful arts of life in lofty contempt; and were jealous of even the slightest whisper of opposition to their caprices. While the mind of the whole *tiers-état* was on the stir, they stood stock still. The most unequivocal signs of the times they either perverted to their own advantage, or treated as portents of no account. Inordinately attached to freedom in theory—a passion engendered by the writings of the philosophers—they repudiated the bare idea in practice. As for anything like a middle class, they scorned to recognise the existence of such a vulgarity—an insult which the men of that class felt so keenly, that, by way of avoiding it, they used, when they had the means of doing so, to purchase a patent of nobility. But this only made matters worse, for the old families became so jealous of these *Parvenus*, as they called them, that even when the Revolution threatened to sweep away all orders of nobility into one common grave, they could not be prevailed on to combine for their mutual safety. In every stage of the grand crisis, up to the period of their emigration, their motto was "no surrender." They were resolved rather to perish than degrade themselves by even a temporary alliance with the nobles of mere yesterday!

Extremes, it is said, meet; but this was not the case as respects the highest and lowest classes in France. The former held no kindly intercourse with the latter; and though possessing, in conjunction with the clergy, two-thirds of the whole estates of the kingdom, yet they were for the most part non-residents on their property, wasting in the dissipation of Paris those means which should have been employed in ministering to the comforts and happiness of their dependents. Having thus contrived to alienate the affections of the peasantry, equally with the esteem and confidence of the middle classes, who can be surprised that the nobility foundered, like a leaky vessel, in the very first hurricane of the Revolution?

The ecclesiastical establishment of France was in the same diseased state. All persons of plebeian birth were diligently excluded from its dignities However splendid might be their talents, and unsullied their character, they

were yet doomed to labour at the oar for life. They withered—to quote the emphatic expression of Colonel Napier in his history of the Peninsular War —"beneath the cold shade of Aristocracy." Hence, when the great explosion took place, it had the sympathies of all the humbler clergy, who supported the cause of freedom with the weight of their moral influence, and did not withdraw from it, till it evinced symptoms of degenerating into anarchy.

In the army things were little better ordered. The abuses in the distribution of the pay and the accoutrements of the different regiments were notorious; and while the spirit of innovation was making rapid headway among the soldiers, the higher officers were enthusiastic in their admiration of the starch Prussian discipline. As if this hobby were not sufficiently hazardous, these aristocratic martinets procured the adoption of a regulation, which even Louvois would never have dreamed of sanctioning, that a hundred years of nobility was necessary to qualify an officer! True, this order was rescinded shortly after its promulgation, but it did not tend the less to inflame the discontents of the untitled military. The French guards in particular, who being in constant intercourse with the citizens of Paris, soon caught the prevalent fever of innovation, warmly resented such arbitrary conduct on the part of the heads of the army, and at the breaking out of the Revolution were the very first to set the example of defection.

While all these malign influences were at work, the grand struggle for independence took place in America. This event startled France like a thunder-clap. Adieu now to all hope of escape from Revolution! The heather is on fire, and nothing can check the progress of the conflagration. Within the precincts of the palace, in the saloons of fashion, and universally among the *tiers-état*, nothing is talked of but the gallantry of the transatlantic patriots. Washington is the hero—Franklin the philosopher of the day. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, and glad no doubt of such an opportunity of humbling the pride, and increasing the difficulties of England —although his private correspondence would seem to show otherwise— Louis XVI. took the desperate resolution of supplying the insurgent colonies with funds and troops. It was the misfortune of this prince, who possessed many excellent private and public qualities, to do everything with the best intentions, and to succeed in nothing. "As for the King"—says Mr. Carlyle in his eloquent analytical history of the Revolution—"he, as usual, will go wavering cameleon-like, changing colour and purpose with the colour of his environment—good for no kingly use." This is well observed of Louis. He was as "infirm of purpose" as Macbeth, swayed now by the counsels of the Queen, now by those of the Assembly, and giving in a bold adhesion to neither. In assisting the American rebels he took the most suicidal step that it was possible for monarch, situated as he was, to take; for, when his troops returned home—and they constituted the flower of the young noblesse and the army—they brought back with them opinions and feelings until then proscribed in France; they talked loudly of the duty of resistance to despotic authority; and thus gave an irreparable shock to the tottering throne of Louis. The grand final shock however was given by the derangement of the national finances, whose annual deficit, amounting to above seven millions sterling, compelled the reluctant monarch to summon the States-general, and thus admit the necessity of a radical change in the government—in other words, to sanction those innovations which could not terminate otherwise than in Revolution.

It is at this period that M. Thiers' history commences. The opening portions of his work present a dramatic picture of the most striking character.

We see in the foreground groups of rejoicing, constitutional patriots; Mirabeau is there, with the eloquent leaders of the Gironde, whom Dumouriez has styled, and not without justice, the "Jesuits of the revolution;" there, too, are Lafayette and Bailly, men in whom a sincere monarch may have confidence; but grimly scowling in the background—for the republican pear is not yet fully ripe—lurk the frightful figures of Robespierre and the Hebertists, biding their time to turn this scene of national exultation, into one of tears and blood, despair and raging madness. But enough of this. —Ring the bell—draw up the curtain—and let the drama begin.

PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

I PURPOSE writing the history of a memorable revolution, which has profoundly agitated the minds of men, and which still continues to divide them. I disguise not from myself the difficulties of the undertaking; for passions, which were supposed to have been stifled under the sway of military despotism, have recently revived. All at once men bowed down by age and toil have felt resentments, which, according to appearance were appeased, awaken within them, and they have communicated them to us, their sons and heirs. But if we have to uphold the same cause, we have not to defend their conduct, for we can separate liberty from those who have rendered it service or disservice; whilst we possess the advantage of having observed those veterans, who, still full of their recollections, still agitated by their impressions, reveal to us the spirit and the character of parties, and teach us to comprehend them.* Perhaps the moment when the actors are about to expire is the most proper for writing this history: we can collect their evidence without participating in all their passions.

Be this as it may, I have endeavoured to stifle within my own bosom

* "The people never revolt from fickleness, or the mere desire of change. It is the impatience of suffering which alone has this effect."—*Sully's Memoirs.* E.

every feeling of animosity: I alternately figured to myself that, born in a cottage, animated with a just ambition, I was resolved to acquire what the pride of the higher classes had unjustly refused me; or that, bred in palaces, the heir to ancient privileges, it was painful to me to renounce a possession which I regarded as a legitimate property. Thenceforward I could not harbour enmity against either party; I pitied the combatants, and I indemnified myself by admiring generous deeds wherever I found them.

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Everybody is acquainted with the revolutions of the French monarchy. It is well known that the Greeks, and afterwards the Romans, introduced their arms and their civilization among the half savage Gauls; that subsequently the Barbarians established their military hierarchy among them; that this hierarchy, transferred from persons to lands, struck root, as it were, and grew up into the feudal system. Authority was divided between the feudal chief called king, and the secondary chiefs called vassals, who in their turn were kings over their own dependents. In our times, when the necessity for preferring mutual accusations has caused search to be made for reciprocal faults, abundant pains have been taken to teach us that the supreme authority was at first disputed by the vassals, which is always done by those who are nearest to it; that this authority was afterwards divided among them, which constituted feudal anarchy; and that at length it reverted to the throne, where it concentrated itself into despotism, under Louis XI., Richelieu, and Louis XIV.

The French population had progressively enfranchised itself by industry, the primary source of wealth and liberty. Though originally agricultural, it soon devoted its attention to commerce and manufactures, and acquired an importance that affected the entire nation. Introduced as a supplicant into the States-general, it appeared there in no other posture than on its knees, in order to be grievously abused. In process of time, even Louis XIV. declared that he would have no more of these cringing assemblies; and this he declared to the parliaments, booted and whip in hand. Thenceforth were seen, at the head of the state, a king clothed with a power ill defined in theory, but absolute in practice; grandees who had relinquished their feudal dignity for the favour of the monarch, and who disputed by intrigue what was granted to them out of the substance of the people; beneath them an immense population, having no other relation to the court and the aristocracy than habitual submission and the payment of taxes. Between the court and the people were parliaments invested with the power of administering justice and registering the royal decrees. Authority is always disputed. If not in the legitimate assemblies of the nation, it is contested in the very palace of the prince. It is well known that the parliaments, by refusing to register the royal edicts, rendered them ineffective: this terminated in 'a bed of justice' and a concession when the king was weak, but in entire submission when the king was powerful. Louis XIV. had no need to make concessions, for in his reign no parliament durst remonstrate; he drew the nation along in his train, and it glorified him with the prodigies which itself achieved in war and in the arts and sciences. The subjects and the monarch were unanimous, and their actions tended towards one and the same point. But no sooner had Louis XIV. expired, than the Regent afforded the

parliaments occasion to revenge themselves for their long nullity. The will of the monarch, so profoundly respected in his life-time, was violated after his death, and his last testament was cancelled. Authority was then thrown into litigation, and a long struggle commenced between the parliaments, the clergy, and the court, in sight of a nation worn out with long wars and exhausted by supplying the extravagance of its rulers, who gave themselves up alternately to a fondness for pleasure and for arms. Till then it had displayed no skill but for the service and the gratification of the monarch: it now began to apply its intelligence to its own benefit and the examination of its interests.

The human mind is incessantly passing from one object to another. From the theatre and the pulpit, French genius turned to the moral and political sciences: all then became changed. Figure to yourself, during a whole century, the usurpers of all the national rights quarrelling about a worn-out authority; the parliaments persecuting the clergy, the clergy persecuting the parliaments; the latter disputing the authority of the court; the court, careless and calm amid this struggle, squandering the substance of the people in the most profligate debauchery; the nation, enriched and roused, watching these disputes, arming itself with the allegations of one party against the other, deprived of all political action, dogmatizing boldly and ignorantly, because it was confined to theories; aspiring, above all, to recover its rank in Europe, and offering in vain its treasure and its blood to regain a place which it had lost through the weakness of its rulers. Such was the eighteenth century.*

The scandal had been carried to its height when Louis XVI., an equitable prince, moderate in his propensities, carelessly educated, but naturally of a good disposition, ascended the throne at a very early age. He called to his side an old courtier, and consigned to him the care of his kingdom, and divided his confidence between Maurepas and the Queen, an Austrian princess, young, lively, and amiable,† who possessed a complete ascendency over him. Maurepas and the Queen were not good friends. The King, sometimes giving way to his minister, at others to his consort, began at an early period the long career of his vacillations. Aware of the state of his kingdom, he believed the reports of the philosophers on that subject; but, brought up in the most Christian sentiments, he felt the utmost aversion for them. The public voice, which was loudly expressed, called for Turgot, one of the class of economists, an honest, virtuous man, endowed with firmness of character, a slow genius, but obstinate and profound. Convinced of his probity, delighted with his plans of reform, Louis XVI. frequently repeated: "There are none besides myself and Turgot who are friends of the people." Turgot's reforms were thwarted by the opposition of the highest orders in the state, who were interested in maintaining all kinds of abuses, which the austere minister proposed to suppress. Louis XVI. dismissed him with regret. During his whole life, which was only a long martyrdom, he had the mortification to discern what was right, to wish it sincerely, but to lack the energy requisite for carrying it into execution.‡

The King, placed between the court, the parliaments, and the people, exposed to

* "Since the reign of the Roman emperors profligacy had never been conducted in so open and undisguised a manner as under Louis XV. and the Regent Orleans. The reign of Louis XV. is the most deplorable in French history. If we seek for the characters who governed the age, we must search the antechambers of the Duke de Choiseul, or the boudoirs of Madame Pompadour or Du Barri. The whole frame of society seemed to be discomposed. Statesmen were ambitious to figure as men of letters; men of letters as statesmen; the great seigneurs as bankers; the farmers-general as great seigneurs. The fashions were as ridiculous as the arts were misplaced."—*Alison's French Revolution.* E.

† "It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France at Versailles, and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision! I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy."—*Burke's Reflections.* E.

‡ "Turgot, of whom Malesherbes said 'He has the head of Bacon and the heart of l'Hopital,' aimed at extensive reforms, and laboured to effect that which the revolution ultimately completed, the suppression of every species of servitude and exclusive privilege. But he had excited the jealousy of the courtiers by his reforms, of the parliaments by the abolition of the *corvées*, and of Maurepas by his ascendency over the monarch."—*Mignet.* E.

intrigues and to suggestions of all sorts, repeatedly changed his ministers. Yielding once more to the public voice, and to the necessity for reform, he summoned to the finance department Necker, a native of Geneva, who had amassed wealth as a banker, a partisan and disciple of Colbert, as Turgot was of Sully; an economical and upright financier, but a vain man, fond of setting himself up for arbitrator in everything—philosophy, religion, liberty; and, misled by the praises of his friends and the public, flattering himself that he could guide and fix the minds of others at that point at which his own had stopped.*

Necker re-established order in the finances, and found means to defray the heavy expenses of the American war. With a mind more comprehensive, but less flexible, than that of Turgot, possessing more particularly the confidence of capitalists, he found, for the moment, unexpected resources, and revived public credit. But it required something more than financial artifices to put an end to the embarrassments of the exchequer, and he had recourse to reform. He found the higher orders not less adverse to him than they had been to Turgot; the parliaments, apprized of his plans, combined against him and obliged him to retire.

The conviction of the existence of abuses was universal; everybody admitted it; the King knew and was deeply grieved at it. The courtiers, who derived advantage from these abuses, would have been glad to see an end put to the embarrassments of the exchequer, but without its costing them a single sacrifice. They descanted at court on the state of affairs, and there retailed philosophical maxims; they deplored, whilst hunting, the oppressions inflicted upon the farmer; nay, they were even seen to applaud the enfranchisement of the Americans, and to receive with honour the young Frenchmen who returned from the New World.† The

* "J. Necker was the son of a tutor in the college of Geneva. He began life as a clerk to M. Thellusson, a banker at Paris, whose partner he afterwards became, and in the course of twelve or fourteen years his fortune surpassed that of the first bankers. He then thought of obtaining some place under government, but he at first aimed only at the office of first commissioner of finance, to attain which he endeavoured to acquire a literary reputation, and published a panegyric on Colbert. Necker was beginning to enjoy some degree of reputation when Turgot was disgraced, and anxious to profit by the dissipation in which the new minister, Clugny, lived, he presented statements to M. de Maurepas in which he exaggerated the resources of the state. The rapid fortune of Necker induced a favourable opinion of his capacity, and after Clugny died he was united with his successor, M. Taboureau des Reaux, an appointment which he obtained partly by the assistance of the Marquis de Pezay. After eight months' administration, Necker, on the 2d of July, 1777, compelled his colleague to resign, and presented his accounts in 1781. Shortly after he endeavoured to take advantage of the public favour, and aspired to a place in the council. He insisted on it, and threatened to resign; but he was the dupe of his own presumption, and was suffered to retire. In 1787 he returned to France, and wrote against Calonne, who had accused him as the cause of the deficiency in the finances; this dispute ended in the exile of Necker; but, in 1788, when the general displeasure against Brienne terrified the court, he was again appointed controller-general, but, feeling himself supported by the people, he refused to accept the post, unless on the condition of not labouring in conjunction with the prime minister. Eager for popular applause, Necker hoped to govern everything by leading the King to hope for an increase of power, and the people for a speedy democracy, by the debasement of the higher orders and the parliaments. The report which he made to the council on the 27th of December, 1788, respecting the formation of the States-general, proved the first spark which lighted the combustible matter that had long been prepared. On the 11th of July, when the court thought fit to declare against the factions, Necker, who had become absolutely their sentinel in the very council of the King, was dismissed; but on the 16th the assembly wrote him a letter, expressing their regret at his withdrawal, and informing him that they had obtained his recall. His return from Basle to Paris was one continued triumph. During the remainder of the year he was constantly presenting new statements on the resources of the revenue; but he soon perceived that his influence was daily diminishing. At last, the famous Red Book appeared, and completely put an end to his popularity; so that in the month of December he determined to fly, after having seen the populace tear from the gate of his house, the inscription 'To the adored minister.' He died at Geneva on the 9th of April, 1804, after a short but painful illness."—From a Memoir of Necker in the *Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "The American war was the great change which blew into a flame the embers of innovation. Such was the universal enthusiasm which seized upon France at its commencement, that nobles of the highest rank, princes, dukes, and marquises, solicited with impatient zeal commissions in the regiments destined to aid the insurgents. The passion for republican institutions increased with the successes of the American war, and at length rose to such a height as to infect even the courtiers of the palace. The philosophers of France used every method of flattery to bring over the young

parliaments also talked of the interests of the people, loudly insisted on the sufferings of the poor, and yet opposed the equalization of the taxes, as well as the abolition of the remains of feudal barbarism. All talked of the public weal, few desired it; and the people, not yet knowing who were its true friends, applauded all those who resisted power, its most obvious enemy.

By the removal of Turgot and Necker the state of affairs was not changed: the distress of the treasury remained the same. Those in power would have been willing to dispense, for a long time to come, with the intervention of the nation, but it was absolutely necessary to subsist—it was absolutely necessary to supply the profusion of the court. The difficulty, removed for a moment by the dismissal of a minister, by a loan, or by the forced imposition of a tax, appeared again in an aggravated form, like every evil injudiciously neglected. The court hesitated, just as a man does who is compelled to take a dreaded but an indispensable step. An intrigue brought forward M. de Calonne, who was not in good odour with the public, because he had contributed to the persecution of La Chalotais. Calonne, clever, brilliant, fertile in resources, relied upon his genius, upon fortune, and upon men, and awaited the future with the most extraordinary apathy. It was his opinion that one ought not to be alarmed beforehand, or to discover an evil till the day before that on which one intends to set about repairing it. He seduced the court by his manners, touched it by his eagerness to grant all that it required, afforded the King and everybody else some happier moments, and dispelled the most gloomy presages by a gleam of prosperity and blind confidence.*

That future which had been counted upon now approached; it became necessary at length to adopt decisive measures. It was impossible to burden the people with fresh imposts, and yet the coffers were empty. There was but one remedy which could be applied; that was to reduce the expenses by the suppression of grants; and if this expedient should not suffice, to extend the taxes to a greater number of contributors, that is, to the nobility and clergy. These plans, attempted successively by Turgot and Necker, and resumed by Calonne, appeared to the latter not at all likely to succeed, unless the consent of the privileged classes themselves could be obtained. Calonne, therefore, proposed to collect them together in an assembly, to be called the Assembly of the Notables, in order to lay his plans before them, and to gain their consent either by address or by conviction. The assembly was composed of distinguished members of the nobility, clergy, and magistracy, of a great number of masters of requests, and some magistrates of the provinces. By means of this composition, and still more by the aid of the chief popular gentry and philosophers, whom he had taken care to introduce into this assembly, Calonne flattered himself that he should be able to carry his point.

The too confident minister was mistaken. Public opinion bore him a grudge for occupying the place of Turgot and Necker. Delighted in particular that the minister was obliged to render an account, it supported the resistance of the Notables. Very warm discussions ensued. Calonne did wrong in throwing upon his predecessors, and partly on Necker, the existing state of the exchequer. Necker replied, was exiled, and the opposition became the more obstinate. Calonne met it with presence of mind and composure. He caused M. de Miromenil, keeper of the seals, who was conspiring with the parliaments, to be dismissed. But his triumph lasted only two days. The King, who was attached to him, had, in engaging to support him, promised more than he could perform. He was shaken by the representations of the Notables, who promised to sanction the plans of Calonne, but on condition that a minister more moral and more deserving of confidence should be appointed to carry them into execution. The Queen, at the suggestion of the Abbé de Vermont, proposed to the King and prevailed on him to accept a new minister, M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, and one of the Notables who had contributed most to the ruin of Calonne, in hopes of succeeding him.

nobles to their side; and the profession of liberal opinions became as indispensable a passport to the saloons of fashion as to the favour of the people."—*Alison's French Revolution.* E.

* "To all the requests of the Queen, M. Calonne would answer, 'If what your majesty asks is possible, the thing is done; if it is impossible, it shall be done.'"—*Weber, Memoirs.* E.

The Archbishop of Toulouse, a man of weak mind and obstinate disposition, had from boyhood set his heart upon becoming minister, and availed himself of all possible means in pursuing this object of his wishes. He relied principally on the influence of women, whom he strove to please and in which he succeeded. He caused his administration of Languedoc to be everywhere extolled. If, on attaining the post of minister, he did not obtain the favour which Necker had enjoyed, he had at least, in the eyes of the public, the merit of superseding Calonne. At first, he was not prime minister, but he soon became so. Seconded by M. de Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, an inveterate enemy to the parliaments, he commenced his career with considerable advantages. The Notables, bound by the promises which they had made, readily consented to all that they had at first refused: land-tax, stamp-duty, suppression of the gratuitous services of vassals (*corvées*), provincial assemblies, were all cheerfully granted. It was not these measures themselves, but their author, whom they pretended to have resisted. Public opinion triumphed. Calonne was loaded with execrations; and the Notables, supported by the public suffrage, nevertheless regretted an honour gained at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. Had M. de Brienne known how to profit by the advantages of his position; had he actively proceeded with the execution of the measures assented to by the Notables; had he submitted them all at once and without delay to the parliament, at the instant when the adhesion of the higher orders seemed to be wrung from them; all would probably have been over; the parliament, pressed on all sides, would have consented to everything, and this concession, though partial and forced, would probably have retarded for a long time the struggle which afterwards took place.

Nothing of the kind, however, was done. By imprudent delays occasion was furnished for relapses; the edicts were submitted only one after another; the parliament had time to discuss, to gain courage, and to recover from the sort of surprise by which the Notables had been taken. It registered, after long discussions, the edict enacting the second abolition of the *corvées*, and another permitting the free exportation of corn. Its animosity was particularly directed against the land-tax; but it feared lest by a refusal it should enlighten the public, and show that its opposition was entirely selfish. It hesitated, when it was spared this embarrassment by the simultaneous presentation of the edict on the stamp-duty and the land-tax, and especially by opening the deliberations with the former. The parliament had thus an opportunity of refusing the first without entering into explanations respecting the second; and, in attacking the stamp-duty, which affected the majority of the payers of taxes, it seemed to defend the interest of the public. At a sitting which was attended by the peers, it denounced the abuses, the profligacy, and the prodigality of the court, and demanded statements of expenditure. A councillor, punning upon the *états* (statements) exclaimed, "*Ce ne sont pas des états mais des états-généraux qu'il nous faut*"—"It is not statements, but States-general that we want." This unexpected demand struck every one with astonishment. Hitherto people had resisted because they suffered; they had seconded all sorts of opposition, favourable or not to the popular cause, provided they were directed against the court, which was blamed for every evil. At the same time they did not well know what they ought to demand; they had always been so far from possessing any influence over the government, they had been so habituated to confine themselves to complaints, that they complained without conceiving the idea of acting, or of bringing about a revolution. The utterance of a single word presented an unexpected direction to the public mind: it was repeated by every mouth, and States-general were loudly demanded.

D'Espremenil, a young councillor, a vehement orator, an agitator without object, a demagogue in the parliaments, an aristocrat in the States-general, and who was declared insane by a decree of the Constituent Assembly—d'Espremenil showed himself on this occasion one of the most violent parliamentary declaimers. But the opposition was secretly conducted by Dupont, a young man of extraordinary abilities, and of a firm and persevering character, the only one perhaps, who, amid these disturbances, had a specific object in view, and was solicitous to lead his

company, the court, and the nation, to a very different goal from that of a parliamentary aristocracy.

The parliament was divided into old and young councillors. The first aimed at forming a counterpoise to the royal authority, in order to give consequence to their company. The latter, more ardent and more sincere, were desirous of introducing liberty into the state, yet without overturning the political system, under which they were born. The parliament made an important admission: it declared that it had not the power to grant imposts, and that to the States-general alone belonged the right of establishing them; and it required the King to communicate to it statements of the revenues and the expenditure.

This acknowledgment of incompetence and usurpation, for the parliament had till then arrogated to itself the right of sanctioning taxes, could not but excite astonishment. The prelate minister, irritated at this opposition, instantly summoned the parliament to Versailles, and caused the two edicts to be registered in 'a bed of justice.' The parliament, on its return to Paris, remonstrated, and ordered an inquiry into the prodigalities of Calonne. A decision in council instantly annulled its decrees, and exiled it to Troyes.

Such was the state of affairs on the 15th of August, 1787. The King's two brothers, Monsieur and the Count d'Artois, were sent, the one to the Court of Accounts and the other to the Court of Aids, to have the edicts registered there. The former who had become popular on account of the opinions which he had expressed in the Assembly of the Notables, was hailed with acclamations by an immense multitude, and conducted back to the Luxembourg amidst universal plaudits. The Count d'Artois, who was known to have supported Calonne, was received with murmurs; his attendants were attacked, and it was found necessary to have recourse to the armed force.

The parliaments had around them numerous dependents, composed of lawyers, persons holding situations in the palace, clerks, and students; an active bustling class, ever ready to bestir themselves in their behalf. With these natural allies of the parliaments were united the capitalists, who dreaded a bankruptcy; the enlightened classes, who were devoted to all the opposers of power; and lastly, the multitude, which always sides with agitators. Serious disturbances took place, and the supreme authority had great difficulty to suppress them.

The parliament sitting at Troyes met every day and called causes. Neither advocates nor solicitors appeared, and justice was suspended, as it had been so many times during the preceding century. Meanwhile the magistrates became weary of their exile, and M. de Brienne was without money. He boldly maintained that he did not want any, and tranquillized the court, uneasy on this single point; but, destitute of supplies, and incapable of putting an end to his difficulties by an energetic resolution, he entered into negotiation with some of the members of the parliament. His conditions were a loan of four hundred and forty millions (of livres), payable by instalments, in four years, at the expiration of which the States-general should be convoked. At this rate Brienne was willing to renounce the two imposts, the objects of so much discord. Having made sure of some members, he imagined that he was sure of the whole company, and the parliament was recalled on the 10th of September.

A royal sitting was held on the 20th of the same month. The King went in person to present the edict enacting the creation of the successive loan and the convocation of the States-general in five years. No explanation had been given respecting the nature of this sitting, and it was not known whether it was 'a bed of justice' or not. The looks of the members were gloomy, and a profound silence prevailed, when the Duke of Orleans rose with agitated countenance and all the signs of strong emotion; he addressed the King, and asked him if this sitting were 'a bed of justice' or a free deliberation. "It is a royal sitting," replied the King. The councillors Freteau, Sabatier, and d'Espremenil, spoke after the Duke of Orleans, and declaimed with their usual violence. The registration was immediately enforced: Freteau and Sabatier were exiled to the Hieres Islands, and the Duke of Orleans to Villers-Cotterets. The States-general were postponed for five years.

Such were the principal events of the year 1787. The year 1788 commenced with fresh hostilities. On the 4th of January the parliament passed a decree against *lettres de cachet*, and for the recall of exiled persons. The King cancelled this decree; the parliament confirmed it anew.

Meanwhile the Duke of Orleans, banished to Villers-Cotterets, could not endure his exile. This prince, in quarrelling with the court, had reconciled himself with public opinion, which was at first unfavourable to him. Destitute alike of the dignity of a prince and the firmness of a tribune,* he was incapable of enduring so slight a punishment, and, in order to obtain his recall, he descended to solicitations even to the Queen, his personal enemy.

* "Louis-Phillippe-Joseph, Duke of Orleans, one of the French princes of the blood, was born at St. Cloud, on the 13th of April, 1747, and rendered the title of Duc de Chartres, which he bore till his father's death, celebrated by his depravity. He was in stature below the middle size, but very well made, and his features were regular and pleasing, till libertinism and debauchery covered them with red, inflamed pustules. He was very early bald; was skilled in all bodily exercises; kind and compassionate in his domestic relations, and endowed with good natural abilities, though ignorant and credulous. As he was to succeed the Duc de Penthievre in the office of high admiral, he thought fit, in 1778, to make a naval campaign, and commanded the rear-guard of M. d'Orvilliers' fleet in the battle off Ushant, in which he was on board an 84-gun ship. It was then assiduously rumoured that the Duc de Chartres had concealed himself in the hold of the ship—which seems improbable, as the vessel in which he was, was never within reach of the cannon. The court, however, took up this injurious anecdote, and when he appeared, overwhelmed him with epigrams; the King, too, instead of making him high-admiral, appointed him colonel-general of the hussars—a singular and contemptuous reward for sea-service, which is said to have partly laid the foundation of his hatred for Louis. Some time afterwards he ascended in a balloon; and as a few years before he had gone down into a mine, where he was said to have shown but little self-possession, it was stated that he had thought proper to show all the elements his cowardice. On the death of the Comte de Clermont he got himself appointed master of all the masonic lodges in France. In 1787 his father died, and he then took the title of Duke of Orleans, and sought to render himself popular. By the advice of his creatures he opposed the King in the royal meeting on the 19th of November, 1787, and was exiled to Villers-Cotterets; but in return for the sums he lavished on the journalists, he soon became the idol of the populace. Another method which he successfully put in practice to obtain the favour of the people, was to buy up corn, and then relieve those who were languishing under the artificial scarcity. In 1788-9, public tables were spread and fires lighted, by his order, for the paupers of the metropolis, and sums of money were likewise distributed among them. In the very earliest meetings he protested against the proceedings of his chamber, and joined that of the *tiers-état* with the dissentient members of his order. From this period he divided his time between the meetings of the national assembly and those of his own advisers, who assembled first at the Palais Royal, and afterwards at Passy. On the 3d of July he was nominated president of the national assembly; but he refused the post, and busied himself in corrupting the regiment of French guards, and in preparing the events of July the 14th. Lafayette having menaced him with the tribunals if he did not leave France, he went over to England; but at the end of eight months returned, and was received with transport by the Jacobins. In 1791 M. Thevenard, before he resigned the administration of the marine, caused the duke to be appointed admiral of France, for which the latter went to thank the King in person, and to assure him how grossly he had been misrepresented. When, however, he appeared at the levee, all the courtiers insulted him in the most outrageous manner, to which he would never be persuaded that their majesties were not privy, and this excited his irreconcilable enmity against them. On the 15th of September, 1792, the commune of Paris authorized him to assume the name of Egalité for himself and his descendants, and deputed him to the national convention. When the King's trial took place, the Duke of Orleans voted for the death of his cousin with a degree of coolness which irritated the majority of the Jacobins themselves, and excited murmurs throughout the assembly. On the fatal day, he came to the Place de Louis XV., and was present during the execution in an open carriage; as soon as the body was removed, he returned to the Palais Royal, and went in a carriage drawn by six horses to revel at Raincy with his accomplices. It was then said that the Prince of Wales, having been informed of his conduct on this occasion, tore in pieces his portrait, which he had left him. Towards the end of April, Robespierre caused his name to be erased from the list of Jacobins, though Egalité had sworn to the Convention, on the 4th of the same month, that if his son (the present King of France), who had just fled with Dumouriez, was guilty, the image of Brutus, which was before his eyes, would remind him of his duty. Soon afterwards a warrant was issued for his arrest; he was removed to the prisons of Marseilles, and, after six months' captivity, sent to take his trial at Paris. As a matter of course, the revolutionary tribunal found him guilty, and he was guillotined on the 6th of November, 1793, when he was forty-six years of age. He shrugged his shoulders on hearing the people hiss and curse him as he was led to death, and cried out, 'They used to applaud me.'"—From an article in the *Biographie Moderne*. E.

Brienne was exasperated by obstacles, without possessing energy to overcome them. Feeble in Europe against Prussia, to which he sacrificed Holland, feeble in France against the parliament and the grandees of the state, he had now no supporter but the Queen, and, moreover, was frequently checked in his operations by ill health. He neither knew how to suppress insurrection nor how to enforce the retrenchments decreed by the King; and, notwithstanding the rapidly approaching exhaustion of the exchequer, he affected an inconceivable security. Meanwhile, amidst all these difficulties, he did not neglect to obtain new benefices for himself and to heap new dignities upon his family.

Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, a man of a stronger mind but possessing less influence than the Archbishop of Toulouse, concerted with him a new plan for accomplishing the principal object, that of destroying the political power of the parliaments. It was of importance to keep it secret. Everything was prepared in silence: private letters were sent to the commandants of the provinces; the office where the edicts were printed was surrounded with guards. It was intended that the plan should not be known till the moment of its communication to the parliaments. That moment approached, and it was rumoured that an important political act was in preparation. D'Espremenil, the councillor, contrived to procure a copy of the edicts, by bribing one of the printer's men; he then repaired to the palace, summoned his colleagues to assemble, and boldly denounced the plan of the minister.

According to this plan, the too extensive authority of the parliament of Paris was to be abridged, by the establishment of six great *baillages* in its jurisdiction. The power of judging without appeal, and of registering the laws and edicts, was to be transferred to a plenary court, composed of peers, prelates, magistrates, and military officers; all appointed by the king. Even the captain of the guard was to have a deliberative voice in it. This plan attacked the judicial authority of the parliament, and utterly annihilated its political power. The company, struck with consternation, knew not what course to pursue. It could not deliberate upon a plan which had not been submitted to it; at the same time it was of importance that it should not suffer itself to be taken by surprise. In this embarrassment it had recourse to an expedient at once firm and adroit,—that of recapitulating and confirming in a decree all that it called constitutional laws of the monarchy, taking care to include in the number its own existence and rights. By this general measure it by no means forestalled the supposed projects of the government, and secured all that it wished to secure.

In consequence, it was declared, on the 5th of May, by the parliament of Paris:

"That France was a monarchy governed by a king, according to the laws; and that among these laws several, which were fundamental, embraced and consecrated: 1. The right of the reigning house to the throne, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture; 2. The right of the nation to grant subsidies freely through the organ of the States-general, regularly convoked and composed; 3. The customs and capitulations of the provinces; 4. The irremoveability of the magistrates; 5. The right of the courts to verify in each province the edicts of the king, and not to order the registration of them, unless they were conformable to the constitutive laws of the province, as well as to the fundamental laws of the state; 6. The right of each citizen not to be tried in any manner by other than his natural judges, who were those appointed by the law; and, 7, the right, without which all the others were useless, of not being arrested by any order whatever, unless to be delivered without delay into the hands of competent judges. The said court protested against all attacks which might be made upon the principles above expressed."

To this energetic resolution the minister replied in the usual way, always injudicious and ineffectual—he adopted violent measures against some of the members of the parliament. D'Espremenil and Goislart de Monsalbert, being apprized that they were threatened, sought refuge amidst the assembled parliament. An officer, Vincent d'Agoult, repaired thither at the head of a company; and, not knowing the persons of the magistrates designated, he called them by their names. The deepest silence at first pervaded the assembly: all the councillors then cried out

that they were d'Espremenil. At length the real d'Espremenil declared who he was, and followed the officer ordered to arrest him. The tumult was then at its height; the populace accompanied the magistrates, hailing them with shouts of applause. Three days afterwards, the King, in a bed of justice, caused the edicts to be registered, and the assembled princes and peers exhibited an image of that plenary court which was to succeed the parliaments.

The Chatelet immediately issued a decree against the edicts. The parliament of Rennes declared all who should belong to the plenary court infamous. At Grenoble, the inhabitants defended their magistrates against two regiments. The troops themselves, excited to disobedience by the military noblesse, soon refused to act. When the commandant of Dauphiné assembled his colonels, to inquire if their soldiers were to be relied upon, all of them kept silence. The youngest, who was to speak first, replied that no reliance was to be placed on his, from the colonel downwards. To this resistance the minister opposed decrees of the great council, which cancelled the decisions of the sovereign courts, and he punished eight of them with exile.

The court, annoyed by the higher orders, which made war upon it in espousing the interests of the people and calling for their interference, had recourse, on its part, to the same means. It resolved to summon the *tiers-état* (the third estate) to its aid, as the Kings of France had formerly done to break up the feudal system. It then urged, with all its might, the convocation of the States-general. It ordered investigations respecting the mode of their assembling; it called upon writers and learned bodies to give their opinions; and, whilst the assembled clergy declared on its part that a speedy convocation was desirable, the court, accepting the challenge, suspended at the same time the meeting of the plenary court, and fixed the opening of the States-general for the 1st of May, 1789. Then followed the retirement of the Archbishop of Toulouse, who, by bold plans feebly executed, had provoked a resistance, which he ought either not to have excited or to have overcome. And on quitting office he left the exchequer in distress—the payment of the *rentes* of the Hotel de Ville suspended—all the authorities in hostility—all the provinces in arms. As for himself, possessing an income of eight hundred thousand francs from benefices, the archbishopric of Sens, and a cardinal's hat, if he did not make the public fortune, he at least made his own. By his last piece of advice he recommended to the King to recall Necker to the ministry of the finances, that he might fortify himself with his popularity against oppositions which had become unconquerable.

It was during the two years 1787 and 1788 that the French were desirous to pass from vain theories to practice. The struggle between the highest authorities excited the wish, and furnished the occasion to do so. During the whole course of the century, the parliament had attacked the clergy, and exposed its ultramontane predilections. After the clergy, it had attacked the court, condemned its abuses of power, and denounced its extravagance. Threatened with reprisals, and attacked, in its turn, in its existence, it had at length just restored to the nation prerogatives which the court would have wrested from it for the purpose of transferring them to an extraordinary tribunal. After having thus apprized the nation of its rights, it had exerted its energies in exciting and protecting insurrection. On the other hand, the high clergy in delivering their charges, the nobility in fomenting the disobedience of the troops, had joined their efforts to those of the magistracy, and summoned the people to arms in behalf of their privileges.

The court, pressed by these various enemies, had made but a feeble resistance. Aware of the necessity of acting, yet always deferring the moment for doing so, it had at times abolished some abuses, rather for the benefit of the exchequer than of the people, and then sunk again into inactivity. At length, finding itself attacked on all sides, observing that the higher orders were calling the people into the lists, it resolved to introduce them there itself by convoking the States-general. Hostile during the whole of the century to the philosophic spirit, it now appealed to the latter, and submitted the constitutions of the kingdom to its investigation. Thus the first authorities of the state exhibited the singular spectacle of usurpers disputing

the possession of an object before the face of the rightful owner, and at last even calling upon him to act as judge between them.

Such was the state of affairs when Necker returned to the ministry. Confidence followed him; credit was instantly restored; the most urgent difficulties were removed. He provided, by means of expedients, for indispensable expenses, till the meeting of the States-general, the remedy that was universally called for.

The great questions relative to their organization began to be discussed. It was asked what part the *tiers-état* would have to act there; whether it would appear as an equal or a supplicant; whether it would obtain a representation equal in number to that of the two higher orders; whether the discussions would be carried on by individuals or by orders: and whether the *tiers* would not have merely a single voice against the two voices of the nobility and clergy.

The first question discussed was that relative to the number of the deputies. Never had philosophic controversy of the eighteenth century excited such agitation. People's minds became warmed by the positive importance of the question. A keen, concise, energetic writer took, in this discussion, that place which the greatest geniuses of the age had occupied in the philosophical discussions. The Abbé Sieyes, in a book which gave a powerful impulse to the public mind, asked this question: "What is the *tiers-état?*" And he answered: "Nothing."—"What ought it to be?"—"Everything."*

The states of Dauphiné assembled in spite of the court. The two higher orders, more adroit and more popular in that country than anywhere else, decided that the representation of the third estate should be equal to that of the nobility and the clergy. The parliament of Paris, foreseeing already the consequence of its improvident provocations, perceived plainly that the *tiers-état* was not coming in as auxiliary, but as master; and, in registering the edict of convocation, it enjoined, as an express clause, the maintenance of the forms of 1614, which reduced the third order to a mere cipher. Having already rendered itself unpopular by the difficulties which it had thrown in the way of the edict that restored civil rights to Protestants, it was on that day completely unmasked, and the court fully revenged. It was the first to experience the instability of popular favour; but, if at a later period the nation might appear ungrateful towards chiefs whom it forsook one after another, on this occasion it had good reason to turn its back on the parliament, for that body stopped short, before the nation had recovered any of its rights.

The court, not daring to decide these important questions itself, or rather desirous of depriving the two higher orders of their popularity for its own benefit, asked their opinion, with the intention of not adopting it, if, as it was probable, that opinion should be unfavourable to the *tiers-état*. It summoned therefore a new Assembly of Notables, in which all the questions relative to the holding of States-general were brought forward. The discussions were warm: on the one hand great stress was laid on ancient traditions; on the other, on natural rights and reason. Even in going back to traditions, the cause of the *tiers-état* still had the advantage; for, in opposition to the forms of 1614 demanded by the higher orders, forms yet more ancient were adduced. Thus, in certain assemblies, and on certain points, the members had voted individually; sometimes they had deliberated by provinces, not by orders; frequently the deputies of the *tiers* had equalled in number the deputies of the nobility and clergy. Why then refer to ancient usages?

* "Bonaparte said to me one day, 'That fool Sieyes it as credulous as a Cassandra.' In the intercourse, not very frequent certainly, which I had with him, he appeared to be far beneath the reputation which he had acquired. He reposed a blind confidence in a multitude of agents, whom he had sent into all parts of France. Sieyes had written in his countenance, 'Give me money.' I recollect that I one day alluded to this expression in the anxious face of Sieyes to the first consul. 'You are right,' observed he to me smiling, 'when money is in question, Sieyes is quite a matter-of-fact man. He sends his ideology to the right about, and thus becomes easily manageable. He readily abandons his constitutional dreams for a good round sum, and that is very convenient.' M. de Talleyrand, who is so capable of estimating men, and whose admirable sayings well deserve to occupy a place in history, had long entertained an indifferent opinion of Sieyes. One day, when he was conversing with the second consul concerning him, Cambacérès said: 'Sieyes, however, is a very profound man.' 'Profound!' said Talleyrand, 'yes, he is a cavity, a perfect cavity as you would say.'"—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon.* E.

Had not the powers of the state been in a continual revolution? The royal authority, at first sovereign, then vanquished and despoiled, raising itself again with the aid of the people, and again uniting all the powers in its own hands, exhibited a perpetual conflict and an ever-changing position. The clergy were told that if they were to take ancient times for their standard they would cease to be an order; the nobles, that the possessors of fiefs only were qualified to be elected, and that thus most of them would be excluded from the deputation; the parliaments themselves, that they were but unfaithful officers of royalty; lastly, all were assured that the French constitution had been but one long revolution, during which each power had successively predominated; that everything had been innovation, and that amid this vast conflict it was for reason alone to decide.

The *tiers-état* comprehended nearly the whole nation, all the useful, industrious, enlightened classes. If it possessed but a portion of the lands, at least it wrought them all; and according to reason, it was not too much to allow to it a number of deputies equal to that of the two other orders.

The Assembly of Notables declared itself against what was called the doubling of the third estate. One of the government offices, that over which Monsieur, the King's brother, presided, voted for this doubling.* The court, then, taking, as it said, into consideration the opinion of the minority, the sentiments expressed by several princes of the blood, the wishes of the three orders of Dauphiné, the demand of the provincial assemblies, the example of several countries of the kingdom, *the opinion of various public writers*, and the recommendations contained in a great number of addresses—the court ordained that the total number of the deputies should be at least a thousand; that it should be formed in a ratio composed of the population and the amount of taxes paid by each *baillage*, and that the number of the deputies of the *tiers-état* should be equal to that of the other two orders united.

This declaration excited universal enthusiasm. As it was attributed to Necker, it raised him in the favour of the nation, and gained him the increased enmity of the great.† Still it decided nothing as to the vote by individuals or by orders, but it included it by implication; for it was useless to augment the number of votes if they were not to be counted; and it left the *tiers-état* to seize by main force what was refused to it at the moment. It therefore conveyed an idea of the weakness of the court, and of Necker himself. That court included an assemblage of inclinations which rendered any decisive result impossible. The King was moderate, equitable, studious, and too distrustful of his own abilities; loving the people, and readily listening to their complaints. He was nevertheless seized at times with superstitious terrors, and fancied that he beheld anarchy and impiety marching hand in hand with liberty and toleration. The philosophic spirit in its first flights could not but commit extravagances, and a timid and religious king could not help being alarmed at them. Overcome, at every step, by weakness, terror, and uncertainty, the unfortunate Louis XVI. resolved for his own part to make every sacrifice. Not knowing how to impose such conduct on others, the victim of his indulgence for the court, of his condescension to the Queen, he expiated all the faults which he had not committed, but which became his own because he winked at their commission. The Queen, engrossed by pleasure, dazzling all around her by her charms, was desirous that her husband should enjoy tranquillity, that the exchequer should be full, that the court and her subjects should adore her.‡ Sometimes she

* "This resolution was carried by the single casting vote of Monsieur, who was afterwards Louis XVIII. When it was reported to Louis XVI., he observed, 'Let them add mine, I give it willingly.'"—*Labaume*. E.

† "The concessions of Necker were those of a man ignorant of the first principles of the government of mankind. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Marat, Danton, Robespierre himself, did less mischief to France. Necker was the author of all the evils which desolated France during the Revolution; all the blood that was shed rests on his head."—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon*. E.

‡ Madame le Brun, the celebrated painter, in her *Memoirs*, written by herself, draws the following picture of this princess:

"It was in the year 1779 that I painted for the first time the portrait of the Queen, then in the

concurred with the King for the purpose of effecting reforms, when the necessity for them appeared urgent. At others, on the contrary, when she conceived the supreme authority to be threatened, and her court friends despoiled, she stopped the King, removed the popular ministers, and destroyed at once the means and the hopes of improvement. She yielded more especially to the influence of a portion of the nobility who lived around the throne, fattening on favours and abuses. This court nobility was solicitous, no doubt, like the Queen herself, that the King should have wherewithal to supply a lavish profusion; and from this motive it was inimical to the parliaments when they refused taxes, but became their ally when they defended its privileges, by refusing, under specious pretexts, the territorial imposts. Amidst these contrary influences the King, not daring to face difficulties, to condemn abuses, or to suppress them authoritatively, gave way by turns to the court and to public opinion without satisfying either.

If, during the course of the eighteenth century, when the philosophers, assembled in an alley of the Tuileries, wished success to Frederick and the Americans, to Turgot and Necker—if, when they did not yet aspire to govern the state, but merely to enlighten princes, and foresaw at most the distant revolutions which the signs of disquiet and the absurdity of existing institutions fully authorized them to expect—if the king had spontaneously established some equality in the official appointments, and given some guarantees, all discontent would have been appeased for a long time, and Louis XVI. would have been as much adored as was Marcus Aurelius.* But when all the authorities had been debased by a long struggle, and all the abuses unveiled by an Assembly of Notables; when the nation, called into the quarrel, had conceived the hope and the will to be something, that will became imperative. The States-general was promised to the nation, it demanded that an early time should be fixed for their convocation; when that time was near at hand, it insisted on the preponderance in them; this was refused, but, in the doubling of the representation, it was furnished with the means of conquering that preponderance. Thus the government never yielded but partially, and when it could no longer resist; but then the strength of the nation had increased; it was aware of its power, and required all that it conceived itself capable of accomplishing. A continual resistance, irritating its ambition, must soon have the effect of rendering it insatiable. But even then, if a great minister, communicating somewhat of energy to the King, conciliating the Queen, bridling the privileged classes, had anticipated and satisfied at once the national expectations by giving of his own accord a free

flower of her youth and beauty. Marie Antoinette was tall, exquisitely well made, sufficiently plump without being too much so. Her arms were superb, her hands small, perfect in form, and her feet charming. Her gait was more graceful than that of any woman in France; she held her head very erect, with a majesty which enabled you to distinguish the sovereign amidst all her court, and yet that majesty did not in the least detract from the extreme kindness and benevolence of her look. In short, it is extremely difficult to convey to any one who has not seen the Queen any idea of all the graces and all the dignity that were combined in her. Her features were not regular; she derived from her family that long, narrow oval, peculiar to the Austrian nation. Her eyes were not large; their colour was nearly blue, and they had an intellectual and mild expression; her nose was thin and handsome, her mouth not too large, though the lips were rather thick. But the most remarkable thing about her face was the brilliancy of her complexion. I never saw any so brilliant—yes, brilliant is the word—for her skin was so transparent that it took no shade. Hence I never could render its effect so as to please myself; I lacked colours to represent that freshness, those delicate tones, which belonged exclusively to that fascinating face, and which I never observed in any other woman. As for her conversation, it would be difficult for me to describe all its grace, all its benevolence. I do not think that Queen Marie Antoinette ever missed an occasion to say an agreeable thing to those who had the honour to approach her. During the first sitting that I had of her majesty on her return from Fontainebleau, I ventured to remark to the Queen how much the erectness of her head heightened the dignity of her look. She answered, in a tone of pleasantry, 'If I were not a Queen, people would say that I have an insolent look—would they not?'" E.

* "The life of Marcus Aurelius was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature. His memory was revered by a grateful posterity, and, above a century after his death, many persons preserved his image among those of their household gods."—*Gibbon's Rome.* E.

constitution; if he had gratified the impulse to act which the nation then felt, by summoning it immediately, not to reform the state but to discuss its annual interests in a ready constituted state; perhaps the conflict would not have taken place. But it would have been absolutely necessary to meet the difficulty instead of giving way to it, and above all to sacrifice numerous pretensions. It would have required a man of a strong conviction, and possessing a resolution equal to his conviction; and this man, no doubt, bold, energetic, perhaps passionate, would have alarmed the court, which desired no such person. In order to spare at one and the same time the public opinion and the old interests, the King had recourse to half measures. He selected, as we have seen, a half-philosophic, half-energetic minister, and who possessed immense popularity, because, at that time, demi-popular intentions in an agent of power surpassed all hopes and excited the enthusiasm of a people, whom the demagogue spirit of its leaders was very soon afterwards incapable of satisfying.

Men's minds were in a universal ferment. Assemblies were formed throughout France, like those of England, and called by the same name, that of clubs. Nothing was discussed in them but the abuses to be abolished, the reforms to be effected, and the constitution to be established. A rigid inquiry into the state of the country produced irritation. Its state, political and economical, was in truth intolerable. There was nothing but privileges belonging to individuals, classes, towns, provinces, and to trades themselves; nothing but shackles upon the industry and genius of man. Civil, ecclesiastical, and military dignities were exclusively reserved for certain classes, and in those classes for certain individuals. A man could not embrace a profession unless upon certain titles and certain pecuniary conditions. The towns possessed their privileges for the apportioning, the assessment, and the levying of taxes, and for the choice of magistrates. The very pensions converted by the survivors into family properties, scarcely allowed the monarch to show any preferences. He had nothing left at his disposal but a few pecuniary gifts, and he had even been obliged to quarrel with the Duke de Coigny about the abolition of a useless place.* All was therefore monopolized by a few hands, and the burdens bore upon a single class. The nobility and the clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the landed property. The other third, belonging to the people, paid taxes to the king, a multitude of feudal dues to the nobility, the tithe to the clergy, and was, moreover, liable to the devastations of noble sportsmen and their game. The taxes on consumption weighed heavily on the great mass, and consequently on the people. The mode in which they were levied was vexatious: the gentry might be in arrear with impunity; the people, on the other hand, ill-treated and imprisoned, were doomed to suffer in body, in default of goods. It subsisted therefore by the sweats of the brow; it defended with its blood the upper classes of society, without being able to subsist itself. The *bourgeoisie*, industrious, enlightened, less miserable certainly than the peasantry, but enriching the kingdom by its industry, reflecting lustre upon it by its talents, obtained none of the advantages to which it had a right. Justice administered in some of the provinces by the gentry, in the royal jurisdictions by magistrates who purchased their offices, was slow, frequently partial, always ruinous, and particularly atrocious in criminal cases. Individual liberty was violated by *lettres de cachet*, and the liberty of the press by the royal censors. Lastly, the state, ill-defended abroad, betrayed by the mistresses of Louis XV., compromised by the weakness of the ministers of Louis XVI., had recently been dishonoured in Europe by the disgraceful sacrifice of Holland and Poland.

The popular masses began already to put themselves in motion; disturbances had several times broken out during the struggle of the parliaments, and especially on the retirement of the Archbishop of Toulouse. That minister had been burned in effigy; the armed force had been insulted and even attacked; the magistracy had been backward in prosecuting the rioters, who supported their cause. The public mind, agitated by these events, full of the confused idea of a speedy revolution, was in a continual ferment. The parliaments and the higher orders already saw the

* See Bouillé's *Mémoires*.

arms which they had given to the people directed against themselves. In Bretagne, the nobility had opposed the doubling of the third estate, and had refused to elect deputies; the *bourgeoisie*, who had so powerfully served against the court, then turned against them, and sanguinary conflicts ensued. The court, conceiving itself not sufficiently revenged on the Breton nobility,* refused them its aid, and, on the contrary, imprisoned some of their number who came to Paris for the purpose of remonstrating.

The elements themselves seemed to be let loose. A hailstorm, on the 13th of July, had made havoc among the crops, and was likely to increase the difficulty of supplying Paris, especially amidst the troubles that were preparing. All the activity of commerce was scarcely sufficient to collect the quantity of provisions necessary for that great capital; and it might naturally be expected that it would soon be very difficult to subsist it, when confidence should be shaken and the communications interrupted by political disturbances. Ever since the cruel winter which had succeeded the disasters of Louis XIV., and immortalized the charity of Fenelon, so severe a season had not been known as that of 1788–1789. The beneficence which was then displayed in the most affecting manner was not sufficient to alleviate the wretchedness of the people. A great number of vagabonds, without profession and without resources, thronged from all parts of France, and paraded their indigence and their nakedness from Versailles to Paris. At the slightest rumour, they eagerly came forward to profit by chances, which are always favourable to those who have everything to gain, even to the subsistence for the passing day.†

Thus everything concurred to produce a revolution. An entire century had contributed to unveil abuses and to carry them to excess; two years to stir up insurrection and to exasperate the popular masses by making them interfere in the quarrel of the privileged orders. In short, natural disasters, and a fortuitous concurrence of various circumstances, brought on the catastrophe, the epoch of which might have been deferred, but which was sure to happen sooner or later.

It was amidst these circumstances that the elections took place. They were tumultuous in some provinces, active everywhere, and very quiet in Paris, where great unanimity prevailed. Lists were distributed, and people strove to promote concord and a good understanding. Tradesmen, lawyers, literary men, astonished to find themselves assembled together for the first time, raised themselves up by degrees to liberty. In Paris, they reappointed themselves the *bureaux* formed by the King, and, without changing the persons, asserted their power by confirming them. The learned Bailly quitted his retreat at Chaillot; a stranger to intrigues, and deeply impressed with his noble mission, he proceeded alone and on foot to the assembly. He paused by the way on the terrace of the Feuillans. A young man, whom he did not know, respectfully accosted him. "You will be returned," said he. "I cannot tell," replied Bailly; "that honour ought neither to be solicited nor refused." The modest academician resumed his walk, repaired to the assembly, and was chosen successively elector and deputy.

The election of the Count de Mirabeau was stormy; rejected by the nobility, supported by the *tiers-état*, he agitated Provence, his native country, and it was not long before he showed himself at Versailles.

The court had no wish to influence the elections. It was not displeased to see a great number of *curés* returned, reckoning upon their opposition to the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and at the same time upon their respect for the throne. It is

* See Bouillé's *Mémoires*.

† "The charity of Fenelon, which immortalized the disastrous epoch of Louis XIV., was now equalled by the humane beneficence of the clergy of Paris; but all their efforts could not keep pace with the immense mass of indigence, which was swelled by the confluence of dissolute and abandoned characters from every part of France. These wretches assembled round the throne, like the sea-birds round the wreck, which are the harbingers of death to the sinking mariner, and already appeared in fearful numbers in the streets on occasion of the slightest tumult. They were all in a state of destitution, and for the most part owed their life to the charity of the ecclesiastics, whom they afterwards massacred in cold blood in the prison of Carmes."—*Alison's French Revolution*. E.

true that it did not foresee all that was to happen; and in the deputies of the *tiers* it perceived rather adversaries to the nobility than to itself. The Duke of Orleans was accused of taking active steps to procure the nomination of himself and his partisans. Already numbered among the enemies of the court, the ally of the parliaments, and called for as leader, with or without his consent, by the popular party, he was accused of various underhand practices. A deplorable scene took place in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and, as people are fond of giving an author to all events, it was laid to his charge. Reveillon, a manufacturer of stained paper, who had an extensive manufactory, improving our industry and furnishing employment to three hundred workmen, was accused of an intention to reduce their wages to one-half. The populace threatened to burn his house. Means were found to disperse them, but they returned on the following day; the house was broken into, set on fire, and destroyed. Notwithstanding the threats held out on the first day by the assailants, notwithstanding the meeting agreed upon for the second, the authorities were very late before they began to act, and then they acted with extreme severity. They waited till the people had made themselves masters of the house, they then attacked them with fury, and were obliged to slaughter a great number of those ferocious and intrepid men, who afterwards showed themselves on all occasions, and received the name of *brigands*.

All the parties which were already formed accused each other; the court was reproached with its at first tardy and afterwards cruel proceedings; it was supposed that it wished to leave the people time to act that it might make an example and exercise its troops.

The money found on the destroyers of Reveillon's house, and the expressions that dropped from some of them, led to the conjecture that they were urged on by a secret hand. The enemies of the popular party accused the Duke of Orleans of a wish to try his revolutionary bands.

That prince had been endowed with excellent qualities. He had inherited immense wealth; but, addicting himself to dissolute habits, he had abused all these gifts of nature and of fortune. Without consistency of character, alternately regardless of public opinion and greedy of popularity, he was bold and ambitious one day, docile and absent on the morrow. Having quarrelled with the Queen, he had become an enemy to the court. When parties began to form themselves, he had suffered his name to be employed, and, it is said, his wealth also. Flattered with the vague prospect before him, he was active enough to draw accusation on himself, though not to insure success; and his partisans, if they entertained any serious plans, must have been driven to despair by his inconstant ambition.

The moment of the convocation at length arrived. In this common danger, the higher orders, creeping close to the court, had grouped themselves around the princes of the blood and the Queen. They strove by flattery to gain the country gentlemen, and in their absence they ridiculed their clownishness. The clergy endeavoured to gain over the plebeians of its order, and the military noblesse those belonging to the same class with itself. The parliaments, which had expected to play the principal part in the States-general, began to apprehend that their ambition had miscalculated. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, strong in the superiority of their talents, in the energetic eloquence of their speeches, encouraged by continual intercommunication, nay, spurred on by the doubts which many had conceived respecting the success of their efforts, had taken the firm resolution not to yield.

The King alone, who had not enjoyed a moment's repose since the commencement of his reign, regarded the States-general as the termination of his embarrassments. Jealous of his authority, rather for the sake of his children, to whom he deemed it his duty to transmit this patrimony intact, than for his own, he was not displeased to restore a portion of it to the nation, and to throw upon it the difficulties of the government. Accordingly, it was with joy that he made preparations for this grand assemblage. A hall had been hastily got ready; the costumes were determined upon, and an humiliating badge had been imposed on the *tiers-état*. Men are not less jealous of their dignity than of their rights: with a very just pride, the instructions forbade the deputies to condescend to any degrading ceremonial. This new

fault of the court originated, like many others, in the desire to preserve at least the symbols when the realities had ceased to exist. It could not but produce a deep irritation at a moment when, before attacking, the parties began to measure one another with their eyes.

On the 4th of May, the day of the opening, a solemn procession took place. The King, the three orders, all the great dignitaries of the state, repaired to the church of Notre-Dame. The court had displayed extraordinary magnificence. The two higher orders were splendidly dressed. Princes, dukes and peers, gentlemen, prelates, were clad in purple, and wore hats with plumes of feathers. The deputies of the *tiers-état*, covered with plain black cloaks, came next; and, notwithstanding their modest exterior, they seemed strong in their number and their prospects. It was remarked that the Duke of Orleans, placed in the rear of the nobility, chose rather to lag behind, and to mingle with the foremost deputies of the third estate.

This national, military, and religious pomp—those pious chants—those martial instruments—and, above all, the importance of the event—deeply moved all hearts. The discourse delivered by the Bishop of Nanci, full of generous sentiments, was enthusiastically applauded, notwithstanding the sacredness of the place and the presence of the King. Great assemblages elevate us. They detach us from ourselves and attach us to others. A general intoxication was diffused, and all at once many a heart felt its animosities subside, and became filled for a moment with humanity and patriotism.*

* I should not quote the following passage from the *Mémoires* of Ferrieres, if base detractors had not ventured to carp at everything in the scenes of the French revolution. The passage which I am about to extract will enable the reader to judge of the effect produced upon the least plebeian hearts by the national solemnities of this grand epoch.

"I yield to the pleasure of recording here the impression made upon me by this august and touching ceremony; I shall transcribe the account of it which I then wrote down, whilst still full of what I had felt. If this passage is not historical, it will perhaps have a stronger interest for some readers.

"The nobility in black coats, the other garments of cloth of gold, silk cloak, lace cravat, plumed hat turned up *à la Henri IV.*; the clergy in surplice, wide mantle, square cap; the bishops in their purple robes, with their rochets; the *tiers* dressed in black, with silk mantle, and cambric cravat. The King placed himself on a platform richly decorated; Monsieur, the Count d'Artois, the princes, the ministers, the great officers of the crown, were seated below the King; the Queen placed herself opposite to the King; Madame, the Countess d'Artois, the princesses, the ladies of the court, superbly dressed and covered with diamonds, composed a magnificent retinue for her. The streets were hung with tapestry belonging to the crown; the regiments of the French and Swiss guards formed a line from Notre-Dame to St. Louis; an immense concourse of people looked on, as we passed, in respectful silence; the balconies were adorned with costly stuffs, the windows filled with spectators of all ages, of both sexes, lovely women elegantly attired; every face bespoke kindly emotion, every eye sparkled with joy; clapping of hands, expressions of the warmest interest, the look that met us and that still followed after we were out of sight . . . . . rapturous, enchanting scene, to which I should vainly strive to do justice! Bands of music, placed at intervals, rent the air with melodious sounds; military marches, the rolling of drums, the clang of trumpets, the noble chants of the priests, alternately heard, without discordance, without confusion, enlivened this triumphal procession to the temple of the Almighty.

"Plunged into the most delicious ecstasy, sublime but melancholy thoughts soon presented themselves to my mind. I beheld that France, my country, supported by Religion, saying to us, Desist from your puerile quarrels; this is the decisive moment which shall either give me new life or annihilate me for ever! Love of country, thou spakest to my heart! . . . . . What! shall a handful of ambitious madmen, base intriguers, seek by tortuous ways to disunite my country?—shall they found their destructive systems on insidious advantages?—shall they say to thee, Thou hast two interests; and all thy glory and all thy power, of which thy neighbours are so jealous, shall vanish like a light smoke driven by the southern blast? No, I swear to thee, that my parched tongue shall cleave to my palate, if ever I forget thy grandeurs and thy solemnities.

"What splendour this religious display shed over that wholly human pomp! Without thee, venerable Religion, it would have been but an empty parade of pride; but thou purifiest and sanctifiest, thou heightenest grandeur itself; the kings, the mighty of the age, they too, by at least a show of reverence, pay homage to the King of kings. . . . . Yes, to God alone belong honour, empire, glory! Those sacred ceremonies, those hymns, those priests clothed in the dress of sacrifices, those perfumes, that canopy, that sun resplendent with gold and jewels. . . . . I called to mind the words of the prophet: 'Daughters of Jerusalem, your King cometh; put on your

The opening of the States-general took place on the following day, May 5, 1789. The King was seated on an elevated throne, the Queen beside him, the court in stalls, the two higher orders on both sides, the *tiers-état* at the farther end of the hall, and on the lower seats. A movement arose at the sight of the Count de Mirabeau; but his look, his step, awed the assembly.* The *tiers-état* remained covered like the other orders, notwithstanding the established custom. The King delivered an address, in which he recommended disinterestedness to some, prudence to others, and professed to all his love for his people. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, then spoke, and was followed by Necker, who read a memorial on the state of the kingdom, in which he treated at general length on the finances, admitted a deficit of fifty-six millions, and wearied by his prolixity those whom he did not offend by his lessons.

On the next day, the deputies of each order were directed to the place allotted to them. Besides the common hall, which was sufficiently spacious to hold the three orders, united, two other halls had been erected for the nobility and the clergy.

nuptial robes, and hasten to meet him.' Tears of joy trickled from my eyes. My God, my country, my fellow-citizens, had become identified with myself.

"On their arrival at St. Louis, the three orders seated themselves on benches placed in the nave. The King and Queen took their places beneath a canopy of purple velvet, sprinkled with golden *fleurs-de-lis*; the princes, the princesses, the great officers of the crown, and the ladies of the palace, occupied the space reserved for their majesties. The host was carried to the altar to the sound of the most impressive music. It was an *O salutaris Hostia!* This natural, but true and melodious vocal performance, unencumbered by the din of instruments which drown the expression; this mass of voices, rising in well-regulated accord to heaven, convinced me that the simple is always beautiful, always grand, always sublime. . . . . Men are idiots, in their vain wisdom, to treat as puerile the worship that is paid to the Almighty. With what indifference do they view that moral chain which binds man to God, which renders him visible to the eye, sensible to the touch! . . . M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nanci, delivered the discourse. Religion constitutes the strength of empires; religion constitutes the prosperity of nations. This truth, which no wise man ever doubted for a single moment, was not the important question to be treated in the august assembly; the place, the circumstance, opened a wider field: the Bishop of Nanci durst not, or could not, traverse it.

"On the following day, the deputies met in the hall of the Menus. The assembly was neither less imposing, nor the sight less magnificent, than the preceding day."—*Mémoires de Marquis de Ferrieres*, tom. i.

* "Excluded from the rank to which his birth entitled him, Mirabeau determined to recover it at any price. He vowed vengeance against his enemies, and with this bitterness of feeling did Mirabeau take his seat in the assembly of the States-general. As he entered the hall, he cast a threatening glance on the ranks which he was not allowed to approach. A bitter smile played on his lips, which were habitually contracted by an ironical and scornful expression. He proceeded across the hall, and seated himself on those benches from which he was to hurl the thunderbolts which shook the throne. A gentleman strongly attached to the court, but likewise a friend of Mirabeau, who had observed the rancorous look which he darted round him when he took his seat, entered into conversation with him, and pointed out to him that his peculiar position in the world closed against him the door of every saloon in Paris. 'Consider,' said he, 'that society, when once wounded, is not easily conciliated. If you wish to be pardoned, you must ask pardon.' Mirabeau listened with impatience, but when his friend used the word 'pardon,' he could contain himself no longer, but started up and stamped with violence on the floor. His bushy hair seemed to stand on end, his little piercing eyes flashed fire, and his lips turned pale and quivered. This was always the way with Mirabeau when he was strongly excited. 'I am come hither,' cried he, in a voice of thunder, 'to be asked, not to ask pardon.'"—*Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

"Hardly any of the deputies had hitherto acquired great popular reputation. One alone attracted general attention. Born of noble parents, he had warmly espoused the popular side, without losing the pride of aristocratic connexion. His talents universally known, and his integrity generally suspected, rendered him the object of painful anxiety; harsh and disagreeable features, a profusion of black hair, and a commanding air, attracted the curiosity even of those who were unacquainted with his reputation. His name was MIRABEAU, future leader of the assembly! Two ladies of rank, from a gallery, with very different feelings, beheld the spectacle. The one was Madame de Montmorin, wife of the minister of foreign affairs; the other, the illustrious daughter of M. Necker, Madame de Staël. The latter exulted in the boundless prospect of national felicity which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. 'You are wrong to rejoice,' said Madame de Montmorin; 'this event forebodes much misery to France and to ourselves.' Her presentiment turned out too well founded; she herself perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; another was drowned; her husband was massacred in the prisons on September 2d; her eldest daughter was cut off in gaol; her youngest died of a broken heart before she had attained the age of thirty years."—*Alison's French Revolution.* E.

The common hall was assigned to the *tiers;* and it thus had the advantage, whilst in its own place of meeting, of being in that of the States. The first business was the verification of the powers of the members. It became a question whether this should take place in common or by separate orders. The deputies of the *tiers*, alleging that it was of importance to each portion of the States-general to satisfy itself of the legitimacy of the two others, insisted on the verification in common. The nobility and the clergy, desirous of keeping up the division of orders, maintained that each ought to constitute itself apart. This question had nothing to do with that of individual votes, for they might verify their powers in common and afterwards vote separately, but it nearly resembled it; and on the very first day it produced a division, which it was easy to foresee, and which might have been as easily prevented by putting an end to the dispute beforehand. But the court never had the courage either to deny or to grant what was just, and, besides, it hoped to reign by dividing.

The deputies of the *tiers-état* remained assembled in the general hall, abstaining from taking any measure, and waiting, as they said, to be joined by their colleagues. The nobility and the clergy, retiring to their respective halls, proceeded to deliberate on the verification. The clergy voted the separate verification by a majority of 133 to 114, and the nobility by a majority of 188 to 114. The *tiers-état*, persisting in its inaction, pursued, on the morrow, the same course as on the preceding day. It made a point of avoiding any measure which could cause it to be considered as constituting a separate order. For this reason, in sending a deputation of its members to the other two chambers, it abstained from giving them any express mission. These members were sent to the nobility and clergy to inform them that the *tiers-état* was waiting for them in the common hall. The nobility were not sitting at the moment; the clergy were assembled and offered to appoint commissioners to settle the differences that had arisen. They actually appointed them, and invited the nobility to do the same. In this contest the clergy manifested a very different spirit from the nobility. Among all the privileged classes it had suffered most from the attacks of the eighteenth century. Its political existence had been disputed; it was divided, owing to the great number of its *curés;* besides, its professional character was that of moderation and the spirit of peace. Accordingly, as we have just seen, it offered a sort of mediation.

The nobility, on the contrary, declined it, by refusing to appoint commissioners. Less prudent than the clergy, more confident in its rights, conceiving itself not bound to moderation but to valour, it vented itself in refusals and threats. These men, who never excused any passion in others, gave the reins to all their own passions, and, like all assemblies, they yielded to the domination of the most violent spirits. Casalès and d'Espréménil, recently ennobled, made the most indiscreet motions, and, after preparing them in a private meeting, procured their adoption in general assembly. In vain did a minority, composed of men more prudent or more prudently ambitious, strive to enlighten these nobles. They would not listen to anything. They talked of fighting and dying, and they added, for the laws and justice. The *tiers-état*, immoveable, endured with patience every insult. Though irritated, it was silent, conducted itself with the prudence and firmness of all powers which are commencing their career, and received the applause of the tribunes, originally destined for the court, but soon taken possession of by the public.

Several days had already elapsed; the clergy had laid snares for the *tiers-état* by inciting it to certain acts which would have given it the character of a constituted order. It had, however, constantly refused to comply; and, taking only indispensable measures of internal police, it had confined itself to the election of a dean and assistants for the purpose of collecting opinions. It refused to open the letters addressed to it, and it declared that it formed not an order, but *a meeting of citizens assembled by a legitimate authority to wait for other citizens.*

The nobility, after refusing to appoint conciliatory commissioners, at length consented to send deputies to arrange matters with the other orders. But their mission was rendered useless, since it charged them at the same time to declare that it persisted in its decision of the 6th of May, which enjoined the separate verification.

The clergy, on the contrary, adhering to its part, had suspended the verification which it had at first commenced in its own chamber, and declared itself not constituted, awaiting the conferences of the conciliatory commissioners. The conferences were opened; the clergy was silent; the deputies of the commons argued their point with calmness, those of the nobility with warmth. Both parties returned soured by the dispute; and the *tiers-état*, determined not to give way, was doubtless not displeased to learn that all compromise was impossible. The nobility was assured every day by its commissioners that they had the advantage, and this served to heighten its exaltation. By a transient gleam of prudence, the first two orders declared that they renounced their pecuniary privileges. The *tiers-état* accepted the concession, but persisted in its refusal to proceed to business, still requiring the common verification.

The conferences yet continued, when it was at length proposed, by way of accommodating the matter, that the powers should be verified by commissioners chosen from the three orders. The deputies of the nobility declared in its name its dissent from this arrangement, and retired without appointing any new conference. Thus the negociation was broken off. The same day the nobility passed a resolution by which it declared anew that for this session the verification should take place separately, and that it should be left for the States to determine upon some other mode in future.

This resolution was communicated to the commons on the 27th of May. They had been assembled ever since the 5th; twenty-two days had consequently elapsed during which nothing had been done. It was high time to come to a determination. Mirabeau, who gave the impulse to the popular party,* observed that it was

* "Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was born in 1749. Youthful impetuosity and ungoverned passion made the early part of his life a scene of disorder and misery. After having been some time in the army, he married Mademoiselle de Marignane, a rich heiress in the city of Aix; but the union was not fortunate, and his extravagant expenses deranging his affairs, he contracted debts to the amount of 300,000 livres, in consequence of which his father obtained from the Châtelet an act of lunacy against him. Enraged at this he went to settle at Manosque; whence he was, on account of a private quarrel, some time afterwards removed, and shut up in the castle of If; he was then conveyed to that of Joux, in Franche Comté, and obtained permission to go occasionally to Pontarlier, where he met Sophia de Ruffey, Marchioness of Monmir, the wife of a president in the parliament of Besançon. Her wit and beauty inspired Mirabeau with a most violent passion, and he soon escaped to Holland with her, but was for this outrage condemned to lose his head, and would probably have ended his days far from his country, had not an agent of police seized him in 1777, and carried him to the castle of Vincennes, where he remained till December, 1780, when he recovered his liberty. The French revolution soon presented a vast field for his activity; and, being rejected at the time of the elections by the nobility of Provence, he hired a warehouse, put up this inscription, "Mirabeau, woollen-draper," and was elected deputy from the *tiers-état* of Aix; from that time the court of Versailles, to whom he was beginning to be formidable, called him the Plebeian Count. On the day when the States opened, he looked at the monarch, who was covered with the crown jewels, and said to those near him, "Behold the victim already adorned!" He soon took possession of the tribune, and there discussed the most important matters in the organization of society. He had never at that time conceived the possibility of establishing a democracy in so immense a state as France. His motive for seeking popularity was solely that he might regulate a court which he caused to tremble, but the court committed the fault of not seeking to seduce his ambition. He then connected himself with the Duke of Orleans, from whom he obtained certain sums that he wanted; but soon perceiving that it was impossible to make anything of such a clod, he broke off the intimacy in October, 1789. If he was not one of the principal causes of the events which took place on the 5th and 6th of that month, the words he made use of before and during that time, give reason to suppose he was no stranger to them. The next day he made the King new overtures, and repeated them shortly after, but they were invariably rejected; and he then considered how he should, by new blows, compel the sovereign and his council to have recourse to him. Not, however, till the end of the session did this take place; and then, by the intervention of Madame de Mercy and M. de Montmorin, his debts were paid, and a pension was granted him. From that time he devoted himself to strengthening the monarchy, and addressed to the King a statement on the causes of the revolution, and the methods of putting a stop to it. It may be doubted whether he could have succeeded in this undertaking; but it is now certain, that, at the moment of his sudden death, he was busied in a project for dissolving an assembly which he could no longer direct. On the 16th of January, 1791, he was appointed a member of the department of Paris, and on the 31st president of the National Assembly. This being the period of his closest connexion with the court, he wished as president

time to decide upon something, and to commence their labours for the public welfare, which had been too long delayed. He proposed, therefore, in consequence of the resolution passed by the nobility, to send a message to the clergy, in order to obtain an immediate explanation from it, and to ascertain whether it would or would not meet the commons. The proposal was immediately adopted. Target, the deputy, proceeded, at the head of a numerous deputation, to the hall of the clergy. "The gentlemen of the commons," said he, "invite the gentlemen of the clergy, IN THE NAME OF THE GOD OF PEACE, and for the national interest, to meet them in the hall of the assembly, to consult upon the means of affecting the concord so necessary at this moment for the public welfare." The clergy was struck with these solemn words. A great number of its members answered them with acclamations, and would have instantly complied with this invitation, had they not been prevented; and the reply given to the deputies of the commons was, that it would deliberate on the subject. On the return of the deputation, the inexorable *tiers-état* determined to await, without breaking up, the answer of the clergy. As this answer did not arrive, a message was sent that the commons were waiting for it. The clergy complained of being hurried, and requested to be allowed the necessary time. The *tiers-état* replied with moderation that the clergy might take its own time, and that the commons would wait, if requisite, the whole day and the whole night.

The situation was difficult. The clergy knew that after its answer the commons would fall to work, and adopt a decisive course. It wished to temporize, in order to concert with the court. It required time till the following day, which was granted with regret. Next day, the King resolved, in accordance with the wishes of the higher orders, to interfere. At this moment, all the animosities between the court and the higher orders began to be forgotten, at the sight of that popular power which rose with such rapidity. The King at length appeared, and invited the three orders to resume their conferences, in the presence of his keeper of the seals. The *tiers-état*, notwithstanding all that has been said of its projects, upon judgments formed after the events, did not extend its wishes beyond moderate monarchy. Knowing the intentions of Louis XVI., it was full of respect for him: and, unwilling to injure its cause by any wrong step, it replied that, out of defer-

to acquire new celebrity, and show himself capable of directing the assembly; a design which he executed with a degree of address admired even by his enemies. On the 28th of March he was taken ill, and died on the 2d of April, at half-past eight in the morning, aged forty-two. So short an illness excited a suspicion at first that he had been poisoned, and all parties mutually accused each other of the crime; but when his body was opened, there appeared, as the physicians asserted, no marks of violence. When on his death-bed, he said openly to his friends, "I shall carry the monarchy with me, and a few factious spirits will share what is left." At the moment of his death he retained all his fortitude and self-possession; on the very morning, he wrote these words: "It is not so difficult to die;" and at the instant when his eyes were closing, he wrote, "to sleep." His loss seemed to be considered as a public calamity, and it is remarkable that all parties, believing him to be in their interests, joined in regretting him. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp; all the theatres were shut; the deputies, the ministers, the members of all the authoritative assemblies, formed a procession which extended above a league, and which was four hours marching; and his body was placed in the Pantheon beside that of Descartes. In November, 1793, his ashes were, by order of the Convention, removed thence, and scattered abroad by the people, who at the same time burned his bust in the Place de Grève, as an enemy to the republic, and one who had corresponded with the royal family. Thus did Mirabeau verify what he had himself said, 'that the Capitol was close to the Tarpeian rock, and that the same people who flattered him would have had equal pleasure in seeing him hanged.' Mirabeau was of middle stature; his face was disfigured by the marks of the small-pox; and the enormous quantity of hair on his head gave him some resemblance to a lion. He was of a lofty character, and had talents which were extraordinary, and some which were sublime; his felicity of diction was unrivalled, and his knowledge of the human heart profound; but he was essentially a despot, and, had he governed an empire, he would have surpassed Richelieu in pride, and Mazarin in policy. Naturally violent, the least resistance inflamed him; when he appeared most irritated, his expression had most eloquence; and being a consummate actor, his voice and gestures lent a new interest to all he said. His chief passion was pride; and though his love of intrigue was unbounded, it can be ascribed only to his pecuniary necessities. In the last year of his life he paid immense debts, bought estates, furniture, the valuable library of Buffon, and lived in a splendid style."—From the article "MIRABEAU," in the *Biographie Moderne*. E.

ence to the King, it consented to renew the conferences, though, in consequence of the declaration of the nobility, it could not but consider them as useless. To this reply it annexed an address, which it charged its dean to deliver to the prince. This dean was Bailly, a simple and virtuous man, an illustrious and modest cultivator of the sciences, who had been suddenly transported from the quiet studies of his closet into the midst of civil broils. Elected to the presidency over a great assembly, he had been alarmed at his new office, had deemed himself unworthy to fill it, and undertaken it solely from a sense of duty. But, raised all at once to liberty, he found within him an unexpected presence of mind and firmness. Amid so many conflicts, he caused the majesty of the assembly to be respected and represented it with all the dignity of virtue and of reason.

Bailly had the greatest difficulty to penetrate to the King. As he insisted on being introduced, the courtiers reported that he had not even paid respect to the grief of the monarch, afflicted by the death of the dauphin. He was at length presented, contrived to avoid every humiliating ceremonial, and displayed equal firmness and respect. The King received him graciously, but without entering into any explanation of his intentions.

The government, having decided on making some sacrifices to obtain money, designed, by opposing the orders, to become their umpire, to wrest from the nobility its pecuniary privileges with the assistance of the *tiers-état*, and to check the ambition of the latter by means of the nobility. As for the nobility, having no need to concern itself about the embarrassments of the administration, caring only for the sacrifices which were likely to be wrung from it, it hoped to bring about a dissolution of the States-general, and thus to frustrate the object of their convocation. The commons, whom the court and the higher orders would not recognise by that title, were incessantly acquiring fresh strength, and, being resolved to brave all dangers, were anxious not to let slip an opportunity which might never recur.

The conferences demanded by the King took place. The commissioners of the nobility raised all sorts of difficulties about the title of commons which the *tiers-état* had assumed, and about the form and signature of the minutes (*procès-verbal*). At length they entered upon discussion, and they were almost reduced to silence by the reasons urged against them, when Necker, in the name of the King, proposed a new mode of conciliation. Each order was to examine the powers separately, and to communicate them to the others. In case difficulties should arise, commissioners should report upon them to each chamber, and if the decision of the different orders disagreed, the King was to judge definitively. Thus the court would settle the dispute to its own advantage. The conferences were immediately suspended to obtain the adhesion of the orders. The clergy accepted the plan purely and simply. The nobility at first received it favourably; but, urged by its usual instigators, it rejected the advice of its most discreet members, and modified the project of conciliation. From that day must be dated all its disasters.

The commons, apprized of this resolution, waited till it should be communicated to them in order to explain themselves in their turn; but the clergy, with its ordinary cunning, desirous of bringing them into bad odour with the nation, sent them a deputation to invite them to take into consideration, along with it, the distress of the people which was daily increasing, that they might lose no time in providing together against the dearth and high price of provisions. The commons, who would have exposed themselves to the popular odium if they had appeared indifferent to such a proposal, opposed craft with craft, and replied that, deeply impressed with the same duties, they awaited the clergy in the great hall, in order to deliberate with it on this important subject. The nobility then arrived, and solemnly communicated its resolution to the commons. It adopted, it said, the plan of conciliation, persisting, however, in the separate verification, and referring to the united orders and to the supreme jurisdiction of the King such difficulties only as might arise respecting the entire deputations of a whole province.

This resolution put an end to all the embarrassments of the commons. Obliged either to yield or to declare war single-handed against the higher orders and the throne, if the plan of conciliation had been adopted, they were relieved from the necessity of explanation, as the plan had been accepted only with important alterations. The moment was decisive. To give way on the separate verification was not, indeed, giving way on the vote by order; but to betray weakness once was to be weak for ever. They must submit to act nearly the part of a cipher, give money to power, be content with the abolition of a few abuses, when they saw the possibility of regenerating the state, or take a strong resolution and seize by force a portion of the legislative power. This was the first revolutionary act, but the assembly did not hesitate. In consequence, all the minutes (*procès-verbaux*) being signed and the conferences finished, Mirabeau rose: "Any plan of conciliation rejected by one party," said he, "can no longer be examined by the other. A month is past; it is time to take a decisive step: a deputy of Paris has an important motion to make—let us hear him." Mirabeau, having opened the deliberation by his audacity, introduced to the tribune Sieyes, a man of a comprehensive mind, systematic and rigorous in his deductions. Sieyes in a few words recapitulated and explained the motives of the conduct of the commons. They had waited and had acceded to all the conciliations proposed; their long condescension was unavailing; they could delay no longer without failing in their duty; they ought consequently to send a last invitation to the other two orders, to join them for the purpose of commencing the verification. This proposition, based on sufficient motives,* was received with enthusiasm; it was even in contemplation to summon

* I think it right to state here the motives on which the assembly of the commons founded the resolution which it was about to take. This first act, which commences the revolution, being of high importance, it is essential to justify the necessity for it, and I think this cannot be done better than by the considerations which preceded the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commons. These considerations, as well as the *arrêté* itself, belong to the Abbé Sieyes.

"The assembly of the commons, deliberating on the overture of conciliation proposed by the commissioners of the King, has deemed it incumbent on it to take at the same time into consideration the resolution (*arrêté*) which the nobility have hastened to adopt respecting the same overture.

"It has seen that the nobility, notwithstanding the acquiescence at first professed, soon introduced a modification which retracts it almost entirely, and that consequently their resolution (*arrêté*) on this subject cannot be considered as any other than a positive refusal.

"From this consideration, and because the nobility have not desisted from their preceding deliberations, in opposition to every plan of reunion, the deputies of the commons conceive that it has become absolutely useless to bestow any further attention on an expedient which can no longer be called conciliatory, since it has been rejected by one of the parties to be conciliated.

"In this state of things, which replaces the deputies of the commons in their original position, the assembly judges that it can no longer wait inactive for the privileged classes without sinning against the nation, which has doubtless a right to require a better use of its time.

"It is of opinion that it is an urgent duty for the representatives of the nation, to whatever class of citizens they belong, to form themselves without further delay into an active assembly, capable of commencing and fulfilling the object of their mission.

"The assembly directs the commissioners who attended the various conferences, called conciliatory, to draw up a report of the long and vain efforts of the deputies of the commons to bring back the classes of the privileged to true principles; it takes upon itself the exposition of the motives which oblige it to pass from a state of expectation to a state of action; finally, it resolves that this report and these motives shall be printed at the head of the present deliberation.

"But, since it is not possible to form themselves into an active assembly, without previously recognising those who have a right to compose it,—that is to say, those who are qualified to vote as representatives of the nation,—the same deputies of the commons deem it their duty to make a last trial with the clergy and the nobility, who claim the same quality, but have nevertheless refused up to the present moment to make themselves recognised.

"Moreover, the assembly, having an interest in certifying the refusal of these two classes of deputies, in case they should persist in their determination to remain unknown, deems it indispensable to send a last invitation, which shall be conveyed to them by deputies charged to read it before them, and to leave them a copy of it in the following terms:

"'Gentlemen, we are commissioned by the deputies of the commons of France to apprize you that they can no longer delay the fulfilment of the obligation imposed on all the representatives of the nation. It is assuredly time that those who claim this quality should make themselves known by a common verification of their powers, and begin at length to attend to the national

the two orders to meet within an hour. The period, however, was prorogued. The following day, Thursday, being devoted to religious solemnities, it was postponed till Friday. On Friday, the last invitation was communicated. The two orders replied that they would consider of it, and the King that he would make known his intentions. The call of the *baillages* began: on the first day, three *curés* attended and were hailed with applause; on the second, six arrived; and on the third and fourth ten, among whom was the Abbé Gregoire.

During the call of the *baillages* and the verification of the powers, a serious dispute arose concerning the title which the assembly was to assume. Mirabeau proposed that of *Representatives of the French People;* Mounier that of *Deliberative Majority in the Absence of the Minority;* Legrand that of *National Assembly.* This last was adopted, after a very long discussion, which lasted till the night of the 16th of June. It was one o'clock in the morning, and it became a question whether the assembly should constitute itself before it broke up, or should defer that business till the following day. One portion of the deputies wished that not a moment should be lost, that they might acquire a legal character which should command the respect of the court. A small number, wishing to impede the operations of the assembly, became extremely violent and uttered furious cries. The two parties, ranged on the two sides of a long table, reciprocally threatened each other. Bailly, placed at the centre, was called upon by the one to adjourn the assembly, by the other to put the motion for constituting themselves to the vote. Unshaken amidst shouts and abuse, he continued for more than an hour motionless and silent. The weather was tempestuous; the wind blew with violence into the hall, and added to the tumult. At length the brawlers withdrew. Bailly, then addressing the assembly, which had recovered its tranquillity on the retirement of those by whom it had been disturbed, recommended it to defer till daylight the important act which was proposed. His advice was adopted, and the assembly broke up applauding his firmness and prudence.

Accordingly, on the 17th, the proposition was taken into consideration, and, by a majority of 491 votes against 90, the commons constituted themselves the National Assembly. Sieyes, again charged to report the motives of this determination, did it with his accustomed precision.

"The assembly, deliberating after the verification of the powers, ascertains that it is already composed of representatives sent directly by ninety-six hundredths, at least, of the nation. Such a mass of deputation could not remain inactive on account of the deputies of certain *baillages*, or of certain classes of citizens; for the absent, *who have been called*, cannot prevent the present from exercising the plenitude of their rights, especially when the exercise of those rights is an urgent, an imperative, duty.

"Moreover, as it belongs only to the verified representatives to concur in the national will, and as all the verified representatives are to be admitted into this assembly, it is further indispensable to conclude that it belongs to it, and to it alone, to interpret and to represent the general will of the nation.

"There cannot exist any *veto*, any negative power, between the throne and the assembly.

"The assembly therefore declares that the general labour of the national restoration can and ought to be begun by the deputies present, and that they ought to prosecute it without interruption and without impediment.

"The denomination of National Assembly is the only one suitable to the assembly

interest, which alone, and to the exclusion of all private interests, presents itself as the grand aim to which all the deputies ought to tend by one general effort. In consequence, and from the necessity which the representatives of the nation are under to proceed to business, the deputies of the commons entreat you anew, gentlemen, and their duty enjoins them to address to you, as well individually as collectively, a last summons to come to the hall of the States, to attend, concur in and submit, like themselves, to the common verification of powers. We are at the same time directed to inform you, that the general call of all the *baillages* convoked will take place in an hour, that the assembly will immediately proceed to the verification, and that such as do not appear will be declared defaulters.'"

in the present state of things, as well because the members who compose it are the only representatives legitimately and publicly known and verified, as because they are sent by nearly the whole of the nation ; and, lastly, because, the representation being one and indivisible, none of the deputies, for whatever order or class he has been elected, has a right to exercise those functions separately from this assembly.

" The assembly will never relinquish the hope of collecting in its bosom all the deputies that are now absent; it will not cease to call them to fulfil the obligation imposed upon them to concur in the holding of the States-general. At whatever moment the absent deputies present themselves during the session that is about to be opened, it declares beforehand, that it will be ready to receive them and to share with them, after the verification of their powers, the series of important labours which are to accomplish the regeneration of France."

Immediately after passing this resolution (*arrêté*), the assembly, desiring at once to perform an act of its power and to prove that it had no intention to impede the course of the administration, legalized the levy of the taxes, though imposed without the national consent. With a presentiment of its separation, it added that they should cease to be levied from the day on which it should be broken up ; foreseeing, moreover, a bankruptcy, the expedient left to power for putting an end to the financial embarrassments and dispensing with the national concurrence, it satisfied prudence and honour by placing the creditors of the state under the safeguard of French integrity. Lastly, it announced that it should immediately direct its attention to the causes of the dearth and of the public distress.

These measures, which displayed equal courage and ability, produced a deep impression. The court and the higher orders were alarmed at such courage and energy. Meanwhile, the clergy was tumultuously deliberating whether it should join the commons. The multitude awaited outside the hall the result of its deliberation ; the *curés* at length carried the point, and it was learnt that the union had been voted by a majority of 149 votes to 115. Those who had voted for the junction were received with transports of applause ; the others were abused and insulted by the populace.

This moment was destined to bring about a reconciliation between the court and the aristocracy. The danger was equal for both. The last revolution was as prejudicial to the King as to the two higher orders themselves, whom the commons declared that they could dispense with. The aristocracy immediately threw itself at the feet of the King. The Duke of Luxembourg, the Cardinal de Larochefoucauld, the Archbishop of Paris, implored him to repress the audacity of the *tiers-état*, and to support their rights, which were attacked. The parliament proposed to him to do without the States, promising to assent to all the taxes. The King was surrounded by the princes and the Queen ; this was more than was requisite for his weakness : they hurried him off to Marly in order to extort from him a vigorous measure.

Necker, the minister, attached to the popular cause, confined himself to useless remonstrances, which the King thought just when his mind was left free, but the effect of which the court soon took good care to destroy. As soon as he perceived the necessity for the interference of the royal authority, he formed a plan which, to his courage, appeared very bold. He proposed that the monarch, in a royal sitting, should command the union of the orders, but only for measures of general interest ; that he should assume to himself the sanction of all resolutions adopted by the States-general ; that he should condemn beforehand every institution hostile to moderate monarchy, such as that of a single assembly ; lastly, that he should promise the abolition of privileges, the equal admission of all Frenchmen to civil and military appointments, &c. As Necker had not had the energy to outstrip time for such a plan, so likewise he had not sufficient to insure its execution.

The council had followed the King to Marly. There Necker's plan, at first approved, was subjected to discussion ; all at once a note was delivered to the King ; the council was suspended, resumed, and adjourned till the following day, in spite of the necessity for the utmost despatch. On the morrow, fresh members

were added to the council; the King's brothers were of the number. Necker's plan was modified; he resisted, made some concessions, but finding himself vanquished, returned to Versailles. A page came three times bringing him notes containing new modifications; his plan was wholly disfigured, and the royal sitting was fixed for the 22d of June.

It was as yet but the 20th, and already the hall of the States was shut up, under the pretext that preparations were requisite for the presence of the King. These preparations might have been made in half a day; but the clergy had deliberated the day before upon joining the commons, and it was desirable to prevent this junction. An order from the King instantly adjourned the sittings till the 22d. Bailly, conceiving that he was bound to obey the assembly, which, on Friday, the 19th, had adjourned to the next day, Saturday, repaired to the door of the hall. It was surrounded by soldiers of the French guard, who had orders to refuse admittance to every one. The officer on duty received Bailly with respect, and allowed him access to a court for the purpose of drawing up a protest. Some young hot-headed deputies would have forced their way through the sentries; Bailly hastened to the spot, appeased them, and took them with him, that the generous officer, who executed the orders of authority with such moderation, might not be compromised. The deputies collected tumultuously; they persisted in assembling; some proposed to hold a sitting under the very windows of the King, others proposed the Tennis-Court. To the latter they instantly repaired; the master cheerfully gave it up to them.

The hall was spacious, but the walls were dark and bare. There were no seats. An arm-chair was offered to the president, who refused it, and chose rather to stand with the assembly; a bench served for a desk; two deputies were stationed at the door as door-keepers, and were soon relieved by the keeper of the place, who came and offered his services. The populace thronged around, and the deliberation commenced. Complaints were raised on all sides against this suspension of the sittings, and various expedients were proposed to prevent it in future. The agitation increased, and the extreme parties began to work upon the imaginations of their hearers. It was proposed to repair to Paris: this motion, hailed with enthusiasm, was warmly supported: and they began to talk of proceeding thither in a body and on foot. Bailly was apprehensive that violence might be offered to the assembly by the way: dreading, morever, a rupture, he opposed the scheme. Mounier then proposed to the deputies to bind themselves by oath not to separate before the establishment of a constitution. This proposal was received with transport; the form of the oath was soon agreed upon. Bailly claimed the honour of being the first to take it, and read the form, which was as follows:— "You take a solemn oath never to separate, and to assemble wherever circumstances shall require, till the constitution of the kingdom is established and founded on a solid basis." This form, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, was heard outside the building. All lips instantly repeated the oath; all hands were outstretched towards Bailly, who, standing and motionless, received this solemn engagement to insure by laws the exercise of the national rights. The crowd instantly raised loud shouts of *Vive l'Assemblée! vive le Roi!* as if to prove, that, without any feeling of anger or animosity, but from duty, it reclaimed what was its due. The deputies then proceeded to sign the declaration which they had just made. One only, Martin d'Auch, added to his name the word opposer. A great tumult took place around him. Bailly, in order to be heard, mounted upon a table, addressed the deputy with moderation, and represented to him that he had a right to refuse his signature, but not to form an opposition. The deputy persisted; and the assembly, out of respect for its liberty, allowed the word to stand and to be inserted in the minutes.

This new act of energy excited the apprehensions of the nobility, who went on the following day to lay their lamentations at the King's feet, to excuse themselves in some measure for the restrictions which they had introduced into the plan of conciliation, and to solicit his assistance. The noble minority protested against this step, maintaining with reason that it was no longer time to solicit the royal

interference, after having so unseasonably refused it. This minority, too little attended to, was composed of forty-seven members, among whom were enlightened military officers and magistrates—the Duke de Liancourt, a generous friend to his King and to liberty; the Duke de la Rochefoucald, distinguished for inflexible virtue and great abilities; Lally-Tollendal, already celebrated for his father's misfortunes and his eloquent reclamations; Clermont-Tonnerre, remarkable for his eloquence; the brothers Lameth, young colonels, known for their intelligence and their bravery; Duport, already noticed for his extraordinary capacity and firmness of character; and lastly, the Marquis de La Fayette, the defender of American freedom, and combining with French vivacity the perseverance and the simplicity of Washington.

Intrigues retarded all the operations of the court. The sitting, at first fixed for Monday the 22d, was postponed till the 23d. A note written very late to Bailly, and at the termination of the great council, acquainted him with this postponement, and proved the agitation which pervaded all minds. Necker had resolved not to attend the sitting, that he might not sanction by his presence plans which he disapproved.

Petty means, the ordinary resource of a feeble authority, were employed to prevent the meeting of Monday the 22d. The princes hired the Tennis-Court for the purpose of playing on that day. The Assembly repaired to the church of St. Louis, where it received the majority of the clergy, with the Archbishop of Vienne at its head. This junction, marked by the utmost dignity, excited the greatest joy. The clergy came, it was said, to submit to the common verification.

The following day, the 23d, was that fixed for the royal sitting. The deputies of the commons were to enter by a side-door, a different one from that reserved for the nobility and clergy. If violence could not be employed, they were not spared humiliations. They waited a long time exposed to the rain: the president was obliged to knock at the door; it was not opened. He knocked repeatedly, and was told that it was not yet time. The deputies were about to retire, when Bailly again knocked. The door was at length opened; the deputies entered, and found the two higher orders in possession of their seats, which they had been desirous to secure by occupying them beforehand. The sitting was not, like that of the 5th of May, at once majestic and touching from a certain effusion of sentiments and hopes. A numerous soldiery, a sullen silence, distinguished it from the former solemnity. The deputies of the commons had resolved to keep the most profound silence. The King addressed the assembly, and betrayed his weakness by using expressions far too energetic for his character. He was made to launch reproaches, and to issue commands. He enjoined the separation into orders; annulled the preceding resolutions (*arrêtés*) of the *tiers-état*, promising to sanction the abdication of the pecuniary privileges when they should be relinquished by the holders. He maintained all the feudal rights, both useful and honorary, as inviolable property. He did not order the meeting of the three estates on matters of general interest, but held out hopes of it from the moderation of the higher orders. Thus he enforced the obedience of the commons, and contented himself with presuming that of the aristocracy. He left the nobility and clergy judges of what specially concerned them, and concluded with saying, that if he met with fresh obstacles he would singly establish the welfare of his people, and that he considered himself as its sole representative. This tone, this language, deeply incensed the minds of the commons, not against the King who had feebly represented passions not his own, but against the aristocracy whose instrument he was.

As soon as he had finished this address, he ordered the assembly to separate immediately. The nobility followed him, together with part of the clergy. The majority of the ecclesiastical deputies remained; the deputies of the commons, without moving, preserved profound silence. Mirabeau, who put himself forward on all occasions, then rose. "Gentlemen," said he, "I admit that what you have just heard might be the salvation of the country, if the gifts of despotism were not always dangerous. . . . The ostentatious display of arms, the violation of the national temple . . . to command you to be happy! . . . Where are the enemies

of the nation? Is Catiline at your doors? I demand that, covering yourselves with your dignity, your legislative power, you adhere religiously to your oath: it forbids you to separate before you have framed the constitution."

The Marquis de Brézé, grand-master of the ceremonies, then returned. "You have heard the orders of the King," said he, addressing Bailly. Bailly replied, "I am going to take those of the assembly." Mirabeau stepped forward. "Yes, sir," he exclaimed, "we have heard the intentions that have been suggested to the King; but you have neither voice, nor place, nor right to speak here. However, to avoid all delay, go and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." M. de Brézé retired. Sieyes then said: "We are to-day what we were yesterday; let us deliberate." The assembly collected itself to deliberate on the maintenance of its preceding resolutions (*arrêtés*). "The first of these resolutions," said Barnave, "has declared what you are; the second relates to the taxes, which you alone have a right to grant; the third is the oath to do your duty. None of these measures needs the royal sanction. The King cannot prevent that to which his assent is not required." At this moment workmen arrived to take away the benches; armed soldiers crossed the hall; others surrounded the outside; the life-guard advanced to the very door. The assembly continued its proceedings without interruption; the members kept their seats, and the votes were collected. They were unanimous for upholding the preceding resolutions. That was not all; amidst the royal town, surrounded by the servants of the court, without the aid of that populace since so formidable, the assembly was liable to be threatened. Mirabeau repaired to the tribune, and proposed to decree the inviolability of every deputy. The assembly, opposing to force but one majestic will, immediately declared each of its members inviolable, and proclaimed every one who should offer them violence a traitor, infamous, and guilty of a capital crime.

Meanwhile the nobility, who looked upon the state as saved by this 'bed of justice,' presented its congratulations to the prince who had furnished the idea of it, and carried them from the prince to the Queen. The Queen, holding her son in her arms, and showing him to these devoted servants, received their oaths, and unfortunately abandoned herself to a blind confidence. At this very moment shouts were heard: every one ran to inquire the meaning of them, and learned that the people, assembling in crowds, were applauding Necker because he had not attended the royal sitting. Alarm instantly took the place of joy; the King and Queen sent for Necker, and those august personages were obliged to entreat him to retain his portfolio. The minister complied, and transferred to the court a part of that popularity which he had acquired by absenting himself from that fatal sitting.

Thus was effected the first Revolution. The *tiers-état* had recovered the legislative power, and its adversaries had lost it by attempting to keep it entirely to themselves. In a few days, this legislative revolution was completely consummated. Recourse was still had to petty annoyances, such as interrupting the internal communications in the halls of the States; but they were unsuccessful. On the 24th, the majority of the clergy proceeded to the assembly, and demanded the verification in common, in order to deliberate afterwards on the proposals made by the King in the sitting of the 23d of June. The minority of the clergy continued to deliberate in its own chamber. Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, a virtuous prelate and a benefactor of the people, but a stickler for privileges, was pursued, and forced to promise to join the assembly. He accordingly repaired to the National Assembly, accompanied by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a popular prelate, who was afterwards minister.

The nobility was in a state of the greatest agitation. Its ordinary instigators inflamed its passions: d'Espremenil proposed to prosecute the *tiers-état*, and to direct proceedings to be instituted against it by the attorney-general: the minority proposed the reunion. This motion was rejected amidst tumult. The Duke of Orleans supported the motion, after having, on the preceding day, given a promise to the contrary to the Polignacs. Forty-seven members, having determined to join the general assembly, in spite of the decision of the majority, repaired to it in a

body, and were received with demonstrations of public joy. But, notwithstanding the rejoicing caused by their presence, their looks were sad. "We yield to our conscience," said Clermont-Tonnerre, "but it is with pain that we separate ourselves from our colleagues. We have come to concur in the public regeneration; each of us will let you know the degree of activity which his mission allows him."

Every day brought fresh accessions, and the assembly saw the number of its members increase. Addresses poured in from all parts, expressing the good wishes and the approbation of the towns and provinces. Mounier prompted those of Dauphiné; Paris sent one, and even the Palais Royal despatched a deputation, which the assembly, as yet encompassed with dangers, received, that it might not alienate the multitude. At that time it did not foresee the excess of the populace; it had need, on the contrary, to presume its energy, and to hope for its support: many, however, doubted the courage of the people, which was as yet but a pleasing dream. Thus the plaudits of the tribunes, frequently annoying to the assembly, had nevertheless supported it, and the assembly durst not prevent them. Bailly would have complained, but his voice and his motion were drowned by thundering applause.

The majority of the nobility continued its sittings, amidst tumult and the most violent animosities. Terror seized those who directed it, and the signal for reunion was made by those very persons who had previously preached resistance. But its passions, already too much excited, were not easily guided. The King was obliged to write a letter; the court, the grandees, were humbled to entreaties. "The junction will be transient," it was said to the most obstinate; "troops are approaching; give way to save the King." Consent was extorted amidst uproar, and the majority of the nobility, accompanied by the minority of the clergy, proceeded, on the 27th of June, to the general assembly. The Duke of Luxembourg, speaking in the name of all, said that they were come to pay a mark of respect to the King, and to give a proof of patriotism to the nation. "The family is complete," replied Bailly. Supposing that the assemblage was entire, and that the question was not to verify but to deliberate in common, he added: "We can now attend without intermission and without distraction to the regeneration of the kingdom and of the public weal."

Many petty artifices were still employed to avoid the appearance of having done what necessity imperatively required. The new-comers always entered after the opening of the sittings, all in a body, so as to give themselves the look of an order. They affected to stand behind the president, or, at least, not to appear to sit. Bailly, with great moderation and firmness, at length overcame all resistance, and prevailed on them to be seated. Attempts were also made to displace him from the presidency, not by main force, but sometimes by secret negociation, at others by stratagem. Baily retained it, not out of ambition but out of duty; and a plain citizen, known only by his virtues and his talents, was seen presiding over all the grandees of the kingdom and the church.

It was too evident that the legislative revolution was accomplished. Though the subject of the first dispute was solely the mode of verification, and not the manner of voting; though some had declared that they joined merely for the common verification, and others in obedience to the royal intentions as expressed on the 23d of June; it was certain that the voting by individuals had become inevitable: all remonstrance therefore was useless and impolitic. The Cardinal de Larochefoucauld, nevertheless, protested, in the name of the minority, and declared that he had joined solely to deliberate on general subjects, still retaining the right to form an order. The Archbishop of Vienne replied with warmth that the minority had not the power to decide anything in the absence of the majority of the clergy, and that it had no right to speak in the name of the order. Mirabeau inveighed strongly against this pretension, observing, that it was strange any one should protest in the assembly against the assembly. "You must," said he, "either recognise its sovereignty or retire."

The question of imperative instructions was next brought forward. Most of the instructions expressed the wishes of the electors respecting the reforms to be effected,

and rendered these wishes obligatory on the deputies. Before they stirred, it was necessary to ascertain to what point they could go; this question, therefore, could not but be the first. It was taken up, and resumed several times. Some were for returning to their constituents; others were of opinion that they could not receive from the constituents any other mission than that of voting for them after the subjects should have been discussed by the representatives of the whole nation, but they were not of opinion that deputies could receive instructions ready made beforehand. If we assume, in fact, that we have no power to make laws but in a general council, either because we meet with more intelligence the higher we rise, or because we cannot come to any decision but when all the parts of the nation have reciprocally understood one another, then, indeed, it is true that the deputies ought to be free and unshackled by obligatory instructions. Mirabeau, sharpening reasoning by irony, observed that "those who considered the instructions as imperative had done wrong to come; they had but to leave instructions on their benches, and those papers would fill their seats as well as they." Sieyes, with his usual sagacity, foreseeing that, notwithstanding the perfectly just decision of the assembly, a great number of members would fall back upon their oaths, and that by taking refuge in their consciences they would render themselves unassailable, moved the order of the day, upon the ground that each was the best judge of the validity of the oath which he had taken. "Those," said he, "who deem themselves bound by their instructions shall be considered as absent, just the same as those who refused to verify their powers in general assembly." This judicious opinion was adopted. The assembly, by having recourse to constraint, would have furnished the opposers with pretexts; whereas, by leaving them free, it was sure to bring them over to its own way of thinking; for thenceforth its victory was certain.

The object of the new convocation was the reform of the state, that is, the establishment of a constitution, which France as yet had not, whatever may be said to the contrary. If any kind of relations between the governed and the government are to be so called, then indeed France possessed a constitution; a king had commanded and subjects obeyed; ministers had arbitrarily imprisoned; contractors had wrung the last *denier* from the people; parliaments had sentenced unfortunate wretches to the wheel. The most barbarous nations have such kinds of constitutions. There had been States-general* in France, but without precise powers, without fixed times for meeting again, and always without results. There had been a royal authority, alternately null or absolute. There had been sovereign tribunals or courts, which frequently combined the legislative with the judicial power. But there was no law to insure the responsibility of the agents of power, the liberty of the press, individual liberty, in short, all the guarantees which in the social state make amends for the fiction of natural liberty.†

* Philippe le Bel was the first French monarch who convoked the States-general in 1303. Jean le Bon, in 1355, also called together the national assemblies, or "les Champs de Mars;" and these assemblies have since that period always retained the title of States-general. The clergy had as their president the Archbishop of Rheims; Gauthier de Brienne was chosen by the nobles; and Marcel, the Mayor of Paris, was at the head of the *tiers-état*.

† I support with notes and quotations only such passages as are susceptible of being disputed. The question, whether we had a constitution, seems to me one of the most important of the revolution; for it is the absence of a fundamental law that justifies our having determined to give ourselves one. On this point, I think it impossible to quote an authority more respectable and less suspicious than that of M. Lally-Tollendal. On the 15th of July, 1789, that excellent citizen delivered a speech in the chamber of the nobility, the greater part of which is subjoined.

"Long reproaches, tinctured moreover with considerable acrimony, have been made, gentlemen, against members of this assembly, who, with equal pain and reserve, have expressed doubts on what is called our constitution. This subject has not perhaps a very direct connexion with that at present under discussion; but since it has afforded ground for accusation, let it also furnish one for defence; and permit me to address a few words to the authors of those reproaches.

"You have assuredly no law which enacts that the States-general are an integral part of the sovereignty, for you are demanding one; and, up to this day, sometimes a decree of council forbade them to deliberate, at others a decree of parliament annulled their deliberations.

"You have no law that fixes the periodical return of your States-general, for you are demanding one; and it is one hundred and seventy-five years since they were assembled.

"You have no law to protect your individual safety and liberty from arbitrary attacks, for you

The want of a constitution was acknowledged and generally felt: all the instructions had energetically expressed it, and entered into a formal explanation of the fundamental principles of that constitution. They had unanimously prescribed the monarchical government, hereditary succession from male to male, the exclusive attribution of the executive power to the King, the responsibility of all agents, the concurrence of the nation and the King in the making of laws, the voting of the taxes, and individual liberty. But they were divided on the creation of one or two legislative chambers, on the permanence, the periods for the meeting, and the dis-

are demanding one; and, during the reign of a King whose justice is known and whose probity is respected by all Europe, ministers have caused your magistrates to be torn from the sanctuary of the laws by armed satellites. In the preceding reign, all the magistrates in the kingdom were dragged from their seats, from their homes, and scattered by exile, some on the tops of mountains, others in the slough of marshes, all in situations more obnoxious than the most horrible of prisons. Go back still farther, and you will find a hundred thousand *lettres de cachet* issued on account of paltry theological squabbles; and farther still, and you see as many sanguinary commissions as arbitrary imprisonments; nay, you will find no spot on which you can repose till you come to the reign of your good Henry.

"You have no law which establishes the liberty of the press, for you are demanding one; and up to this time your thoughts have been enslaved, your wishes chained; the cry of your hearts under oppression has been stifled, sometimes by the despotism of individuals, at others by the still more terrible despotism of bodies.

"You have not, or at least you no longer have, a law requiring your consent to taxes, for you are demanding one; and, for two centuries past, you have been burdened with more than three or four hundred millions of taxes without having consented to a single one.

"You have no law which establishes the responsibility of all the ministers of the executive power, for you are demanding one; and the creators of those sanguinary commissions, the issuers of those arbitrary orders, the dilapidators of the public exchequer, the violators of the sanctuary of public justice, those who have imposed upon the virtues of one king, those who flattered the passions of another, those who brought disasters upon the nation, have been called to no account—have undergone no punishment.

"Lastly, you have no general, positive, written law, no diploma at once royal and national, no great charter, upon which rests a fixed and invariable order, from which each learns how much of his liberty and property he ought to sacrifice for the sake of preserving the rest, which insures all rights, which defines all powers. On the contrary, the system of your government has varied from reign to reign, frequently from ministry to ministry; it has depended on the age and the character of one man. In minorities, under a weak prince, the royal authority, which is of importance to the prosperity and the dignity of the nation, has been indecently degraded, either by the great, who with one hand shook the throne, and with the other crushed the people, or by bodies which at one time seized with temerity what at another they had defended with courage. Under haughty princes who were flattered, under virtuous princes who were deluded, this same authority has been carried beyond all bounds. Your secondary powers, your intermediate powers, as you call them, have not been either better defined or more fixed. Sometimes the parliaments have laid it down as a principle that they could not interfere in affairs of state; at others they have insisted that it was their prerogative to discuss them as representatives of the nation. On the one hand were seen proclamations making known the will of the King, on the other decrees, in which the King's officers forbade in the King's name the execution of the King's orders. Among the courts the like discord prevails; they quarrel about their origin, their functions; they mutually launch anathemas at each other by their decrees.

"I set limits to these details, which I could extend *ad infinitum;* but if all these are incontestable facts, if you have none of these laws which I have just enumerated and which you demand, or if, having them—and pay particular attention to this point—if, having them, you have not that which enforces their execution, that which guarantees their accomplishment and maintains their stability, explain to us what you understand by the word constitution, and admit at least that some indulgence is due to those who cannot help entertaining some doubts of the existence of ours. You are told continually to rally round this constitution: let us rather lose sight of that phantom to substitute a reality in its stead. And as for the term *innovations*, as for the appellation of *innovators*, which is constantly levelled at us, let us admit that the first innovators are in our hands, that the first innovators are our instructions; let us respect, let us bless this happy innovation, which must put everything in its place, which must render all rights inviolable, all the authorities beneficent, and all the subjects happy.

"It is this constitution, gentlemen, that I wish for; it is this constitution that is the object for which we were sent hither, and which ought to be the aim of all our labours; it is this constitution which is shocked at the mere idea of the address that is proposed to us—an address which would compromise the King as well as the nation—an address, in short, which appears to me so dangerous that not only will I oppose it to the utmost, but that, were it possible it could be adopted, I should feel myself reduced to the painful necessity of protesting solemnly against it."

solution of the legislative body; on the political existence of the clergy and the parliaments; on the extent of the liberty of the press. All these questions, either solved or proposed in the instructions, plainly show to what a degree the public mind was at that time awakened in all parts of the kingdom, and how generally and decisively the wish for liberty was expressed in France.* But the founding of

* It may not be amiss to introduce here the summary of the instructions submitted to the National Assembly by M. de Clermont-Tonnerre. It is a good sketch of the state of opinions at this period, throughout France. In this point of view the summary is extremely important, and, though Paris exercised an influence upon the drawing up of these instructions, it is not the less true that the provinces had the greatest share in them.

Report of the Committee of Constitution, containing a Summary of the Instructions relative to this subject, read to the National Assembly by M. the Count de Clermont-Tonnerre, in the sitting of July 27, 1789.

"Gentlemen—You are called to regenerate the French empire: to this great work you bring both your wisdom and the wisdom of your constituents.

"We have thought it right first to collect and to present to you the suggestions scattered over the greater number of your instructions; we shall then submit to you the particular views of your committee, and those which it has been, or shall be, enabled to collect from the different plans, and the different observations which have been, or which shall be, communicated or transmitted to it by the members of this august assembly.

"It is of the first part of this labour, gentlemen, that we are about to render you an account.

"Our constituents, gentlemen, are all agreed upon one point; they desire the regeneration of the state; but some have expected it from the mere reform of abuses and from the re-establishment of a constitution existing for fourteen centuries past, and which appeared to them capable of being yet revived, if the injuries which it has suffered from time, and the numerous insurrections of private interest against the public interest, were to be repaired.

"Others have considered the existing social system as so faulty that they have demanded a new constitution, and that, with the exception of the monarchical government and forms, which it is an innate feeling of every Frenchman to love and to respect, and which they have ordered you to maintain, they have given to you all the powers necessary for creating a constitution, and for founding the prosperity of the French empire on sure principles, and on the distinction and regular constitution of all the powers. These latter, gentlemen, have thought that the first chapter of the constitution ought to contain a declaration of the rights of man, of those imprescriptible rights for the maintenance of which society was established.

"The demand of this declaration of the rights of man, so constantly misconceived, may be said to be the only difference that exists between the instructions which desire a new constitution and those which demand only the re-establishment of that which they regard as the existing constitution.

"Both the one and the other have alike fixed their ideas upon the principles of monarchical government, upon the existence of the power and the organization of the legislative body, upon the necessity of the national assent to taxes, upon the organization of the administrative bodies, and upon the rights of the citizens.

"We shall advert, gentlemen, to these different subjects, and submit to you on each, as decision, the uniform results, and, as questions, the differing or contradictory results, presented by such of your instructions as it has been in our power to analyze, or to procure the substance of.

"1. The monarchical government, the inviolability of the sacred person of the King, and the hereditary descent of the crown from male to male, are alike acknowledged and sanctioned by the great majority of the instructions, and are not called in question by any.

"2. The King is, in like manner, acknowledged as the depository of the executive power in al its plenitude.

"3. The responsibility of all the agents of authority is generally demanded.

"4. Some of the instructions assign to the King the legislative power, limited by the constitutional and fundamental laws of the Kingdom; others admit that the King, in the interval between one session of the States-general and another, can, singly, make laws of police and administration, which shall be but provisional, and for which they require free registration in the sovereign courts; one *baillage* has even required that the registration shall not take place without the consent of two-thirds of the intermediate commissions of the district assemblies. The greater number of the instructions acknowledge the necessity of the royal sanction for the promulgation of the laws.

"With respect to the legislative power, most of the instructions recognise it as residing in the national representation, on condition of the royal sanction; and it appears that this ancient maxim of the capitularies, *Lex fit consensu populi et constitutione regis*, is almost generally adopted by your constituents.

"As to the organization of the national representation, the questions on which you have to decide relate to the convocation, or to the duration, or to the composition, of the national representation, or to the mode of deliberation proposed to it by your constituents.

"As to the convocation, some have declared that the States-general cannot be dissolved but by

an entire constitution amid the rubbish of an ancient legislation, in spite of all opposition and the wild flights of many minds, was a great and difficult work. Besides the disagreements which diversity of interests could not fail to produce,

themselves; others that the right of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving, belongs to the King, on the sole condition, in case of dissolution, that he shall immediately issue a fresh convocation.

"As to the duration, some have required that the sessions of the States shall be periodical, and insisted that the periodical recurrence should not depend either on the will or the interest of the depositories of authority: others, but in smaller number, have demanded the permanence of the States-general, so that the separation of the members should not involve the dissolution of the States.

"The system of periodical sessions has given rise to a second question; Shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission in the intervals between the sessions? The majority of your constituents have considered the establishment of an intermediate commission as a dangerous expedient.

"As to the composition, some have insisted on the separation of the three orders; but, in regard to this point, the extension of the powers which several representations have already obtained, leaves, no doubt, a greater latitude for the solution of this question.

"Some *baillages* have demanded the junction of the two higher orders in one and the same chamber; others the suppression of the clergy, and the division of its members between the other two orders; others that the representation of the nobility should be double that of the clergy, and that both together should be equal to that of the commons.

"One *baillage*, in demanding the junction of the two higher orders, has demanded the establishment of a third, to be entitled the order of the farmers (*ordre des campagnes*). It has likewise been proposed, that any person holding office, employ, or place at court, shall be disqualified to be a deputy to the States-general. Lastly, the inviolability of the persons of the deputies is recognised by the greater number of the *baillages*, and not contested by any. As to the mode of deliberation, the question of opinion by individuals, and of opinion by orders is solved: some *baillages* require two-thirds of the opinions to form a resolution.

"The necessity of the national consent to taxes is generally admitted by your constituents, and established by all your instructions: all limit the duration of a tax to the period which you shall have fixed, a period which shall in no case extend further than from one convocation to another; and this imperative clause has appeared to all your constituents the surest guarantee of the perpetuity of your national assemblies.

"Loans being but an indirect tax, they have deemed it right that they should be subjected to the same principles.

"Some *baillages* have excepted from imposts for a term such as should be destined for the liquidation of the national debt, and have expressed their opinion that these ought to be levied until its entire extinction.

"As to the administrative bodies, or provincial states, all the instructions demand of you their establishment, and most of them leave their organization to your wisdom.

"Lastly, the rights of the citizens, liberty, property, are claimed with energy by the whole French nation. It claims for each of its members the inviolability of private property, as it claims for itself the inviolability of the public property; it claims in all its extent individual liberty, as it has just established forever the national liberty; it claims the liberty of the press, or the free communication of thought; it inveighs with indignation against *lettres de cachet*, which dispose in an arbitrary manner of persons, and against the violation of the secrecy of the post, one of the most absurd and most infamous inventions of despotism.

"Amidst this concurrence of claims, we have remarked, gentlemen, some particular modifications relative to *lettres de cachet* and the liberty of the press. You will weigh them in your wisdom; you will no doubt cheer up that sentiment of French honour, which, in its horror of disgrace, has sometimes misconceived justice, and which will no doubt be as eager to submit to the law when it shall command the strong, as it was to withdraw itself from its control when it pressed only upon the weak; you will calm the uneasiness of religion, so frequently assailed by libels in the time of the prohibitory system; and the clergy, recollecting that licentiousness was long the companion of slavery, will itself acknowledge that the first and the natural effect of liberty is the return of order, of decency, and of respect for the objects of the public veneration.

"Such, gentlemen, is the account which your committee has conceived itself bound to render of that part of your instructions which treats of the constitution. You will there find, no doubt, all the foundation-stones of the edifice which you are charged to raise to its full height; but you will perhaps miss in them that order, that unity of political combination, without which the social system will always exhibit numerous defects: the powers are there indicated, but they are not yet distinguished with the necessary precision; the organization of the national representation is not sufficiently established, the principles of eligibility are not laid in them: it is from your labours that those results are to spring. The nation has insisted on being free, and it is you whom it has charged with its enfranchisement; the genius of France has hurried, as it were, the march of the public mind. It has accumulated for you in a few hours the experience which could scarcely be

the natural divergence of opinions was also to be dreaded. An entire legislation, to be given to a great people, excites their minds so powerfully, inspires them with plans so vast and hopes so chimerical, that measures either vague or exaggerated, and frequently hostile, are naturally to be expected from them. In order to give regularity to the proceedings, a committee was appointed to measure their extent, and to arrange their distribution. This committee was composed of the most moderate members of the Assembly. Mounier, a cool-headed, but obstinate man, was its most laborious and influential member; it was he who drew up the order of the proceedings.

This difficulty of giving a constitution was not the only one that the Assembly had to surmount. Between an ill-disposed government and a starving populace, which required speedy relief, it was difficult for it to avoid interfering in the administration. Distrusting the supreme authority, and urged to assist the people, it could not help, even without ambition, encroaching by degrees on the executive power. The clergy had already set it the example, by making to the *tiers-état* the insidious proposal to direct its immediate attention to the subject of the public subsistence. The Assembly, as soon as it was formed, appointed a committee of subsistence, applied to the ministry for information on the subject, proposed to favour the circulation of provisions from province to province, to convey them officially to the places where they were needed, and to defray the expense by loans and charitable contributions. The ministry communicated the efficacious measures which it had taken, and which Louis XVI., a careful administrator, had favoured to

expected from many centuries. You have it in your power, gentlemen, to give a constitution to France: the King and the people demand one; both the one and the other have deserved it.

"*Result of the Analysis of the Instructions.*

"AVOWED PRINCIPLES.

"Art. 1. The French government is a monarchical government.

"2. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred.

"3. His crown is hereditary from male to male.

"4. The King is the depository of the executive power.

"5. The agents of authority are responsible.

"6. The royal sanction is necessary for the promulgation of the laws.

"7. The nation makes laws with the royal sanction.

"8. The national consent is necessary for loans and taxes.

"9. Taxes can be granted only for the period from one convocation of the States-general to another.

"10. Property shall be sacred.

"11. Individual liberty shall be sacred.

"*Questions on which the whole of the Instructions have not explained themselves in a uniform manner.*

"Art. 1. Does the King possess the legislative power, limited by the constitutional laws of the kingdom?

"2. Can the King, singly, make provisional laws of police and administration in the interval between the holding of the States-general?

"3. Shall these laws be subject to free registration in the sovereign courts?

"4. Can the States-general be dissolved only by themselves?

"5. Has the King alone the power to convoke, prorogue, and dissolve, the States-general?

"6. In case of dissolution, is not the King obliged immediately to issue a new convocation?

"7. Shall the States-general be permanent or periodical?

"8. If they are periodical, shall there or shall there not be an intermediate commission?

"9. Shall the two first orders meet together in one and the same chamber?

"10. Shall the two chambers be formed without distinction of orders?

"11. Shall the members of the order of the clergy be divided between the other two orders?

"12. Shall the representation of the clergy, nobility, and commons, be in the proportion of one, two, and three.

"13. Shall there be established a third order, with the title of order of the farmers?

"14. Can persons holding offices, employments, or places at court, be elected deputies to the States-general?

"15. Shall two-thirds of the votes be necessary in order to form a resolution?

"16. Shall taxes having for their object the liquidation of the national debt be levied till its entire extinction?

"17. Shall *lettres de cachet* be abolished or modified?

"18. Shall the liberty of the press be indefinite or modified?"

the utmost of his power. Lally-Tollendal proposed to issue decrees relative to free circulation; upon which Mounier objected that such decrees would require the royal sanction, and this sanction, being not yet regulated, would be attended with serious difficulties. Thus all sorts of obstacles combined together. It was requisite to make laws, though the legislative forms were not fixed; to superintend the administration without encroaching on the executive authority; and to provide against so many difficulties, in spite of the ill-will of power, the opposition of interests, the jarring of opinions, and the urgency of a populace recently awakened and rousing itself, a few leagues from the Assembly, in the bosom of an immense capital.

A very small distance separates Paris from Versailles, and a person may traverse it several times in one day All the disturbances in Paris were, therefore, immediately known at Versailles, both to the court and to the Assembly. Paris then exhibited a new and extraordinary spectacle. The electors, assembled in sixty districts, refused to separate after the elections, and they remained assembled either to give instructions to their deputies, or from that fondness for agitation which is always to be found in the human heart, and which bursts forth with the greater violence the longer it has been repressed. They had fared just the same as the National Assembly; being shut out of their place of meeting, they had repaired to another; they had finally obtained admittance into the Hôtel de Ville, and there they continued to assemble and to correspond with their deputies. There were yet no public prints that gave an account of the sittings of the National Assembly; people therefore felt it necessary to meet for the purpose of learning and conversing upon events. The garden of the Palais Royal was the theatre of the most numerous assemblages. This magnificent garden, surrounded by the richest shops in Europe, and forming an appurtenance to the palace of the Duke of Orleans, was the rendezvous of foreigners, of debauchees, of loungers, and, above all, of the most vehement agitators. The boldest harangues were delivered in the coffee-houses, or in the garden itself. There might be seen an orator mounted upon a table, collecting a crowd around him, and exciting them by the most furious language—language always unpunished—for there the mob reigned as sovereign. Here men, supposed to be the tools of the Duke of Orleans, displayed the greatest violence. The wealth of that prince, his well-known prodigality, the enormous sums which he borrowed, his residence on the spot, his ambition, though vague, all served to point accusation against him.* History, without mentioning any name, is authorized at least to declare that money was profusely distributed. If the sound part of the nation was ardently desirous of liberty, if the restless and suffering multitude resorted to agitation for the purpose of bettering its condition, there were instigators who sometimes excited that multitude, and perhaps directed some of its blows. In other respects, this influence is not to be reckoned among the causes of the revolution, for it is not with a little money and with secret manœuvres that you can convulse a nation of twenty-five millions of souls.

An occasion for a disturbance soon occurred. The French guards, picked men, destined to compose the King's guard, were at Paris; four companies were detached by turns to do duty at Versailles. Besides the barbarity of the new discipline, these troops had reason to complain also of that of their new colonel. At the pillage of Reveillon's house they had certainly shown some animosity against the populace; but they had subsequently been sorry for it, and, mingling daily with the mob, they had yielded to its seductions. Moreover, both privates and subalterns were aware that the door to promotion was closed against them: they were mor-

* "At this period, a report, which had long been circulated, assumed a semblance of truth. The Duke of Orleans had been accused of being the head of a party, and the newspapers of the day employed his name in the hints which they daily set forth that France should follow the example of England. The Duke of Orleans was fixed upon, because, in the English revolution, the direct line of the royal family had been expelled in favour of the Prince of Orange. The thing was so often repeated, that the Duke of Orleans began at last to believe that he might place himself at the head of a party, and become the leader of a faction, without the qualification for such an office."—*Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

tified to see their young officers do scarcely any duty, showing themselves only on parade-days, and after reviews not even accompanying the regiment to the barracks. Here, as elsewhere, there had been a *tiers-état*, which had to do all the work without receiving any share of the profit. Symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves, and some of the privates were confined in the Abbaye.*

The men assembled at the Palais Royal, shouting "To the Abbaye!" the mob instantly ran thither. The doors were broken open, and the soldiers brought out, and carried away in triumph. Whilst the populace guarded them at the Palais Royal, a letter was written to the Assembly, demanding their liberation. Placed between the people on the one hand and the government on the other, which was suspected, since it was about to act in its own behalf, the Assembly could not help interfering and committing an encroachment, by meddling with the public police. Taking a resolution at once prudent and adroit, it assured the Parisians of its desire for the maintenance of good order, exhorted them not to disturb it, and at the same time sent a deputation to the King to implore his clemency, as an infallible mode of restoring peace and concord. The King, touched by its moderation, promised his clemency when order should be re-established. The French guards were immediately sent back to prison, from which they were as immediately released by a pardon from the King.

So far all was well; but the nobility, in joining the other two orders, had yielded with regret, and only upon a promise that its union with them should be of short duration. It still continued to assemble every day, and protested against the proceedings of the National Assembly; its meetings gradually became less numerous: on the 3d of July 138 members attended; on the 10th 93, and on the 11th but 80. The most obstinate, however, had persisted, and on the 11th they determined upon a protest, which succeeding events prevented them from drawing up. The court, on its part, had not yielded without regret and without plan. On recovering from its alarm, after the sitting of the 23d, it had approved the general union of the three estates, in order to impede the march of the Assembly by means of the nobles, and in the hope of soon dissolving it by main force. Necker had been retained merely to mask by his presence the secret plots that were hatching. Excepting a certain agitation and a degree of reserve that was employed towards him, he had no reason to suspect any grand machination. The King himself was not apprized of all, and there were persons who proposed, no doubt, to go further than he wished. Necker, who conceived that the whole activity of a statesman ought to confine itself to reasoning, and who possessed just so much energy as was necessary to remonstrate, did so without effect. Conjointly with Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and Clermont-Tonnerre, he meditated the establishment of the English constitution. The court was meanwhile carrying on its secret preparations. The noble deputies having manifested an intention to withdraw, they were detained by hints thrown out to them of an event that would speedily happen.

Troops were approaching; old Marshal de Broglie had been appointed to the chief command of them, and the Baron de Besenval to the particular command of those which were around Paris. Fifteen regiments, mostly foreign, were in the environs of the capital. The exultation of the courtiers revealed the danger; and these conspirators, too prompt to threaten, thus compromised their projects. The

* "The regiment of the French guards, consisting of 3,600 men, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, had for some time given alarming symptoms of disaffection. Their colonel had ordered them, in consequence, to be confined to their barracks, when three hundred of them broke out of their bounds, and repaired instantly to the Palais Royal. They were received with enthusiasm, and liberally plied with money by the Orleans party; and to such a height did the transport rise, that, how incredible soever it may appear, it is proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses above all suspicion, that women of family and distinction openly embraced the soldiers as they walked in the gardens with their mistresses. After these disorders had continued for some time, eleven of the ringleaders in the mutiny were seized and thrown into the prison of the Abbey; a mob of 6000 men immediately assembled, forced the gates of the prison, and brought them back in triumph to the Palais Royal. The King, upon the petition of the Assembly, pardoned the prisoners, and on the following day they were walking in triumph through the streets of Paris."—*Alison's French Revolution.* E.

popular deputies apprized, not of all the particulars of a plan which is not yet entirely known, with which the King himself was but partially acquainted, but which certainly tended to employ violence; were irritated, and turned their attention to the means of resistance. We are ignorant, and shall probably ever remain so, of the share which secret means had in the insurrection of the 14th of July, but this is of no consequence. The aristocracy was conspiring—the popular party could conspire too. The means employed were equal, setting aside the justice of the cause, and justice was not on their side who would fain have broken up the union of the three orders, dissolved the national representation, and wreaked their vengeance upon its most courageous deputies.

Mirabeau was of opinion that the surest way of intimidating power was to force it to discuss publicly the measures which it was seen to take. To this end it was necessary to denounce it openly. If it hesitated to reply, if it had recourse to evasion, it would be condemned; the nation would be warmed and roused.

On the motion of Mirabeau, the discussion of the constitution was suspended, and he proposed to solicit the King to remove the troops. In his language he combined respect for the monarch with the severest reproaches of the government. He stated that fresh troops were daily advancing; that all the communications were intercepted; that the bridges, the promenades, were converted into military posts; that circumstances, public and secret, hasty orders and counter-orders, met all eyes, and were the heralds of war: to these facts he added bitter reproaches. "More threatening soldiers," said he, "are shown to the nation, than hostile invaders would perhaps find to encounter, and a thousand times more, at least, than could be brought together to succour friends, the martyrs of their fidelity, and above all to preserve that alliance of the Dutch, so valuable, so dearly bought, and so disgracefully lost."

His speech was received with applause; and the address which he proposed was adopted, with the exception of one article, in which, while invoking the removal of the troops, he demanded that they should be replaced by the civic guard: this article was suppressed. The address was voted, with only four dissentient voices. In this celebrated address, which, as it is said, was not written by Mirabeau, but all the ideas of which he had communicated to one of his friends, he foreboded almost everything that was about to happen: the explosion of the multitude, and the defection of the troops from their intermingling with the citizens. Not less acute than bold, he ventured to assure the King that his promises should not be vain. "You have summoned us," said he, "to regenerate the kingdom; your wishes shall be accomplished, in spite of snares, difficulties, dangers," &c.

The address was presented by a deputation of twenty-four members. The King, having resolved not to enter into explanations, replied that the assemblage of troops was for no other purpose than the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the protection due to the Assembly; that, moreover, if the latter still felt any apprehensions, he would remove it to Soissons or Noyon, and that he would himself repair to Compiegne.

The Assembly could not be satisfied with such an answer, and especially with the proposal to withdraw from the capital, and to place itself between two camps. The Count de Crillon proposed that they should trust to the word of a King who was an honest man. "The word of a King who is an honest man," replied Mirabeau, "is a bad security for the conduct of his ministers; our blind confidence in our kings has undone us: we demanded the withdrawal of the troops and not permission to flee before them. We must insist again and again."

This opinion was not supported. Mirabeau insisted so strongly upon open means, that he may be forgiven any secret machinations, if it be true that he actually resorted to them.

The 11th of July had now arrived. Necker had several times told the King that, if his services were not acceptable, he would retire with submission. "I take you at your word," replied the King. On the 11th, in the evening, Necker received a note in which Louis XVI. required him to keep his word, and urged him to set out, adding that he had sufficient confidence in him to hope that he

would keep his departure a profound secret. Necker, justifying the honourable confidence of the monarch, set out without apprizing his friends or even his daughter, and in a few hours was at a considerable distance from Versailles. The following day, July 12, was Sunday. A report was now circulated at Paris that Necker had been dismissed, as well as Messrs. de Montmorin, de la Luzerne, de Puisegur, and de St. Priest. As their successors, Messrs. de Breteuil, de la Vauguyon, de Broglie, Foulon, and Damécourt were mentioned, almost all known for their opposition to the popular cause. The alarm spread throughout Paris. The people hurried to the Palais Royal. A young man, since celebrated for his republican enthusiasm, endowed with a tender heart but an impetuous spirit, mounted a table, held up a pair of pistols, and shouting "To arms!" plucked a leaf from a tree, of which he made a cockade, and exhorted the crowd to follow his example. The trees were instantly stripped. The people then repaired to a museum containing busts in wax. They seized those of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, who was threatened, it was said, with exile, and then spread themselves in the various quarters of Paris. This mob was passing through the Rue St. Honoré, when it was met, near the Place Vendôme by a detachment of the Royal German regiment, which rushed upon it and wounded several persons, among whom was a soldier of the French guards. The latter, predisposed in favour of the people and against the Royal Germans, with whom they had a few days before had a quarrel, were in barracks near the Place Louis XV. They fired upon the Royal Germans. The Prince de Lambesc, who commanded this regiment, instantly fell back upon the garden of the Tuileries, charged the people who were quietly walking there, killed an old man amidst the confusion, and cleared the garden. Meanwhile, the troops surrounding Paris formed in the Champ de Mars and the Place Louis XV. Terror, before unbounded, was now changed into fury. People ran into the city, shouting "To arms!" The mob hurried to the Hôtel de Ville to demand weapons. The electors composing the general assembly were there met. They delivered out the arms, which they could no longer refuse, and which, at the instant when they determined to grant them, the people had already begun to seize. These electors composed at the moment the only established authority. Deprived of all active powers, they assumed such as the occasion required, and ordered the districts to be convoked. All the citizens instantly assembled, to consult upon the means of protecting themselves at one and the same time against the rabble and the attack of the royal troops. During the night, the populace, always ready for excitement, forced and burned the barriers, dispersed the gate-keepers, and afforded free access by all the avenues to the city. The gunsmiths' shops were plundered. Those brigands who had already signalized themselves at Reveillon's, and who on all occasions are seen springing up, as it were, out of the ground, again appeared armed with pikes and bludgeons, spreading consternation. These events took place on Sunday, the 12th of July, and in the night between Sunday and Monday, the 13th. On Monday morning, the electors, still assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, thought it incumbent on them to give a more legal form to their authority: they accordingly summoned the attendance of the provost of the trades (*prévôt des marchands*), the ordinary administrator of the city. The latter refused to comply unless upon a formal requisition. A requisition was in consequence issued; a certain number of electors were appointed as his assistants, and thus was composed a municipality invested with all necessary powers. This municipality sent for the lieutenant of police, and drew up in a few hours a plan for arming the civic militia.

This militia was to consist of forty-eight thousand men, furnished by the districts. The distinctive sign was to be the Parisian cockade, red and blue, instead of the green cockade. Every man found in arms and wearing this cockade, without having been enrolled by his district in the civic guard, was to be apprehended, disarmed, and punished. Such was the primary origin of the national guards. This plan was adopted by all the districts, which hastened to carry it into execution. In the course of the same morning, the people had plundered the house of St. Lazare in search of grain; they had forced the armoury to obtain arms, and

had rummaged out the ancient armour and put it on. The rabble, wearing helmets and carrying pikes, were seen inundating the city. The populace now showed itself hostile to pillage; with its usual fickleness, it affected to be disinterested; it spared money, took nothing but arms, and itself apprehended the brigands. The French guards and the night-watch had offered their services, and they had been enrolled in the civic guard.

Arms were still demanded with loud shouts. Flesselles, the provost, who had at first resisted his fellow-citizens, now manifested great zeal, and promised twelve thousand muskets on that very day, and more on the following days. He pretended that he had made a contract with an unknown gunsmith. The thing appeared difficult, considering the short time that had elapsed. Meanwhile, evening drew on; the chests of arms announced by Flesselles were carried to the Hôtel de Ville; they were opened, and found to be full of old linen. At this sight the multitude was fired with indignation against the provost, who declared that he had been deceived. To appease them, he directed them to go to the Carthusians, with the assurance that arms would there be found. The astonished Carthusians admitted the furious mob, conducted them into their retreat, and finally convinced them that they possessed nothing of the sort mentioned by the provost.

The rabble, more exasperated than ever, returned with shouts of "Treachery!" To satisfy them, orders were issued for the manufacture of fifty thousand pikes. Vessels with gunpowder were descending the Seine, on their way to Versailles; these were stopped, and an elector distributed the power amidst the most imminent danger.

A tremendous confusion now prevailed at the Hôtel de Ville, the seat of the authorities, the head-quarters of the militia, and the centre of all operations. It was necessary to provide at once for the safety of the town which was threatened by the court, and its internal safety endangered by the brigands; it was requisite every moment to allay the suspicions of the people, who believed that they were betrayed, and to save from their fury those who excited their distrust. About this place were to be seen carriages stopped, wagons intercepted, travellers awaiting permission to proceed on their journey. During the night, the Hôtel de Ville was once more menaced by the brigands. An elector, the courageous Moreau de St. Mery, to whose care it was committed, caused barrels of powder to be brought, and threatened to blow it up. At this sight the brigands retired. Meanwhile the citizens, who had gone to their homes, held themselves in readiness for every kind of attack: they had unpaved the streets, opened the trenches, and taken all possible measures for resisting a siege.

During these disturbances in the capital, consternation pervaded the Assembly. It had met on the morning of the 13th, alarmed by the events that were in preparation, and still ignorant of what was passing in Paris. Mounier, the deputy, first rose and censured the dismissal of the ministers. Lally-Tollendal, who took his place in the tribune, pronounced a splendid panegyric on Necker, and both joined in proposing an address, for the purposing of soliciting the King to recall his disgraced ministers. M. de Virieu, a deputy of the nobility, even proposed to confirm the resolutions of the 17th of June by a new oath. M. de Clermont-Tonnerre opposed this motion as useless; and, referring to the engagements by which the Assembly had already bound itself, he exclaimed, "The constitution shall be, or we will perish!" The discussion had lasted some time, when news arrived of the disturbances in Paris during the morning of the 13th, and the calamities with which the capital was threatened, between undisciplined Frenchmen, who, according to the expression of the Duke de la Rochefoucault, were not in any one's hand, and disciplined foreigners, who were in the hand of despotism. It was instantly resolved to send a deputation to the king, for the purpose of submitting to him a picture of the desolation of the capital, and beseeching him to order the removal of the troops and the establishment of the civic guards. The King returned a cold, dry answer, which was far from according with his disposition, and alleged that Paris was not capable of guarding itself. The Assembly then, exalting itself to the noblest courage, passed a memorable resolution, in which it insisted on the

removal of the troops and the establishment of civic guards ; declared the ministers and all the agents of power responsible ; threw upon the counsellors of the King, *of whatever rank* they might be, the responsibility of the calamities that were impending, consolidated the public debt, forbade the mention of the infamous term bankruptcy, persisted in its preceding resolutions, and directed the president to express its regret to M. Necker and to the other ministers. After these measures, fraught alike with energy and prudence, the Assembly, in order to preserve its members from all personal violence, declared itself permanent, and appointed M. de Lafayette vice-president, to relieve the worthy Archbishop of Vienne, whose age did not permit him to sit day and night.

Thus passed the night between the 13th and 14th in agitation and alarm. Fearful tidings were every moment brought and contradicted. All the plans of the court were not known ; but it was ascertained that several deputies were threatened, and that violence was to be employed against Paris and the most distinguished members of the Assembly. Having adjourned for a short time, the Assembly again met, at five in the morning of the 14th of July : with imposing calmness, it resumed the consideration of the constitution, and discussed with great propriety the means of accelerating its execution, and of conducting it with prudence. A committee was appointed to prepare the questions ; it was composed of the Bishop of Autun, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Messrs. Lally, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, Sieyes, Chapelier, and Bergasse. The morning passed away. Intelligence more and more alarming continued to arrive. The King, it was said, was to set off in the night, and the Assembly would be left exposed to several foreign regiments. At this moment the princes, the Duchess de Polignac, and the Queen, were seen walking in the orangery, flattering the officers and the soldiers, and causing refreshments to be distributed among them. It appears that a grand plan had been devised for the night between the 14th and 15th ; that Paris was to be attacked on seven points, the Palais Royal surrounded, the Assembly dissolved, the declaration of the 23d of June submitted to the parliament, and finally, that the wants of the exchequer were to be supplied by bankruptcy and paper money. So much is certain, that the commandants of the troops had received orders to advance in the night between the 14th and 15th, that the paper money had been prepared, that the barracks of the Swiss were full of ammunition, and that the governor of the Bastille had disfurnished the fortress, with the exception of some indispensable articles. In the afternoon, the terrors of the Assembly redoubled. The Prince de Lambesc was seen passing at full gallop. The report of cannon was heard, and people clapped their ears to the ground to catch the slightest sounds. Mirabeau then proposed to suspend the discussions, and to send another deputation to the King. The deputation set out immediately, to make fresh remonstrances. At this moment, two members of the Assembly, who had come from Paris in the utmost haste, declared that the people there were slaughtering one another ; one of them affirmed that he had seen the headless body of a man dressed in black. It began to grow dark. The arrival of two electors was announced. The most profound silence pervaded the hall ; the sound of their footfalls was heard amid the darkness ; and the Assembly learned from their lips that the Bastille was attacked, that cannon had been fired, that blood had been spilt, and that the city was threatened with the direst calamities. A fresh deputation was instantly despatched before the return of the preceding one. Just as it was about to depart, the first arrived, and brought the answer of the King. It reported that the King had ordered the troops encamped in the Champ de Mars to be withdrawn, and, having been apprized of the formation of the civic guard, had appointed officers to command it.

On the arrival of the second deputation, the King, more agitated than ever, said, " Gentlemen, you rend my heart more and more by the account you give of the calamities of Paris. It is not possible that the orders given to the troops can be the cause of them." Nothing had yet been obtained but the removal of the army. It was now two in the morning. The answer returned to the city of Paris was, " that two deputations had been sent, and that the applications should be renewed that

day, until they had obtained the success which might justly be expected from the heart of the King, when extraneous impressions did not counteract its impulses." The sitting was suspended for a short time, and in the evening intelligence of the events of the 14th arrived.

The populace, ever since the night of the 13th, had thronged about the Bastille. Some musket-shots had been fired, and it appears that ringleaders had repeatedly shouted "To the Bastille!" The wish for its destruction had been expressed in the instructions given to some of the deputies; thus the ideas of the public had beforehand taken that direction. A cry for arms was still kept up. A report was spread that the Hôtel des Invalides contained a considerable quantity. The mob instantly repaired thither. M. de Sombreuil, the governor, ordered admittance to be denied, saying, that he must send for orders to Versailles. The populace, turning a deaf ear to all expostulation, rushed into the hotel, and carried off the cannon, and a great quantity of muskets. A large concourse of people were already besieging the Bastille. They declared that the guns of the fortress were pointed at the city, and that they must take care to prevent their firing upon them. The deputy of a district solicited admission into the place, and obtained it of the commandant. In going over it, he found thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two invalids, and received a promise from the garrison not to fire unless it should be attacked. During this parley, the people, not seeing the deputy return, began to be exasperated, and the latter was obliged to show himself in order to appease the multitude. At length he retired, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed before a fresh mob arrived with arms, shouting, "Let us storm the Bastille!" The garrison summoned the assailants to retire, but they persisted. Two men, with great intrepidity mounted the roof of the guard-house, and broke with axes the chains of the bridge, which fell down. The rabble rushed upon it, and ran to a second bridge, purposing to pass it in like manner. At this moment a discharge of musketry brought it to a stand; it fell back, but firing at the same time. The conflict lasted for a few moments. The electors, assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, hearing the report of musketry, became more and more alarmed, and sent two deputations, one on the heels of the other, to require the commandant to admit into the fortress a detachment of the Paris militia, on the ground that all the military force in the capital ought to be at the disposal of the city authorities. These two deputations arrived in succession. Amidst this siege by the populace, it was with great difficulty that they could make themselves heard. The sound of the drum, the sight of a flag, for a time suspended the firing. The deputies advanced; the garrison awaited them, but it was difficult to understand each other. Musket-shots were fired, from some unknown quarter. The mob, persuaded that it was betrayed, then rushed forward to set fire to the building; on this the garrison fired with grape. The French guards thereupon came up with cannon and commenced an attack in form.*

* "All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: 'To the Bastille!' Repeated 'deputations of citizens' have been here, passionate for arms; whom de Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through port-holes. Towards noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance: finds de Launay indisposed for surrender; nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled: cannon all duly levelled! in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little! But outwards, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale*: the suburb Sainte-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment: prophetic of other phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering spectral realities which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt! "Que voluez-vous?" said de Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menance. 'Monsieur,' said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, 'what mean *you?* Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,'—say only a hundred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch! Whereupon de Launay fell silent.

"Wo to thee, de Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grape-shot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un*-questionable. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, cannot do execution. The outer drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputa-*

During these proceedings, a note addressed by the Baron de Besenval to de Launay, governor of the Bastille, was intercepted and read at the Hôtel de Ville. Besenval exhorted de Launay to resist, assuring him that he should soon receive succour. It was in fact in the evening of that day that the plans of the court were to be carried into execution. Meanwhile, de Launay seeing the depredation of the mob, and no succours having arrived, seized a lighted match with the intention of blowing up the fortress. The garrison opposed it, and obliged him to surrender; the signals were made and a bridge lowered. The besiegers approached, promising not to do any mischief. The crowd, however, rushed in, and took possession of all the courts. The Swiss found means to escape. The invalids, attacked by the populace, were saved from their fury solely by the zealous interference of the French guards. At this moment, a female, beautiful, young, and trembling, came forward: she was supposed to be the daughter of de Launay; she was seized and about to be burned, when a brave soldier rushed to the spot, wrested her from the hands of the enraged rabble, conducted her to a place of safety, and hurried back to the affray.

It was now half-past five o'clock. The electors were in the most painful anxiety, when they heard a dull and continuous murmur. A crowd approached, shouting "Victory." They poured into the hall: a French guardsman covered with wounds and crowned with laurels, was borne in triumph by the mob. The regulations and the keys of the Bastille were carried on the point of a bayonet: a bloody hand raised above the mob exhibited a bunch of hair; it was the queue of de Launay, the governor, whose head had just been stricken off. Two French guards, Elie and Hullin, had defended him to the last extremity. Other victims had fallen, though heroically defended against the ferocity of the mob. A strong animosity began to be expressed against Flesselles, the provost of the trades; he was accused of treason. It was alleged that he had deceived the people by repeatedly promising them arms which he never meant to give them. The hall was soon full of men heated with a long combat, and backed by a hundred thousand more outside the hotel, all eager to enter in their turn. The electors strove to justify Flesselles to the mob. His assurance began to forsake him, and, already quite pale, he exclaimed, "Since I am suspected I will retire."—"No," was the reply made to him, "come to the Palais Royal, to be tried." Accordingly, he descended to repair thither. The agitated multitude surrounded and pressed upon him. On reaching the Quai Pelletier, he was struck to the ground by a pistol-shot, fired by a person unknown. It is asserted that a letter had been found upon de Launay, in which Flesselles thus wrote to him: "Hold out, while I amuse the Parisians with cockades."

Such were the disastrous events of that day. A feeling of terror speedily followed the intoxication of victory. The conquerors of the Bastille, astonished at their audacity, and expecting to find the hand of authority formidable on the following day, durst not make themselves known. Every moment, rumours were spread that

tion of citizens (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the outer court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, de Launay gives fire; pulls up his drawbridge. A slight sputter;—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Burst forth insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and over head, from the fortress, let one great gun, with its grape-shot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

"On, then, all Frenchmen that have hearts in their bodies! Roar with all your throats of cartilage and metal, ye sons of liberty; stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old-soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at that outer drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never, over nave or felloe did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed edifice sink thither, and tyranny be swallowed up for ever! Mounted some say on the roof of the guard-room, some 'on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall,' Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The eight grim towers with their Invalides' musketry, their paving stones and cannon-mouths still soar aloft intact;—ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner drawbridge with its *back* towards us: the Bastille is still to take!"—*Carlyle's "French Revolution."* E.

the troops were approaching to storm Paris. Moreau de St. Mery, the same person who on the preceding day had threatened the brigands to blow up the Hôtel de Ville, remained unshaken, and issued upwards of three thousand orders in a few hours. As soon as the capture of the Bastille was known at the Hôtel de Ville, the electors had sent the intelligence to the Assembly, which received it about midnight. The sitting was suspended, and the tidings spread with rapidity. The court up to this moment, conceiving no notion of the energy of the people, laughing at the efforts of a blind rabble to take a fortress which the great Condé had besieged in vain, was calmly cracking its jokes on the subject. The King, nevertheless, began to be uneasy: his last answers had betrayed his grief. He had retired to bed. The Duke de Liancourt, so well known for his generous sentiments, was the particular friend of Louis XVI., and, by virtue of his office of grand-master of the wardrobe, he always had access to the King. On learning the occurrences in Paris, he repaired in all haste to the apartment of the monarch, awoke him in spite of the ministers, and informed him of what had happened. "What, rebellion!" exclaimed the prince. "Sire," replied the duke, "rather say, revolution." The King, enlightened by his representations, consented to go the next morning to the Assembly. The court yielded also, and this act of confidence was resolved upon. During this interval, the Assembly had resumed its sitting. Unacquainted with the new dispositions imparted to the King, it determined to send a last deputation, to try to move him, and to obtain from him what he had not yet been prevailed upon to grant. This deputation was the fifth since the commencement of those calamitous events. It was composed of twenty-four members, and was just setting out when Mirabeau, more vehement than ever, stopped it. "Tell the King," cried he, —"be sure to tell him, that the foreign hordes by which we are invested were yesterday invited by the princes, princesses, the he-favourites, and the she-favourites, and received their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents. Tell him that the livelong night these foreign satellites, gorged with money and with wine, have been predicting, in their impious songs, the subjugation of France, and that their brutal wishes invoked the destruction of the National Assembly. Tell him that, in his very palace, the courtiers mingled with their dances the sound of that barbarous music, and that such was the prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Tell him that that Henry, whose memory the whole world blesses, that one of his ancestors whom he meant to take for his pattern, allowed provisions to be conveyed into rebellious Paris, which he was besieging in person; whereas his ferocious counsellors are turning back the flour that commerce is sending to faithful and famished Paris."

The deputation was just about to proceed to the King, when news arrived that he was coming, of his own accord, without guards and without escort. The hall rang with applause. "Wait," cried Mirabeau gravely, "till the King has made us acquainted with his good dispositions. Let a sullen respect be the first welcome paid to the monarch in this moment of grief. The silence of nations is a lesson for kings."

Louis XVI. then entered, accompanied by his two brothers. His simple and touching address excited the warmest enthusiasm. He spoke cheeringly to the Assembly, which he called for the first time the National Assembly. He mildly complained of the suspicions that had been conceived of him. "You have been afraid of me," said he; "now, for my part, I put my trust in you." These words were hailed with applause. The deputies immediately rose, surrounded the monarch, and escorted him back on foot to the palace. The throng pressed around him; tears started from every eye; and he could scarcely open himself a passage through this numerous retinue. The Queen, stationed at that moment with the court in a balcony, contemplated from a distance this affecting scene. Her son was in her arms; her daughter, standing beside her, was sportively playing with her brother's hair. The princess, deeply moved, appeared to be delighted by this expression of the love of the French. Ah! how often has a reciprocal emotion reconciled hearts during these fatal dissensions! For a moment all seemed to be forgotten; but, on the morrow, nay, perhaps the very same day, the court had

resumed its pride, the people their distrust, and implacable hatred recommenced its course.

Peace was made with the assembly, but it had yet to be made with Paris. The Assembly first sent a deputation to the Hôtel de Ville to convey the tidings of the happy reconciliation brought about with the King. Bailly, Lafayette, and Lally-Tollendal, were among its members. Their presence diffused the liveliest joy. The speech of Lally excited such transport that he was carried in triumph to a window of the Hôtel de Ville to be shown to the people. A wreath of flowers was placed on his head, and these honours were paid him facing the very spot where his father expired with a gag in his mouth. The death of the unfortunate Flesselles, the head of the municipality, and the refusal of the Duke d'Aumont to accept the command of the civic militia, left the appointments of provost and commandant-general to be filled up. Bailly was proposed, and amidst the loudest acclamations he was nominated successor to Flesselles, with the title of mayor of Paris. The wreath which had been placed on the head of Lally was transferred to that of the new mayor; he would have taken it off, but the Archbishop of Paris held it where it was in opposition to his wishes. The virtuous old man could not repress his tears, and he resigned himself to his new functions. A worthy representative of a great assembly, in presence of the majesty of the throne, he was less capable of withstanding the storms of a commonalty, where the multitude struggled tumultuously against its magistrates. With exemplary self-denial, however, he prepared to undertake the difficult task of providing subsistence and feeding a populace who repaid him in the sequel with such base ingratitude. A commandant of the militia yet remained to be appointed. There was in the hall a bust sent by enfranchised America to the city of Paris: Moreau de St. Mery pointed to it with his finger; all eyes were directed towards it. It was the bust of the Marquis de Lafayette. A general cry proclaimed him commandant. A *Te Deum* was instantly voted, and the assembly proceeded in a body to Notre Dame. The new magistrates, the Archbishop of Paris, the electors, mingled with French guards and soldiers of the militia, walking arm in arm, repaired to the ancient cathedral, in a species of intoxication. By the way, the Foundlings threw themselves at the feet of Bailly, who had laboured zealously in behalf of the hospitals, and called him their father. Bailly clasped them in his arms, and called them his children. On reaching the church, the ceremony was performed, and the congregation then dispersed in the city, where a delirious joy had succeeded the terrors of the preceding day. At this moment the people were flocking to see the den so long dreaded, to which there was now free access. They visited the Bastille with an eager curiosity, and with a sort of terror. They sought for the instruments of torture, for the deep dungeons. They went thither more particularly to see an enormous stone placed in the middle of a dark and damp prison to the centre of which was fixed a ponderous chain.

The court, as blind in its apprehensions as it had been in its confidence, felt such a dread of the populace, that it imagined every moment that a Parisian army was marching to Versailles. The Count d'Artois, and the Polignac family, so dear to the Queen, quitted France at that time, and were the first emigrants. Bailly came to cheer the King, and persuaded him to return to Paris, which he resolved to do, in spite of the resistance of the Queen and the court.*

The King prepared to set out. Two hundred deputies were directed to accompany him. The Queen took leave of him with profound grief. The body-guard

* "The day of the King's entry into Paris was the first of the emigration of the noblesse. The violent aristocratical party, finding all their coercive measures overturned, and dreading the effects of popular resentment, left the kingdom. The Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, Marshal Broglio, and the whole family of the Polignacs, set off in haste, and arrived in safety at Brussels—a fatal example of defection, which, being speedily followed by the inferior nobility, produced the most disastrous consequences. But it was the same in all the subsequent changes of the Revolution. The leaders of the royalist party, always the first to propose violent measures, were at the same time unable to support them when furiously opposed; they diminished the sympathy of the world at their fall from so high a rank, by showing that they were unworthy of it."—*Alison's French Revolution.* E.

escorted him to Sevres, where they stopped to await his return. Bailly, at the head of the municipality, received him at the gates of Paris and presented to him the keys formerly offered to Henry IV. "That good King," said Bailly to him, "had conquered his people; at present it is the people who have re-conquered their King." The nation, legislating at Versailles, was armed at Paris. Louis XVI., on entering, found himself surrounded by a silent multitude, arrayed in military order. He arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, passing under an arch of swords crossed over his head, as a mark of honour. His address was simple and touching. The people, unable to contain themselves, at length burst forth and lavished upon the King their accustomed applause. These acclamations somewhat soothed the heart of the prince; nevertheless, he could not disguise a feeling of joy on perceiving the body-guard stationed on the heights of Sevres; and, at his return, the Queen, throwing herself into his arms, embraced him as though she had been afraid that she should never see him again.

Louis XVI., in order to satisfy completely the public wish, ordered the dismissal of the new ministers, and the reinstatement of Necker. M. de Liancourt, the friend of the King, and his most useful adviser, was elected president by the Assembly. The noble deputies, who, though they attended the deliberations, still refused to take any part in them, at length yielded and gave their votes. Thus was consummated the amalgamation of the orders. From that moment the Revolution might be looked upon as accomplished. The nation, possessed of the legislative power through the Assembly, and of the public force through itself, could henceforward carry into effect whatever was beneficial to its interest. It was by refusing the equality of imposts that the government had rendered the States-general necessary; it was by refusing a just division of authority among those states that it had lost all influence over them; finally, it was in attempting to recover that influence that it had driven Paris to insurrection, and provoked the whole nation to appropriate to itself the public force.

At this moment all was agitation in that immense capital, where a new authority had just been established. The same movement which had impelled the electors to set themselves in action, urged all classes to do the same. The Assembly had been imitated by the Hôtel de Ville, the Hôtel de Ville by the districts, and the districts by all the corporations. Tailors, shoemakers, bakers, domestic servants, meeting at the Louvre, in the Place Louis XV., in the Champs Elysées, deliberated in form, notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions of the municipality. Amidst these contrary movements, the Hôtel de Ville opposed by the districts, and annoyed by the Palais Royal, was encompassed with obstacles, and was scarcely adequate to the duties of its immense administration. It combined in itself alone the civil, judicial, and military authority. The head-quarters of the militia were established there. The judges, at first, uncertain respecting their powers, sent thither accused persons. It possessed even the legislative power, for it was charged to form a constitution for itself. For this purpose Bailly had demanded two commissioners for each district, who, by the name of representatives of the commune, were to draw up its constitution. The electors, in order that they might be able to attend to all these duties, had divided themselves into several committees. One, called the committee of research, superintended the police; another, called the committee of subsistence, directed its attention to the supply of provisions—the most difficult and dangerous task of all. It was in the latter that Bailly was himself obliged to labour night and day. It was necessary to make continual purchases of corn, then to get it ground, and afterwards carried to Paris through the famished country. The convoys were frequently stopped, and it required numerous detachments to prevent pillage by the way and in the markets. Though the state sold corn at a loss, that the bakers might keep down the price of bread, the multitude was not satisfied: it was found expedient to reduce the price still more, and the dearth at Paris was increased by this very diminution, because the country people flocked thither to supply themselves. Fears for the morrow caused all who could to lay in an abundant stock, and thus what was accumulated in some hands left nothing for others. It is confidence that accelerates the operations

of commerce, that produces an abundant supply of articles of consumption, and that renders their distribution equal and easy. But when confidence disappears, commercial activity ceases; articles of consumption no longer arriving in sufficient quantity to meet the wants, those wants become importunate, add confusion to dearth, and prevent the proper distribution of the little that is left. The supply of subsistence was therefore the most arduous duty of all. Bailly and the committee were a prey to painful anxieties. The whole labour of the day scarcely sufficed for the wants of the day, and they had to begin again on the morrow with the same perplexities.

Lafayette, commandant of the civic militia, had as many troubles to encounter as Bailly. He had incorporated into this militia the French guards devoted to the cause of the revolution, a certain number of Swiss, and a great quantity of soldiers who had deserted from their regiments in the hope of higher pay. The King had himself authorized this proceeding. These troops, collectively, formed what were called the companies of the centre. The militia assumed the name of the national guard, adopted a uniform, and added to the two colours of the Parisian cockade, red and blue, the white colour which was that of the King. This was the tri-coloured cockade, whose destinies Lafayette predicted, when he declared that it would make the tour of the world.

It was at the head of these troops that Lafayette strove for two consecutive years to maintain the public tranquillity, and to enforce the execution of the laws which the Assembly daily enacted. Lafayette, the offspring of an ancient family which had remained uncontaminated amidst the corruption of the great, endowed with a firm and upright mind, and fond of true glory, had become weary of the frivolities of the court and of the pedantic discipline of our armies. As his own country offered nothing noble to be attempted, he decided in favour of the most generous enterprise of the age, and embarked for America, the day after that on which a report reached Europe that it was subdued. He there fought by the side of Washington, and decided the enfranchisement of the New World by the alliance of France. Returning to his own country with a European renown, welcomed at court as a novelty, he showed himself there, simple and free as an American. When philosophy, which had been but a pastime for noble idlers, required sacrifices from them, Lafayette persisted almost alone in his opinions, demanded the States-general, contributed powerfully to the junction of the orders, and, by way of recompense, was appointed commandant-general of the national guard. Lafayette had not the passions and the genius which frequently lead to the abuse of power: with an equable mind, a sound understanding, and a system of invariable disinterestedness, he was peculiarly fitted for the part which circumstances had allotted to him—that of superintending the execution of the laws. Adored by his troops, though he had not captivated them by victory, ever calm and full of resources, amidst the ebullitions of the multitude, he preserved order with indefatigable vigilance. The parties which had found him incorruptible depreciated his abilities, because they could not attack his character. He formed, however, no false estimate of men and events, appreciated the court and the party-leaders at no more than their real value, and protected them at the peril of his life without esteeming them; struggled, frequently without hope, against the factions, but with the perseverance of a man who is determined never to forsake the public weal, even when he deems it hopeless.

Lafayette, notwithstanding his indefatigable vigilance, was not always successful in his endeavours to check the popular fury. For, let a force be ever so active, it cannot show itself everywhere against a populace that is everywhere in agitation, and looks upon every man as an enemy. Every moment, the most absurd reports were circulated and credited. Sometimes it was said that the soldiers of the French guards had been poisoned; at others, that the flour had been wilfully adulterated, or that its arrival had been prevented; and those who took the greatest pains to bring it to the capital were obliged to appear before an ignorant mob, who overwhelmed them with abuse or covered them with applause, according to the humour of the moment. Whether it was, however, that men were paid for aggravating the disturbances by instigating the rabble, or that they had still more detestable motives,

so much is certain, that they directed the fury of the people, who knew not either how to select or to seek long for their victims. Foulon and Berthier were pursued and apprehended at a distance from Paris. This was done with evident design. There was nothing spontaneous in the proceedings, except the fury of the mob by whom they were murdered. Foulon, formerly an intendant, a harsh and rapacious man, had committed horrible extortions, and had been one of the ministers appointed to succeed Necker and his colleagues. He was apprehended at Virey, though he had spread a report of his death. He was conveyed to Paris, and reproached by the way with having said that the people ought to be made to eat hay. A collar of nettles was put round his neck, a bunch of thistles in his hand, and a truss of hay at his back. In this state he was dragged to the Hôtel de Ville. At the same instant, his son-in-law, Berthier de Sauvigny, was apprehended at Compiègne, by an order, as it was alleged, of the commune of Paris, which had never issued any such order. The commune instantly wrote directing that he should be released; but this injunction was not executed. He was brought to Paris at the very moment that Foulon was exposed at the Hôtel de Ville to the rage of the furious rabble. They were for putting him to death. The remonstrance of Lafayette had pacified them for a moment, and they consented that Foulon should be tried; but they insisted that sentence should be passed forthwith, that they might be gratified by its immediate execution. Some electors had been chosen to act as judges; but they had on various pretexts refused the terrible office. At length Bailly and Lafayette were designated for it; and they were already reduced to the cruel extremity of devoting themselves to the rage of the populace or sacrificing a victim. Lafayette, however, continued to temporize with great art and firmness: he had several times addressed the crowd with success. The unfortunate Foulon, placed on a seat by his side, had the imprudence to applaud his concluding words. "Look you," said a bystander, "how they play into each other's hands." At this expression the crowd became agitated and rushed upon Foulon. Lafayette made incredible efforts to save him from the murderers; again the unfortunate old man was dragged from him and hanged to a lamp. His head was cut off, stuck on a pike, and paraded through Paris. At this moment Berthier arrived in a cabriolet, escorted by guards, and followed by the multitude. The bleeding head was shown to him without his suspecting that it was the head of his father-in-law. He was conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where he uttered a few words full of courage and indignation. Seized anew by the mob, he disengaged himself for a moment, snatched a weapon, made a desperate defence, and soon perished like the unhappy Foulon. These murders had been conducted by enemies either to Foulon or to the public welfare; for the apprehension of the victims was the result of contrivance, though the fury of the rabble at sight of them had been spontaneous, like most of its movements. Lafayette, full of grief and indignation, resolved to resign. Bailly and the municipality alarmed at this intention, were anxious to divert him from it. It was then agreed that he should announce his resignation, to show his dissatisfaction with the people, but that he should suffer himself to be persuaded to retain his command by the entreaties that would not fail to be addressed to him. The people and the militia did actually throng around him and promised the utmost obedience in future. On this condition he resumed the command; and, subsequently, he had the satisfaction of preventing many disturbances by his own energy and the zeal of his troops.

Meanwhile Necker had received at Basle the commands of the King and the solicitations of the Assembly. It was the Polignacs, whom he had left triumphant at Versailles, and whom he encountered as fugitives at Basle, that first apprized him of the misfortunes of the throne, and the sudden return to favour that awaited him. He sat out and traversed France, drawn in triumph by the people, to whom, according to his custom, he recommended peace and good order. Though an enemy of the Baron de Besenval, he went to his succour, and promised to demand his pardon from the Parisians. The King received him with embarrassment, the Assembly with enthusiasm; and he resolved to proceed to Paris, where he too might expect to have his day of triumph. Necker's intention was to solicit

of the electors the pardon and liberation of the Baron de Besenval. In vain did Bailly, not less an enemy than himself to rigorous measures, but a more just appreciator of circumstances, represent to him the danger of such a step, and observe that this favour, obtained in a moment of excitement, would be revoked next day as illegal, because an administrative body could neither condemn nor pardon; Necker persisted, and made a trial of his influence over the capital. He repaired to the Hôtel de Ville on the 29th of July. His hopes were surpassed, and he could not help believing himself omnipotent on beholding the transports of the multitude. Deeply affected, his eyes filled with tears, he demanded a general amnesty, which was instantly granted by acclamation. The two assemblies, of the electors and representatives, manifested equal enthusiasm: the electors decreed a general amnesty; the representatives of the commune ordered the liberation of Besenval. Necker retired intoxicated, taking to himself the plaudits that were addressed to his dismissal from office. But that very day he was destined to be undeceived. Mirabeau prepared for him a cruel reverse. In the Assembly, in the districts, a general outcry was raised against the sensibility of the minister, very excusable, it was said, but mistaken. The districts of the Oratoire, instigated, as we are assured, by Mirabeau, was the first to find fault. It was maintained on all sides that an administrative body could neither condemn nor absolve. The illegal measure of the Hôtel de Ville was annulled, and the detention of the Baron de Besenval confirmed. So soon was verified the opinion of the sagacious Bailly, which Necker could not be persuaded to follow.

At this moment parties began to speak out more decidedly. The parliaments, the nobility, the clergy, the court, all threatened with the same ruin, had united their interests, and acted in concert. Neither the Count d'Artois nor the Polignacs were any longer at the court. Consternation mingled with despair pervaded the aristocracy. Having been unable to prevent what it termed the evil, it was now desirous that the people should commit as much evil as possible, in order to bring about good by the very excess of that evil. This system, compounded of spite and perfidy, which is called political pessimism, begins among parties as soon as they have suffered sufficient losses to make them renounce what they have left in the hope of regaining the whole. The aristocracy began from this time to adopt this system, and it was frequently seen voting with the most violent members of the popular party.

Circumstances draw forth men. The danger which threatened the nobility, produced a champion for it. Young Cazalès, captain in the Queen's Dragoons, had found in himself an unlooked-for energy of mind and facility of expression. Precise and simple, he said promptly and suitably what he had to say; and it is to be regretted that his upright mind was devoted to a cause which had no valid reasons to urge till it had been persecuted. The clergy had found its defender in the Abbé Maury. That abbé, a practised and inexhaustible sophist, had many happy sallies and great coolness: he could courageously withstand tumult and audaciously oppose evidence. Such were the means and the dispositions of the aristocracy.

The ministry was without views and without plans. Necker, hated by the court, which endured him from compulsion,—Necker alone had, not a plan, but a wish. He had always a longing after the English constitution, the best no doubt that can be adopted, as an accommodation between the throne, the aristocracy, and the people; but this constitution, proposed by the Bishop of Langres, before the establishment of a single assembly, and refused by the first orders, had become impracticable. The high nobility would not admit of two chambers, because that would be a compromise; the inferior nobility, because it could not have access to the upper chamber; the popular party, because still filled with apprehensions of the aristocracy, it was unwilling to leave any influence to the latter. A few deputies only, some from moderation, others because that idea was their own, wished for English institutions, and formed the whole party of the minister—a weak party, because it held forth only conciliatory views to exasperated passions, and opposed to its adversaries arguments alone, without any means of action.

The popular party began to disagree, because it began to conquer. Lally-Tollendal, Mounier, Malouet, and other partisans of Necker, approved of all that had been done thus far, because all that had been done had brought over the government to their ideas, that is to say to the English constitution. They now judged that this was sufficient; reconciled with power, they wished to stop there. The popular party, on the contrary, conceived that it was not yet time to stop. It was in the Breton club that the question was discussed with the greatest vehemence. A sincere conviction was the motive of the majority; personal pretensions began nevertheless to manifest themselves, and the movements of private interest to succeed the first flights of patriotism. Barnave, a young advocate of Grenoble, endowed with a clear and ready mind, and possessing, in the highest degree, the talents requisite for a good speaker, formed with the two Lameths a triumvirate, which interested by its youth, and soon influenced by its activity and its abilities. Duport, the young councillor to the parliament, whom we have already seen distinguishing himself, belonged to their association. It was said at the time that Duport conceived all that ought to be done, that Barnave expressed it, and that the Lameths executed it. However, these young deputies were the friends of one another, without being yet declared enemies to any one.

The most courageous of the popular leaders, he who, ever in the van, opened the boldest discussions, was Mirabeau. The absurd institutions of the old monarchy had shocked just minds, and excited the indignation of upright hearts; but it was impossible that they should not have galled some ardent spirit and inflamed strong passions. This spirit was that of Mirabeau, who, encountering from his birth every kind of tyranny, that of his father, of the government, and of the tribunals, spent his youth in combating and in hating them. He was born beneath the sun of Provence, the offspring of a noble family. He had early made himself notorious by his dissolute manners, his quarrels, and an impetuous eloquence. His travels, observation, and immense reading, had taught him much, and his memory had retained it all. But extravagant, eccentric, nay, even a sophist, without the aid of passion, he became by its aid a different man. No sooner was he excited by the tribune and the presence of his opponents than his mind took fire: his first ideas were confused, his words incoherent, his whole frame agitated, but presently the light burst forth. His mind then performed in a moment the labour of years; and in the very tribune all was to him new discovery, sudden and energetic expression. If again crossed, he returned still more forcible and more clear, and presented the truth in images either striking or terrible. Were the circumstances difficult, were minds fatigued by a long discussion, or intimidated by danger, an ejaculation, a decisive word dropped from his lips, his countenance looking terrific with ugliness and genius, and the assembly, enlightened or encouraged, enacted laws or passed magnanimous resolutions.

Proud of his high qualities, jesting over his vices, by turns haughty or supple, he won some by his flattery, awed others by his sarcasms, and led all in his train by the extraordinary influence which he possessed. His party was everywhere, among the people, in the Assembly, in the very court, with all those, in short, to whom he was at the moment addressing himself. Mingling familiarly with men, just when it was requisite to do so, he had applauded the rising talent of Barnave, though he disliked his young friends; he appreciated the profound understanding of Sieyes, and humoured his wild disposition; he dreaded too pure a life in Lafayette; in Necker he detested an extreme rigour, the pride of reason, and the pretension of directing a revolution which he knew to be attributable to him. He was not friendly to the Duke of Orleans and his unsteady ambition, and, as we shall soon see, he never had any interest in common with him. Thus, unaided except by his genius, he attacked despotism, which he had sworn to destroy. If, however, he was a foe to the vanities of monarchy, he was still more adverse to the ostracism of republics; but, not being sufficiently revenged on the great and on power, he still continued to destroy. Harassed moreover by straightened circumstances, dissatisfied with the present, he was advancing towards an unknown future; by his talents, his ambition, his vices, his pecuniary embarrassments, he

gave rise to all sorts of conjectures, and by his cynical language he authorized all suspicions and all calumnies.

Thus were France and the parties divided. The first differences between the popular deputies arose on occasion of the excesses committed by the multitude. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal proposed a solemn proclamation to the people, to reprobate their outrages. The Assembly, sensible of the uselessness of this measure, and the necessity for preserving the good-will of the populace who had supported it, at first rejected this proposal, but, afterwards yielding to the solicitations of some of its members, it at length issued a proclamation, which proved, as it had been foreseen, utterly useless, for it is not by words that an excited populace can be pacified.

The agitation was general. A sudden terror had spread itself everywhere. The name of those brigands who had been seen starting up in the different commotions was in all mouths, and their image in all minds. The court threw the blame of their outrages on the popular party, and the popular party on the court. All at once, couriers, traversing France in all directions, brought tidings that the brigands were coming, and that they were cutting the corn before it was ripe. People assembled from all quarters, and in a few days all France was in arms, awaiting the brigands, who never made their appearance. This stratagem, which extended the revolution of the 14th of July to every part of the kingdom, by causing the whole nation to take up arms, was attributed to all the parties, and has since been imputed to the popular party, which benefited by its results. It is surprising that a stratagem, more ingenious than culpable, should be bandied about from one to the other. It has been ascribed to Mirabeau, who boasted of being its author, and who nevertheless has disavowed it. It was not unlike a contrivance by Sieyes, and some have imagined that it was he who suggested it to the Duke of Orleans. Lastly, it was imputed by others to the court. Such persons argue that those couriers would have been apprehended at every step had they not been authorized by the government; that the court, never having supposed the revolution to be general, and looking upon it as a mere riot of the Parisians, wished to arm the provinces for the purpose of opposing them to the capital. Be this as it may, the expedient proved beneficial to the nation, by arming and enabling it to protect itself and its rights.

The people of the towns had shaken off their fetters; the country people also determined to shake off theirs. They refused to pay the feudal dues; they attacked such of the landholders as had oppressed them; they set fire to their mansions, burned their title-deeds, and, in some parts of the country, committed atrocious acts of revenge. A deplorable accident had greatly contributed to excite this universal effervescence. A sieur de Mesmai, *seigneur* of Quincey, gave an entertainment in the grounds about his mansion. All the country people were assembled there, and indulging in various amusements, when a barrel of gunpowder, suddenly taking fire, produced a murderous explosion. This accident, since ascertained to have been the effect of imprudence and not of design, was imputed as a crime to the sieur de Mesmai. The report of it soon spread, and everywhere provoked the barbarity of those peasants, hardened by misery and rendered cruel by long sufferings. The ministers came in a body to submit to the Assembly a picture of the deplorable state of France, and to demand from it the means of restoring order. These disasters of all kinds had occurred since the 14th of July. The month of August was beginning, and it became indispensable to re-establish the action of the government and of the laws. But, to attempt this with success, it was necessary to commence the regeneration of the state with the reform of the institutions which were most obnoxious to the people, and had the greatest tendency to excite them to insurrection. One part of the nation, subject to the other, was burdened with a number of what were termed feudal dues. Some, called useful, compelled the peasants to make ruinous advances; others, named honorary, required them to pay humiliating marks of respect and services to their lords. These were relics of the feudal barbarism, the abolition of which was due to humanity. These privileges, considered as property, and even called so by the

King in the declaration of the 23d of June, could not be abolished by a discussion. It was requisite, by a sudden movement, to excite the possessors to resign them of their own accord.

The Assembly was then discussing the famous declaration of the rights of man. It had at first been debated whether there should be such a declaration or not, and it had been decided, on the morning of the 4th of August, that it should be made and placed at the head of the constitution. In the evening of the same day, the committee made its report on the disturbances and the means of putting an end to them. The Viscount de Noailles and the Duke d'Aiguillon, both members of the nobility, then ascended the tribune, and represented that it would be silly to employ force to quiet the people; that the right way would be to destroy the cause of their sufferings, and then the agitation which was the effect of them would instantly cease. Explaining themselves more fully, they proposed to abolish all the vexatious rights, which, by the name of feudal rights, oppressed the country people. M. Leguen de Kerengal, a landholder of Bretagne, appeared in the tribune in the dress of a farmer, and drew a frightful picture of the feudal system. Presently the generosity of some was excited and the pride of others wrought upon to such a degree as to produce a sudden paroxysm of disinterestedness; every one hurried to the tribune to renounce his privileges. The nobility set the first example, which was as cheerfully followed by the clergy. A sort of intoxication seized the Assembly. Setting aside a superfluous discussion, and which certainly was not required to demonstrate the justice of such sacrifices, all orders, all classes, all the possessors of prerogatives of every kind, hastened to renounce them. After the deputies of the first orders, those of the commons came also to offer their sacrifices. Having no personal privileges to give up, they relinquished those of the provinces and the towns. The equality of rights, established between individuals, was thus established also between all the parts of the French territory. Some offered pensions, and a member of the parliament, having nothing else to give, promised his zeal in behalf of the public welfare. The steps of the office were covered with deputies who came to deliver the acts of their renunciation. They were content for the moment to enumerate the sacrifices, and deferred till the following day the drawing up of the articles. The impulse was general, but, amidst this enthusiasm, it was easy to perceive that certain of the privileged persons, so far from being sincere, were desirous only of making matters worse. Everything was to be feared from the effect of that night and the impulse given, when Lally-Tollendal, perceiving the danger, caused a note to this effect to be handed to the president: "Everything is to be apprehended from the enthusiasm of the Assembly; break up the sitting." At the same instant, a deputy ran up to him, and, grasping his hand with emotion, said to him, "Procure us the royal sanction, and we are friends." Lally-Tollendal, sensible of the necessity of attaching the revolution to the King, then proposed to proclaim him the restorer of French liberty. The motion was hailed with enthusiasm; it was resolved that *Te Deum* should be performed, and the Assembly at length broke up about midnight.

During this memorable night the Assembly had decreed:

The abolition of the quality of serf;

The right of compounding for the seignorial dues;

The abolition of the seignorial jurisdictions;

The suppression of exclusive rights to hunt, to keep dove-cotes, warrens, &c.;

The redemption of tithes;

The equality of taxes;

The admission of all the citizens to civil and military employments;

The abolition of the sale of offices;

The suppression of all the privileges of towns and provinces;

The reformation of the *jurandes;*

And the suppression of pensions obtained without claims.

These resolutions had been passed in a general form, and they still remained to be embodied in decrees; and then, the first fervour of generosity having subsided, some strove to extend, others to contract, the concessions obtained. The discus-

sion grew warm, and a late and injudicious resistance did away with all claim to gratitude.

The abolition of feudal rights had been agreed upon; but it was necessary to make a distinction between such of these rights as were to be abolished and those that were to be redeemed. The conquerors, the first creators of the nobility, when of old they subdued the country, imposed services upon the inhabitants and a tribute upon the land. They had even seized part of the latter, and had gradually restored it to the cultivators only on condition of being paid perpetual rents. A long possession, followed by numerous transfers, constituting property, all the charges imposed upon the inhabitants and the lands had acquired the same character. The Constituent Assembly was therefore compelled to attack property. In this situation, it was not as more or less acquired, but as being more or less burdensome to society, that the Assembly had to deal with it. It abolished personal services; and, several of these services having been changed into quit-rents, it abolished these quit-rents. Among the tributes imposed upon land, it abolished those which were evidently the relics of servitude, as the fines imposed upon transfer; and it declared redeemable all the perpetual rents, that were the price for which the nobility had formerly ceded part of the lands to the cultivators. Nothing, therefore, is more absurd than to accuse the Constituent Assembly of having violated property, since everything had become such; and it is strange that the nobility, having so long violated it, either by imposing tributes or by not paying taxes, should become all at once so tenacious of principles, when its own prerogatives were at stake. The seignorial courts were also called property, because they had for ages been transmitted from heir to heir: but the Assembly, disregarding this plea, abolished them; directing, however, that they should be kept up till a substitute should be provided for them.

The exclusive right of the chase was also a subject of warm discussion. Notwithstanding the vain objection that the whole population would soon be in arms if the right of sporting were made general, it was conferred on every one within the limits of his own lands. The privileged dove-cotes were in like manner defended. The Assembly decided that everybody might keep them, but that in harvest-time pigeons might be killed like ordinary game, upon the lands which they might be visiting. All the captainships were abolished, but it was added that provision should be made for the private pleasures of the King by means compatible with liberty and property.

One article gave rise to discussions of peculiar violence, on account of the more important questions to which it was the prelude, and the interests which it attacked—this was an article relative to tithes. On the night of the 4th of August, the Assembly had declared that tithes might be redeemed. At the moment of drawing up the decree, it determined to abolish them without redemption, taking care to add that the state should provide for the maintenance of the clergy. There was no doubt an informality in this decision, because it interfered with a resolution already adopted. But to this objection Garat answered that this would be a *bonâ fide* redemption, since the state actually redeemed the tithes to the relief of the contributor, by undertaking to make a provision for the clergy. The Abbé Sieyes, who was seen with surprise among the defenders of the tithes, and who was not supposed to be a disinterested defender of that impost, admitted in fact that the state really redeemed the tithes, but that it committed a robbery on the mass of the nation by throwing upon its shoulders a debt which ought to be borne by the landed proprietors alone. This objection, urged in a striking manner, was accompanied with this keen and since frequently repeated expression: "You want to be free, and you know not how to be just." Though Sieyes thought this objection unanswerable, the answer to it was easy. The debt incurred for the support of religion is the debt of all; whether it should be paid by the landed proprietors rather than by the whole of the tenants, is a point for the state to decide. It robs nobody by dividing the burden in such a manner as it deems most proper. Tithes, by oppressing the little proprietors, destroyed agriculture; the state had therefore a right to provide a substitute for that impost; and this Mirabeau proved to demon-

stration. The clergy, which preferred tithes, because it foresaw that the salary adjudged by the state would be measured according to its real necessities, claimed a property in tithes by immemorial concessions; it renewed that oft-repeated argument of long possession, which proves nothing; otherwise everything, not excepting tyranny itself, would be rendered legitimate by possession. It was answered that tithe was only a life-interest, that it was not transferable, and had not the principal characters of property; that it was evidently a tax imposed in favour of the clergy; and that the state undertook to change this tax into another. The pride of the clergy revolted at the idea of its receiving a salary; on this subject it combined with vehemence: and Mirabeau, who was particularly dexterous in launching the shafts of reason and irony, replied to the complainants that he knew of but three ways of existing in society—by robbing, begging, or being paid a salary. The clergy felt that it behoved it to give up what it was no longer able to defend. The *curés* in particular, knowing that they had everything to gain from the spirit of justice which pervaded the Assembly, and that it was the opulence of the prelates which was the especial object of attack, were the first to desist. The entire abolition of tithes was therefore decreed; it was added that the state would take upon itself the expense of providing for the ministers of religion, and that meanwhile the tithe should continue to be levied. This latter clause, fraught with respect, proved indeed useless. The people would no longer pay, but that they would not do even before the passing of the decree; and, when the Assembly abolished the feudal system, it was already in fact overthrown. On the 11th, all the articles were presented to the monarch, who accepted the title of the restorer of French liberty, and was present at the *Te Deum*, having the president at his right hand and all the deputies in his train.

Thus was consummated the most important reform of the revolution. The Assembly had manifested equal energy and moderation. Unfortunately, a nation never knows how to resume with moderation the exercise of its rights. Atrocious outrages were committed throughout the whole kingdom. The mansions of the gentry continued to be set on fire, and the country was inundated by sportsmen eager to avail themselves of their newly acquired rights. They spread over the lands formerly reserved for the exclusive pleasure of their oppressors, and committed frightful devastations. Every usurpation meets with a cruel retribution, and he who usurps ought at least to consider his children, who almost always have to pay the penalty. Numerous accidents occurred. So early as the 7th of August, the ministers again attended the Assembly for the purpose of laying before it a report on the state of the kingdom. The keeper of the seals announced the alarming disturbances which had taken place; Necker revealed the deplorable state of the finances. The Assembly received this twofold message with sorrow, but without discouragement. On the 10th, it passed a decree relative to the public tranquillity, by which the municipalities were directed to provide for the preservation of order by dispersing all seditious assemblages. They were to deliver up mere rioters to the tribunals; but those who had excited alarms, circulated false orders, or instigated to outrages, were to be imprisoned, and the proceedings addressed to the National Assembly, that it might be enabled to ascertain the cause of these disturbances. The national militia and the regular troops were placed at the disposal of the municipalities, and they were to take an oath to be faithful to the nation, the King, and the law. This oath was afterwards called the civic oath.

The report of Necker on the finances was extremely alarming. It was the want of subsidies that had caused recourse to be had to a National Assembly; no sooner had this Assembly met, than it had commenced a struggle with power; and, directing its whole attention to the urgent necessity of establishing guarantees, it had neglected that of securing the revenues of the state. On Necker alone rested the whole care of the finances. While Bailly, charged with provisioning the capital, was in the most painful anxiety, Necker, harassed by less urgent but far more extensive wants—Necker, absorbed in laborious calculations, tormented by a thousand troubles, strove to supply the public necessities; and, while he was thinking only of financial questions, he was not aware that the Assembly was thinking exclusively of political

questions. Necker and the Assembly, each engrossed by their own object, perceived no other. If, however, the alarm of Necker was justified by the actual distress, so was the confidence of the Assembly, by the elevation of its views. That Assembly, embracing France and its future fortunes, could not believe that this fine kingdom, though involved for the moment in embarrassments, was for ever plunged into indigence.

Necker, when he entered upon office in August, 1788, had found but four hundred thousand francs in the exchequer. He had, by dint of assiduity, prov ided for the most urgent wants ; and circumstances had since increased those wants by diminishing the resources. It had been found necessary to purch ase corn and to sell it again for less than the cost price ; to give away considerable sums in alms ; to undertake public works, in order to furnish employment to the workmen. For this latter purpose so much as twelve thousand francs per day had been issued by the exchequer. While the expenses had increased, the receipts had diminished. The reduction of the price of salt, the delay of payments, and in many cases the absolute refusal to pay the taxes, the smuggling carried on by armed force, the destruction of the barriers, nay, the plunder of the registers and the murder of the clerks, had annihilated part of the public revenue. Necker, in consequence, demanded a loan of thirty millions. The first impression was so strong, that the Assembly was about to vote the loan by acclamation ; but this first impression soon subsided. A dislike was expressed for new loans ; a kind of contradiction was committed by appealing to the instructions, which had already been renounced, and which forbade the granting of imposts till the constitution had been framed : members even went so far as to enter into a calculation of the sums received since the preceding year, as if they distrusted the minister. However, the absolute necessity of providing for the wants of the state caused the loan to be carried ; but the minister's plan was changed, and the interest reduced to four and a half per cent., in false reliance upon a patriotism which was in the nation, but which could not exist in money-lenders by profession, the only persons who in general enter into financial speculations of this kind. This first blunder was one of those which assemblies usually commit, because they supersede the immediate views of the minister who acts by the general views of twelve hundred minds which speculate. It was easy to perceive, therefore, that the spirit of the nation began already not to harmonize with the timidity of the minister.

Having bestowed this indispensable care on the public tranquillity and the finances, the Assembly directed its attention to the declaration of rights. The first idea of it had been furnished by Lafayette, who had himself borrowed it from the Americans. This discussion, interrupted by the revolution of the 14th of July, renewed on the 1st of August, a second time interrupted by the abolition of the feudal system, was anew and definitively resumed on the 12th of August. This idea had something important which struck the Assembly. The enthusiasm pervading the minds of the members disposed them to everything that was grand ; this enthusiasm produced their sincerity, their courage, their good and their bad resolutions. Accordingly, they caught at this idea, and resolved to carry it into execution. Had they meant only to proclaim certain principles, particularly obnoxious to the authority whose yoke they had just shaken off, such as the voting of taxes, religious liberty, the liberty of the press, and ministerial responsibility, nothing would have been more easy. This was what America and England had formerly done. France might have compressed into a few pithy and positive maxims the new principles which she imposed upon her government ; but, desiring to go back to a state of nature, she aspired to give a complete declaration of all the rights of the man and of the citizen. At first the necessity and the danger of such a declaration were discussed. Much was said and to no purpose on this subject, for there was neither utility nor danger in issuing a declaration composed of formulas that were above the comprehension of the people. It was something only for a certain number of philosophic minds, which never take any great part in popular seditions. It was resolved that it should be made and placed at the head of the constitutional act. But it was necessary to draw it up, and that was the most difficult point. What is a right ?—that which is due to men. Now all the good that can be done to them is

their due; every wise measure of government is therefore a right. Thus all the proposed plans contained a definition of the law, the manner in which it was to be made, the principle of the sovereignty, &c. It was objected that these were not rights, but general maxims. It was nevertheless of importance to express those maxims. Mirabeau, becoming impatient, at length exclaimed, "Omit the word rights, and say, 'For the interest of all it has been declared.'" The more imposing title of declaration of rights was nevertheless preferred, and under it were blended maxims, principles, and declarations. Out of the whole was composed the celebrated declaration placed at the head of the constitution of 1791. In other respects, there was no great harm done in wasting a few sittings on a philosophic commonplace. But who can censure men for becoming intoxicated with an object by which they were so much engrossed.

It was at length time to turn to the consideration of the constitution. The fatigue occasioned by the preliminaries was general, and the fundamental questions began already to be discussed out of the Assembly. The English constitution was the model that naturally presented itself to many minds, since it was the compact made in England in consequence of a similar struggle between the king, the aristocracy, and the people. This constitution resided essentially in the establishment of two chambers and in the royal sanction. Minds in their first flight go to the simplest ideas: a people declaring its will, and a king who executes it, appeared to them the only legitimate form of government. To give to the aristocracy a share equal to that of the nation, by means of an upper chamber; to give to the king the right of annulling the national will; seemed to them absurdity. *The nation wills, the king executes:* they could not get beyond these simple elements, and they imagined that they wished for a monarchy, because they left a king as the executer of the national resolutions. Real monarchy, as it exists even in states reputed free, is the rule of one, to which limits are set by means of the national concurrence. There the will of the prince in reality does almost everything, and that of the nation is confined to the prevention of evil, either by disputing the taxes, or by concurring in the law. But the moment that the nation can order what it pleases, without the king's having the power to oppose it by a *veto*, the king is no more than a magistrate. It is then a republic, with one consul instead of several. The government of Poland, though it had a king, was never called a monarchy but a republic; there was a king also at Lacedæmon.

Monarchy, properly understood, requires therefore great concessions from opinion. But it is not after a long nullity, and in their first enthusiasm, that they are disposed to make them. Thus the republic existed in men's opinions, without being mentioned, and they were republicans without being aware of it.

In the discussion, the members did not explain themselves with precision: accordingly, notwithstanding the genius and knowledge to be found by the Assembly, the question was superficially treated and imperfectly understood. The partisans of the English constitution, Necker, Mounier, and Lally, could not see in what the monarchy ought to consist; and if they had seen it, they durst not have told the Assembly plainly that the national will ought not to be omnipotent, and that it ought to confine itself to prevention rather than take upon itself the executive. All they had to urge was, that it was necessary that the King should possess the power of checking the encroachments of an assembly; that in order to his duly executing the law, and executing it cheerfully, it was requisite that he should have co-operated in it; and finally that there ought to exist a connexion between the executive and legislative powers. These reasons were bad, or at any rate weak. It was ridiculous, in fact, whilst recognising the national sovereignty, to pretend to oppose to it the sole will of the King.*

* The reader will find in the sequel, at the commencement of the history of the Legislative Assembly, a judgment that appears to me to be just concerning the faults imputed to the constitution of 1791. I have here but one word to say on the plan of establishing, at this period, the English form of government in France. That form of government is a compromise between the three interests which divide modern states—royalty, the aristocracy, and the democracy. Now this compromise cannot take place, till after the parties have exhausted their strength, that is to

They defended the two chambers more successfully, because they are in fact, even in a republic, higher classes which must oppose the too rapid movements of the classes that are raising themselves, by defending the ancient institutions against the new institutions. But that upper chamber, more indispensable than the royal prerogative, since there is no instance of a republic without a senate, was more scouted than the sanction, because people were more exasperated against the aristocracy than against royalty. It was impracticable then to form an upper chamber, because nobody wished for it: the inferior nobility opposed it, because they could not obtain admission into it; the privileged persons themselves who were desperate, because they desired the worst; the popular party, because it would not leave the aristocracy a post whence it might command the national will. Mounier, Lally, and Necker, were almost the only members who wished for this upper chamber. Sieyes, by an absolute error in judgment, would not admit either of the two chambers or of the royal sanction. He conceived society to be completely uniform; according to him, the mass, without distinction of classes, ought to be charged to will, and the King, as the sole magistrate, to be charged to execute. He was, therefore, quite sincere when he said that, whether monarchy or republic, it was the same thing, since the difference consisted, in his opinion, only in the number of the magistrates charged with the execution. The characteristic of the mind of Sieyes was concatenation; that is to say, the strict connexion of his own ideas. He was in the best understanding with himself, but he harmonized neither with the nature of things nor with minds different from his own. He subdued them by the empire of his absolute maxims, but rarely persuaded them: therefore, as he could neither break his systems into parts nor cause them to be adopted entire, he naturally began soon to be in an ill humour. Mirabeau, a man of straightforward, prompt, supple mind, was not further advanced, in point of political science, than the Assembly itself; he was adverse to the two chambers, not from conviction, but from the knowledge of their then impracticability, and from hatred of the aristocracy. He defended the royal sanction from a monarchical predilection, and he had pledged himself to it at the opening of the States, when he said, that without the sanction he would rather live at Constantinople than in Paris. Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, could not agree in these sentiments of Mirabeau. They were for not admitting either of the upper chamber or of the royal sanction; but they were not so obstinate as Sieyes, and consented to modify their opinion by allowing the King and the upper chamber a merely suspensive *veto*, that is to say, the power of temporarily opposing the national will, expressed in the lower chamber.

The first discussions took place on the 28th and 29th of August. The friends of Barnave were desirous of treating with Mounier, whose obstinacy had made him leader of the party in favour of the English constitution. It behoved them to gain over the most inflexible, and to him therefore they addressed themselves. Conferences were held; when it was found to be impossible to change an opinion that had been long cherished by him; they assented to those English forms to which he was so wedded; but on condition that, in opposing to the popular chamber an upper chamber and the King, only one suspensive *veto* should be given to the two, and that, moreover, the King should not have authority to dissolve the Assembly. Mounier replied, like a man whose mind is thoroughly convinced, that truth was not his property, and that he could not sacrifice one part to save the other. Thus

say, after combat, or in other words, after a revolution. In England, in fact, it was not brought about till after a long struggle, after democracy and usurpation. To pretend to effect the compromise before the combat, is to attempt to make peace before war. This is a melancholy, but at the same time an incontestable truth: men never treat till they have exhausted their strength. The English constitution, therefore, was not practicable in France till after revolution. It was no doubt well to preach it up, but those who did so went injudiciously to work; and, had they even shown better judgment, they might not have been more successful. I shall add, in order to diminish regret, that, had even the entire English constitution been inscribed on our table of the law, this treaty would not have appeased men's passions, till the parties had come to blows, and the battle had been fought in spite of this preliminary treaty. I repeat it, then, war, that is, revolution, was indispensable. God has given justice to men only at the price of battlse.

did he wreck both institutions by refusing to modify them. And if it were true, which it was not, as we shall presently see, that the constitution of 1791 overturned the throne by the suppression of the upper chamber, Mounier would have occasion to reproach himself severely. Mounier was not passionate but obstinate; he was as absolute in his system as Sieyes was in his, and preferred losing all to giving up anything. The negotiations were broken off in anger. Mounier had been threatened with the public opinion of Paris, and his adversaries set out, he said, to exercise that influence with which he had been menaced.*

These questions divided the people as well as the representatives, and if they did not comprehend them, they attacked or defended them with not the less warmth. They summed them all up in the short and expeditious term *veto*. They approved or disapproved the *veto*, and this signified that they wished or did not wish for tyranny. The populace, without even understanding this, took the *veto* for a tax which ought to be abolished, or an enemy that ought to be hung, and were eager to consign him to the lamp-post.†

The Palais Royal, in particular, was in the greatest fermentation. Men of ardent minds assembled there, who, spurning even the forms imposed in the districts, mounted a chair, began their uncalled-for harangues, and were hissed or borne in triumph by an immense crowd, which hastened to execute what they proposed. There, Camille Desmoulins, already mentioned in this history, distinguished himself by the energy, originality, and cynical turn of his mind; and without being cruel himself he demanded cruelties. There, too, was seen St. Hurugue, an ancient marquis, long imprisoned in the Bastille on account of

* I am far from censuring the obstinacy of Mounier, for nothing is more respectable than conviction; but it is a curious fact to ascertain. Here follows a passage on this subject, extracted from his *Report to his Constituents:* "Several deputies," says he, "resolved to obtain from me the sacrifice of this principle (the royal sanction), or, by sacrificing it themselves, to induce me, out of gratitude, to grant them some compensation. They took me to the house of a zealous partisan of liberty, who desired a coalition between them and me, in order that liberty might meet with fewer obstacles, and who wished merely to be present at our conferences, without taking any part in the decision. With a view to try to convince them or to enlighten myself, I assented to these conferences. They declaimed strongly against the alleged inconveniences of the unlimited right which the King would possess to set aside a new law, and I was assured that, if this right were to be recognised by the Assembly, there would be a civil war. These conferences, twice renewed, were unsuccessful; they were recommenced at the house of an American, known for his abilities and his virtues, who had both the experience and the theory of the institutions proper for maintaining liberty. He gave an opinion in favour of my principles. When they found that all their efforts to make me give up my opinion were useless, they at length declared that they attached but little importance to the question of the royal sanction, though they had represented it, a few days before, as a subject for civil war; they offered to vote for the unlimited sanction, and to vote also for two chambers, but upon condition that I would not insist, in behalf of the King, on the right of dissolving the chamber of representatives; that I would claim only a suspensive *veto* for the first chamber, and that I would not oppose a fundamental law for convoking national conventions at fixed epochs, or on the requisition of the assembly of the representatives, or on that of the provinces, for the purpose of revising the constitution and making such changes in it as should be deemed necessary. By *national conventions* they meant assemblies to which should be transferred all the rights of the nation, which should combine all the powers, and would consequently have annihilated by their mere presence the authority of the sovereign and of the ordinary legislature; which should have the power to dispose arbitrarily of all sorts of authorities, to overthrow the constitution at their pleasure, and to re-establish despotism or anarchy. Lastly, they desired in some measure to leave to a single assembly, which was to be called the national convention, the supreme dictatorship, and to expose the nation to a periodical recurrence of factions and tumult.

"I expressed my surprise that they should wish to engage me in a negotiation concerning the interests of the kingdom, as if we were its absolute masters. I observed that, in leaving only the suspensive *veto* to a first chamber, if it were composed of eligible members, it would be found difficult to form it of persons worthy of the public confidence; in this case all the citizens would prefer being elected representatives; and that the chamber, being the judge of state offences, ought to possess a very great dignity, and consequently that its authority ought not to be less than that of the other chamber. Lastly, I added that, when I believed a principle to be true, I felt bound to defend it, and that I could not barter it away, since truth belonged to all citizens."

† Two countrymen were talking of the *veto*. "Dost thou know," said one of them, "what the *veto* is?"—"No, not I."—"Well then, thou has thy basin full of soup: the King says to thee, 'Spill thy soup,' and thou art forced to spill it."

family quarrels, and incensed to madness against the supreme authority. There it was every day repeated that they ought all to go to Versailles, to call the King and the Assembly to account for their hesitation to secure the welfare of the people. Lafayette had the greatest difficulty to keep them within bounds by continual patroles. The national guard was already accused of aristocracy. "There was no patrole at the Ceramicus," observed Desmoulins. The name of Cromwell had already been pronounced along with that of Lafayette. One day, it was Sunday, the 30th of August, a motion was made at the Palais Royal; Mounier was accused, Mirabeau represented to be in danger, and it was proposed to proceed to Versailles, to insure the personal safety of the latter. Mirabeau, nevertheless, defended the sanction, but without relinquishing his office as a popular tribune, and without appearing less such in the eyes of the multitude. St. Hurugue, followed by a few hot-headed persons, took the road to Versailles. They intended, they said, to prevail upon the Assembly to expel its unfaithful representatives, that others might be elected, and to entreat the King and the dauphin to remove to Paris, and to place themselves in safety amidst the people. Lafayette hastened after them, stopped them, and obliged them to turn back. On the following day, Monday, the 31st, they again met. They drew up an address to the commune, in which they demanded the convocation of the districts, in order to condemn the *veto*, to censure the deputies who supported it, to cashier them, and to nominate others in their stead. The commune repulsed them twice with the greatest firmness.

Agitation meanwhile pervaded the Assembly. Letters full of threats and invectives had been sent to the principal deputies; one of these was signed with the name of St. Hurugue. On Monday, the 31st, at the opening of the sitting, Lally denounced a deputation which he had received from the Palais Royal. This deputation had exhorted him to separate himself from the bad citizens who defended the *veto*, and added, that an army of twenty thousand men was ready to march. Mounier also read letters which he had received, proposed that search should be made for the secret authors of these machinations, and urged the Assembly to offer five hundred thousand francs to any one who should denounce them. The discussion was tumultuous. Duport maintained that it was beneath the dignity of the assembly to direct its attention to such matters. Mirabeau, too, read letters addressed to him, in which the enemies of the popular cause treated him no better than they had treated Mounier. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, and St. Hurugue, having signed one of the denounced letters, was imprisoned by order of the commune.

The three questions, concerning the permanence of the assemblies, the two chambers, and the *veto*, were discussed at once. The permanence of the Assembly was voted almost unanimously. The people had suffered too much from the long interruption of the national assemblies, not to render them permanent. The great question of the unity of the legislative body was then taken up. The tribunes were occupied by a numerous and noisy multitude. Many of the deputies withdrew. The president, then the Bishop of Langres, strove in vain to stop them; they went away in great numbers. Loud cries from all quarters required that the question should be put to the vote. Lally claimed permission to speak again; it was refused, and the president was accused of having sent him to the tribune. One member even went so far as to ask the president if he was not tired of annoying the Assembly. Offended at this expression, the president left the chair, and the discussion was again adjourned. On the following day, the 10th of September, an address was read from the city of Rennes, declaring the *veto* to be inadmissible, and those who should vote for it traitors to the country. Mounier and his partisans were exasperated, and proposed to remove the municipality. Mirabeau replied that it was not the province of the Assembly to lecture municipal officers, and that it would be right to pass to the order of the day. This question of the two chambers was finally put to the vote, and the unity of the Assembly was decreed amidst tumultuous applause. Four hundred and ninety-eight votes were in favour of one chamber, ninety-nine in favour of two, and one hundred and twenty-two votes were lost owing to the apprehensions excited in many of the deputies.

The question of the *veto* at length came on. A middle term had been found in the suspensive *veto*, which should suspend the law, but only for a time, during one or more sessions. This was considered as an appeal to the people, because the King, recurring to new assemblies, and yielding to them if they persisted, seemed in reality to appeal from them to the national authority. Mounier and his party opposed this: they were right with reference to the system of the English monarchy, where the King consults the national representation and never obeys it; but they were wrong in the situation in which they were placed. Their only object had been, they said, to prevent a too hasty resolution. Now the suspensive *veto* produced this effect quite as effectually as the absolute *veto*. If the representation should persist, the national will would be made manifest, and whilst admitting its sovereignty it was ridiculous to resist it indefinitely.

The ministry actually felt that the suspensive *veto* produced materially the effect of the absolute *veto*, and Necker advised the King to secure to himself the advantages of a voluntary sacrifice, by addressing a memorial to the Assembly, desiring the suspensive *veto*. A rumour of this got abroad, and the object and spirit of the memorial were known beforehand. It was presented on the 11th; everybody was acquainted with its purport. It would appear that Mounier, supporting the interests of the throne, ought not to have had any other views than the throne itself; but parties very soon have an interest distinct from those whom they serve. Mounier was for rejecting this communication, alleging that, if the King renounced a prerogative beneficial to the nation, it ought to be given to him in spite of himself, and for the public interest. The parts were now reversed, and the adversaries of the King maintained on this occasion his right of interference. Fresh explanations were entered into respecting the word sanction: the question, whether it should be necessary for the constitution, was discussed. After specifying that the constituting power was superior to the constituted powers, it was determined that the sanction could be exercised only upon legislative acts, but by no means upon constitutive acts, and that the latter should only be promulgated. Six hundred and seventy-three votes were in favour of the suspensive *veto*, and three hundred and fifty-five for the absolute *veto*. Thus the fundamental articles of the new constitution were determined upon. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal immediately resigned their places as members of the committee of constitution.

Up to this time, a great number of decrees had been passed, without being submitted to the royal acceptance. It was resolved to present to the King the articles of the 4th of August. The question to be decided was whether they should apply for the sanction or the mere promulgation, considering them as legislative or constitutive acts. Maury and even Lally-Tollendal were indiscreet enough to maintain that they were legislative, and to require the sanction, as if they had expected some obstacle from the royal power. Mirabeau, with rare justice, asserted that some abolished the feudal system and were eminently constitutive; that others were a pure munificence on the part of the nobility and clergy, and that, undoubtedly, the clergy and the nobility did not wish the King to revoke their liberality. Chapelier added, that there was not even any occasion to suppose the consent of the King to be necessary, as he had already approved them by accepting the title of restorer of French liberty and attending the *Te Deum*. The King was in consequence solicited to make a mere promulgation.

A member all at once proposed the hereditary transmission of the crown and the inviolability of the royal person. The Assembly, which sincerely wished for the King as its hereditary first magistrate, voted these two articles by acclamation. The inviolability of the heir presumptive was proposed; but the Duke de Mortemart instantly remarked that sons had sometimes endeavoured to dethrone their fathers, and that they ought to reserve to themselves the means of punishing them. On this ground the proposal was rejected. With respect to the article on the hereditary descent from male to male and from branch to branch, Arnault proposed to confirm the renunciations of the Spanish branch made in the treaty of Utrecht. It was urged that there was no occasion to discuss this point, because they ought not to alienate a faithful ally. Mirabeau supported this opinion, and the Assembly

passed to the order of the day. All at once Mirabeau, for the purpose of making an experiment that was ill-judged, attempted to bring forward the very question which he had himself contributed to silence. The house of Orleans would become a competitor with the Spanish house, in case of the extinction of the reigning branch. Mirabeau had observed an extraordinary eagerness to pass to the order of the day. A stranger to the Duke of Orleans, though familiar with him, as he could be with everybody, he nevertheless wished to ascertain the state of parties, and to discover who were the friends and the enemies of the duke. The question of a regency came forward. In case of minority, the King's brothers could not be guardians of their nephew, as heirs to the royal ward, and not being interested in his preservation. The regency, therefore, would belong to the nearest relative; this was either the Queen, or the Duke of Orleans, or the Spanish family. Mirabeau then proposed that the regency should not be given to any but a man born in France. "My acquaintance," said he, "with the geography of the Assembly, the point whence proceeded those cries for the order of the day, prove to me that the question here is nothing less than that of a foreign domination, and that the proposition not to deliberate, apparently Spanish, is perhaps an Austrian proposition."

Loud cries succeeded these words; the discussion recommenced with extraordinary violence; all the opposers again called for the order of the day. To no purpose did Mirabeau every moment repeat that they could have but one motive, that of bringing a foreign domination into France; they made no reply, because, in fact, they would have preferred a foreigner to the Duke of Orleans. At length, after a debate of two days, it was again decided that there was no occasion to deliberate. But Mirabeau had attained his object, in making the parties declare themselves. This experiment could not fail to draw down accusations upon him, and he passed thenceforward for an agent of the Orleans party.*

* The particulars of Mirabeau's conduct towards all the parties are not yet thoroughly known, but they are soon likely to be. I have obtained positive information from the very persons who intend to publish them: I have had in my hands several important documents, and especially the paper written in the form of a profession of faith, which constituted his secret treaty with the court. I am not allowed to give to the public any of these documents, or to mention the names of the holders. I can only affirm what the future will sufficiently demonstrate, when all these papers shall have been published. What I am enabled to assert with sincerity is, that Mirabeau never had any hand in the supposed plots of the Duke of Orleans. Mirabeau left Provence with a single object, that of combating arbitrary power, by which he had suffered, and which his reason as well as his sentiments taught him to consider as detestable. On his arrival in Paris, he frequented the house of a banker, at that time well known, and a man of great merit. The company there conversed much on politics, finances, and political economy. There he picked up a good deal of information on those matters, and he connected himself with what was called the exiled Genevese colony, of which Clavières, afterwards minister of the finances, was a member. Mirabeau, however, formed no intimate connexion. In his manners there was a great familiarity, which originated in a feeling of his strength—a feeling that he frequently carried to imprudence. Owing to this familiarity, he accosted everybody, and seemed to be on the best terms with all whom he addressed. Hence it was that he was frequently supposed to be the friend and accomplice of many persons with whom he had no common interest. I have said, and I repeat it, he had no party. The aristocracy could not think of Mirabeau; the party of Necker and Mounier could not comprehend him; the Duke of Orleans alone appeared to unite with him. He was believed to do so, because Mirabeau treated the duke in a familiar manner, and, both being supposed to possess great ambition, the one as prince, the other as tribune, it appeared but natural that they should be connected. Mirabeau's distress and the wealth of the Duke of Orleans seemed also to be a reciprocal motive of alliance. Nevertheless, Mirabeau remained poor till his connexion with the court. He then watched all the parties, strove to make them explain themselves, and was too sensible of his own importance to pledge himself lightly. Once only there was a commencement of intercourse between him and one of the supposed agents of the Duke of Orleans. By this reputed agent he was invited to dinner, and he, who was never afraid to venture himself, accepted the invitation more from curiosity than any other motive. Before he went, he communicated the circumstance to his intimate confidant, and seemed much pleased at the prospect of this interview, which led him to hope for important revelations. The dinner took place, and Mirabeau, on his return, related what had passed: there had been only some vague conversation concerning the Duke of Orleans, the esteem in which he held the talents of Mirabeau, and the fitness which he supposed him to possess for governing a state. This interview, therefore, was absolutely insignificant, and it seems to indicate at most a disposition to make Mirabeau a minister. Accordingly, he did not fail to observe to his friend, with his usual gaiety, "I am quite sure to be minister, since both

While yet strongly agitated by this discussion, the Assembly received the King's answer to the articles of the 4th of August. The King approved of their spirit, but gave only a conditional adhesion to some of them, in the hope that they would be modified on being carried into execution: he renewed, with regard to most, the objections made in the discussion and set aside by the Assembly. Mirabeau again appeared at the tribune. "We have not," said he, "yet examined the superiority of the constituent power over the executive power: we have, in some measure, thrown a veil over these questions [the Assembly had, in fact, explained for itself the manner in which they were to be understood, without passing any resolution on the subject]; but, if our constituent power were to be contested, we should be obliged to declare it. Let us act in this case frankly and with good faith. We admit that there would be difficulties in the execution, but we do not insist upon it. Thus we demand the abolition of offices, but assign for the future a compensation, and a pledge for the compensation; we declare the impost which supplies the salaries of the clergy destructive of agriculture, but, till a substitute is provided, we direct the collection of tithes; we abolish seignorial courts, but allow them to exist till other tribunals are established. The same is the case with other articles: all of them involve only such principles as it is necessary to render irrevocable by promulgating them. Let us ingenuously repeat to the King, what the fool of Philip II. said to that most absolute prince: 'What would become of thee, Philip, if all the world were to say yes, when thou sayest no?'"

The Assembly again directed the president to wait upon the King to solicit of him his promulgation, The King granted it. The Assembly, on its part, deliberating on the duration of the suspensive *veto*, extended it to two sessions. But it was wrong to let it be seen that this was, in some sort, a recompense given to Louis XVI. for the concessions that he had just made to the public opinion.

While the Assembly pursued its course amidst obstacles raised by the ill-will of the privileged orders and by the popular commotions, other embarrassments thronged to meet it, and its enemies exulted over them. They hoped that it would be stopped short by the wretched state of the finances, as the court itself had been. The first loan of thirty millions had not succeeded; a second of eighty, ordered agreeably to a new plan of Necker, had not been attended with happier results. "Go on discussing," said M. Degouy d'Arcy one day, "throw in delays, and at the expiration of those delays we shall no longer be . . . . . I have just heard fearful truths."—"Order! order!" exclaimed some. "No, no, speak;" rejoined others. A deputy rose. "Proceed," said he to M. Degouy; "spread around alarm and terror. What will be the consequence? We shall give part of our fortune and all will be over." M. Degouy continued: "The loans which you have voted have produced nothing; there are not ten millions in the exchequer." At these words, he was again surrounded, censured, and reduced to silence. The Duke d'Aiguillon, president of the committee of the finances, contradicted him, and proved that there must be twenty-two millions in the coffers of the state. It was, nevertheless, resolved that Fridays and Saturdays should be specially devoted to the finances.

Necker at length arrived. Ill with his incessant efforts, he renewed his everlasting complaints: he reproached the Assembly with having done nothing for the finances after a session of five months. The two loans had failed, because disturbances had destroyed public credit. Large sums of money were concealed; the capital of foreigners had been withheld from the proposed loans. Emigration and absence of travellers had also served to decrease the circulating medium, so that there was actually not enough left for the daily wants. The King and the Queen had been obliged to send their plate to the mint. Necker, in consequence, demanded an instalment of one-fourth of the revenue, declaring that these means appeared to him to be sufficient. A committee took three days to examine this plan and entirely approved of it. Mirabeau, a known enemy to the minister, was the first to speak, for the purpose of exhorting the Assembly to agree to this plan without discussion.

the King and the Duke of Orleans are equally desirous to appoint me." This was but a joke: Mirabeau himself never put any faith in the projects of the duke. I shall explain some other particulars in a succeeding note.

"Not having time," said he, "to investigate it, the Assembly ought not to take upon itself the responsibility of the event, by approving or disapproving the proposed expedients." On this ground he advised that it should be voted immediately and with confidence. The Assembly, hurried away by his arguments, adopted this proposal, and directed Mirabeau to retire and draw up the decree. Meanwhile, the enthusiasm began to subside; the minister's enemies pretended to discover resources where he could find none. His friends, on the contrary, attacked Mirabeau, and complained that he wanted to crush him under the responsibility which events might throw upon him. Mirabeau returned and read his decree. "You murder the minister's plan," exclaimed M. de Virieu. Mirabeau, who was not in the habit of receding without a reply, frankly avowed his motive, and admitted that those had guessed it who alleged that he wished to throw on M. Necker alone the responsibility; he said that he had not the honour to be his friend, but that, were he his most affectionate friend, he, a citizen above all things, would not hesitate to compromise him rather than the Assembly; that he did not believe the kingdom to be in danger, though M. Necker should prove to be mistaken; and that, on the other hand, the public welfare would be deeply compromised, if the Assembly had lost its credit and failed in a decisive operation. He immediately proposed an address to rouse the national patriotism and to support the plan of the minister.

He was applauded, but the discussion was continued. A thousand propositions were made and time was wasted in vain subtilties. Weary of so many contradictions, impressed with the urgency of the public wants, he ascended the tribune for the last time, took possession of it, again expounded the question with admirable precision, and showed the impossibility of retreating from the necessity of the moment. His imagination warming as he proceeded, he painted the horrors of bankruptcy; he exhibited it as a ruinous tax, which, instead of pressing lightly upon all, falls only upon some whom it crushes by its weight; he then described it as a gulf into which living victims are thrown, and which does not close again even after devouring them; for we owe none the less even after we have refused to pay. As he concluded, he thrilled the Assembly with terror. "The other day," said he, "when a ridiculous motion was made at the Palais Royal, some one exclaimed 'Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and you deliberate!' but most assuredly there was neither Catiline, nor danger, nor Rome; and to-day hideous bankruptcy is here, threatening to consume you, your honour, your fortunes—and you deliberate?"

At these words, the transported Assembly rose with shouts of enthusiasm. A deputy prepared to reply; he advanced, but affrighted at the task, he stood motionless and speechless. The Assembly then declared that, having heard the report of the committee it adopted in confidence the plan of the minister of the finances. This was a happy stroke of eloquence; but he alone would be capable of it, who should possess the reason as well as the passions of Mirabeau.

While the Assembly thus laid hands upon all parts of the edifice, important events were arising. By the union of the orders, the nation had recovered the legislative omnipotence. By the 14th of July it had taken arms in support of its representatives. Thus the King and the aristocracy remained separated and disarmed, with the mere opinion of their rights in which no one participated, and in presence of a nation ready to conceive everything, and to execute everything. The court, however, secluded in a small town, peopled entirely by its servants, was in some respect beyond the popular influence, and could even attempt a *coup de main* against the Assembly. It was natural that Paris, but a few leagues distant from Versailles—Paris, the capital of the kingdom—should wish to draw the King back to its bosom, in order to remove him from all aristocratic influence, and to recover the advantages which a city derives from the presence of the court and of the government. After curtailing the authority of the King, all that it had left to do was to make sure of his person. The course of events favoured this wish, and from all quarters was heard the cry of "The King to Paris?" The aristocracy ceased to think of defending itself against fresh losses. It felt too much disdain for what

was left it to care about preserving that; it was therefore desirous of a violent change, just like the popular party. A revolution is infallible, when two parties join in desiring it. Both contribute to the event, and the stronger profits by the result. While the patriots wished to bring the King to Paris, the court had it in contemplation to carry him to Metz. There, in a fortress, it might order all that it pleased, or to speak more correctly, all that others should please for it. The courtiers formed plans, circulated projects, strove to enlist partisans; and, indulging vain hopes, betrayed themselves by imprudent threats. D'Estaing, formerly so renowned at the head of our fleets, commanded the national guard of Versailles. He desired to be faithful both to the nation and to the court; a difficult part, which is always exposed to calumny, and which great firmness alone can render honourable. He learned the machinations of the courtiers. The highest personages were involved in them; witnesses most worthy of belief had been mentioned to him, and he addressed to the Queen his celebrated letter, in which he expatiated with respectful firmness on the impropriety and danger of such intrigues. He disguised nothing and mentioned every person by name.* The letter had no effect. In venturing

* The letter of Count d'Estaing to the Queen is a curious document, which must ever continue to be consulted relative to the events of the 5th and 6th of October. This brave officer, full of loyalty and independence (two qualities which appear contradictory, but which are frequently found combined in seamen), had retained the habit of saying all he thought to the princes to whom he was attached. His testimony cannot be called in question, when in a confidential letter to the Queen he lays open the intrigues which he has discovered, and which have alarmed him. It will be seen whether the court was actually without plan at that period:

"It is necessary—my duty and my loyalty require it—that I should lay at the feet of the Queen the account of the visit which I have paid to Paris. I am praised for sleeping soundly the night before an assault or a naval engagement. I venture to assert that I am not timorous in civil matters. Brought up about the person of the dauphin who distinguished me, accustomed from my childhood to speak the truth at Versailles, a soldier and a seaman, acquainted with forms, I respect without permitting them to affect either my frankness or my firmness.

"Well then, I must confess to your majesty that I did not close my eyes all night. I was told in good society, in good company—and, gracious Heaven! what would be the consequence if this were to be circulated among the people?—I was repeatedly told that signatures were being collected among the clergy and the nobility. Some assert that this is done with the approbation of the King, others believe that it is without his knowledge. It is affirmed that a plan is formed, that it is by Champagne or Verdun that the King is to retire or to be carried off; that he is going to Metz. M. de Bouillé is named, and by whom?—By M. de Lafayette, who told me so in a whisper at dinner, at M. Jauge's. I trembled lest a single domestic should overhear him: I observed to him, that a word from his lips might become the signal of death. He replied that at Metz, as everywhere else, the patriots were the stronger party, and that it was better that one should die for the welfare of all.

"The Baron de Breteuil, who delays his departure, conducts the plan. Money is taken up at usurious interest, and promises are made to furnish a million and a half per month. The Count de Mercy is unfortunately mentioned as acting in concert. Such are the rumours; if they spread to the people, their effects are incalculable: they are still but whispered about. Upright minds have appeared to me to be alarmed for the consequences: the mere doubt of the reality is liable to produce terrible results. I have been to the Spanish ambassador's—and most certainly I shall not conceal it from the Queen—there my apprehensions were aggravated. M. Fernand Nunez conversed with me on the subject of these false reports, and how horrible it was to suppose an impossible plan, which would produce the most disastrous and the most humiliating of civil wars; which would cause the partition or the total ruin of the monarchy, that must fall a prey to domestic rage and foreign ambition; and which would bring irreparable calamities on the persons most dear to France. After speaking of the court wandering, pursued, and deceived by those who have not supported it when they could, who now wish to involve it in their fall . . . . . afflicted by a general bankruptcy, then become indispensable, and most frightful . . . . . I observed that at least there would be no other mischief than what this false report would produce, if it were to spread, because it was an idea without any foundation. The Spanish ambassador cast down his eyes at this last expression. I became urgent: he then admitted that a person of distinction and veracity had told him that he had been solicited to sign an association. He refused to name him; but, either from inattention, or for the good of the cause, he luckily did not require my word of honour, which I must have kept. I have not promised not to divulge this circumstance to any one. It fills me with such terror as I have never yet known. It is not for myself that I feel it. I implore the Queen to calculate, in her wisdom, all that might result from one false step: the first costs dear enough. I have seen the kind heart of the Queen bestow tears on the fate of immolated victims: now it would be streams of blood spilt to no purpose that she would have to regret. A mere

upon such enterprises, the Queen must have expected remonstrances, and could not have been surprised at them.

About the same period, a great number of new faces appeared at Versailles; nay, even strange uniforms were seen there. The company of the life-guard, whose term of duty had just expired, was retained; some dragoons and chasseurs of the Trois-Evêchés were sent for. The French guards, who had quitted the King's duty, irritated at its being assigned to others, talked of going to Versailles to resume it. Assuredly they had no reason whatever to complain, since they had of themselves relinquished that duty. But they were instigated, it is said, to this purpose. It was asserted at the time that the court wished by this contrivance to alarm the King, and to prevail on him to remove to Metz. One fact affords sufficient proof of this intention: ever since the commotions at the Palais Royal, Lafayette had placed a post at Sèvres, to defend the passage between Paris and Versailles. Lafayette found means to stop the French guards, and to divert them from their purpose. He wrote confidentially to St. Priest, the minister, to inform him of what had passed, and to allay all apprehensions. St. Priest, abusing the confidence of Lafayette, showed the letter to D'Estaing, who communicated it to the officers of the national guard of Versailles and the municipality, in order to apprize them of the dangers which threatened and might still threaten that town. It was proposed to send for the Flanders regiment; a great number of battalions of the Versailles guard were adverse to this measure; the municipality nevertheless presented its requisition, and the regiment was sent for. One regiment against the Assembly was no great matter, but it would be enough to carry off the King, and to protect his flight. D'Estaing informed the National Assembly of the measures that had been adopted, and obtained its approbation. The regiment arrived: the military train that followed it, though inconsiderable, did not fail to excite murmurs. The life-guards and the courtiers sought the society of the officers, loaded them with attentions, and they appeared, as previously to the 14th of July, to coalesce, to harmonize, and to conceive great hopes.

The confidence of the court increased the distrust of Paris; and entertainments soon exasperated the sufferings of the populace. On the 2d of October, the life-guards gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison. It was held in the theatre. The boxes were filled with spectators belonging to the court. The officers of the national guard were among the guests. Much gaiety prevailed during the repast, and the wine soon raised it to exaltation. The soldiers of the regiments were then introduced. The company, with drawn swords, drank the health of the royal family; the toast of the nation was refused—or, at least, omitted; the trumpets sounded a charge; the boxes were scaled with loud shouts; the expressive and celebrated song, "O Richard! ô mon roi! l'univers t'abandonne," was sung; they vowed to die for the King, as if he had been in the most imminent danger: in short, the delirium had no bounds. Cockades, white or black, but all of a single colour, were distributed. The young women as well as the young men, were animated with chivalrous recollections. At this moment, it is said, the national cockade was trodden under foot. This fact has since been denied; but does not wine render everything credible—everything excusable? Besides, of what use were these meetings, which produce on the one side but an illusory zeal, and excite on the other a real and terrible irritation? At this juncture some one ran to the Queen; she consented to come to the entertainment. A number of persons surrounded the King, who was just returning from hunting, and he too was drawn thither; the company threw themselves at the feet of both, and escorted them, as in triumph, to their apartments. It is soothing, no doubt, to those who regard themselves as stripped of their authority and threatened, to meet with friends; but why

indecision may be without remedy. It is only by breasting the torrent, not by humouring it, that one can succeed in partly directing it. Nothing is lost. The Queen can conquer his kingdom for the King. Nature has lavished upon her the means of doing it; they alone are practicable. She may imitate her august mother: if not, I am silent . . . . . I implore your majesty to grant me an audience some day this week."

should they thus deceive themselves in regard to their rights, their strength, or their means ?*

The report of this entertainment soon spread, and no doubt the popular imagination, in relating the circumstances, added its own exaggerations to those which the event itself had produced. The promise made to the King were construed as threats held out to the nation; this prodigality was considered as an insult to the public distress, and the shouts of "To Versailles!" were renewed with more vehemence than ever. Thus petty causes concurred to strengthen the effect of general causes. Young men appeared in Paris with black cockades; they were pursued: one of them was dragged away by the people, and the commune was obliged to prohibit cockades of a single colour.

The day after this unfortunate dinner, a nearly similar scene took place at a breakfast given by the life-guards. The company presented themselves, as on the former occasion, before the Queen, who said that she had been quite delighted with the dinner of Thursday. She was eagerly listened to; because, less reserved than the King, the avowal of the sentiments of the court was expected from her lips. Every word she uttered was repeated. Irritation was at its height, and the most calamitous events might be anticipated. A commotion was convenient to the people and to the court: to the people, in order that they might seize the person of the King; to the court, that terror might drive him to Metz. It was also convenient to the Duke of Orleans, who hoped to obtain the lieutenancy of the kingdom, if the King should withdraw; nay, it has been said that this prince went so far as to hope for the crown, which is scarcely credible, for he had not a spirit bold enough for so high an ambition. The advantages which he had reason to expect from this new insurrection have brought upon him the charge of having had a hand in it; but this is unfounded. He cannot have communicated the impulse, for it resulted from the force of circumstances: he appeared at most to have seconded it; and even on this point an immense body of evidence, and time, which explains everything, have brought to light no trace of a concerted plan. No doubt, on this occasion, as during the whole revolution, the Duke of Orleans was merely following in the train of the popular movement, scattering, perhaps, a little money, giving rise to rumours, and having himself but vague hopes.

The populace, agitated by the discussions on the *veto*, irritated by the black cockades, annoyed by the continual patroles, and suffering from hunger, was in commotion. Baily and Necker had neglected no means of procuring an abundant supply of provisions; but, either from the difficulty of conveyance or the pillage which took place by the way, and, above all, by the impossibility of making amends for the spontaneous movement of commerce, there was still a scarcity of flour. On the 4th of October, the agitation was greater than ever. People talked of the departure of the King for Metz, and the necessity of going to fetch him from Versailles; they kept an eager look-out for black cockades, and vociferously demanded bread! Numerous patroles succeeded in preventing tumult. The night passed off quietly. In the morning of the following day crowds began again to assemble. The women went to the bakers' shops; there was a want of bread, and they ran to the square in which the Hôtel de Ville is situated, to complain of it to the representatives of the commune. The latter had not yet met, and a battalion of the national guard was drawn up in the *place* of the Hôtel de Ville. A number of men joined these women, but they refused their assistance, saying, that men were unfit to act. They then rushed upon the battalion, and drove it back by a volley of stones. At this moment a door was forced open; the women poured into the Hôtel de Ville; brigands, with pikes, hurried in along with them, and would have set fire to the building. They were kept back, but they succeeded in taking pos-

* "Such was this famous banquet which the court had the imprudence to renew on the 3d of October. We cannot but deplore its fatal want of foresight; it knew neither how to submit to its destiny, nor how to change it. The assembling of a military force, far from preventing the aggression of Paris, provoked it. The banquet did not render the devotedness of the soldiers more certain, while it increased the disaffection of the multitude. To guard itself, there was no necessity for so much ardour; nor for flight, so much preparation; but the court never took the proper measure for the success of its designs, or it took only half measures, and delayed its final decision till it was too late."—*Mignet.* E.

session of the door leading to the great bell and sounded the tocsin. The faux-bourgs were instantly in motion. A citizen, named Maillard, one of those who had signalized themselves at the capture of the Bastille, consulted the officer commanding the battalion of the national guard upon the means of clearing the Hôtel de Ville of these furious women. The officer durst not approve the expedient which he proposed; it was to collect them together, under the pretext of going to Versailles, but without leading them thither. Maillard, nevertheless, determined to adopt it, took a drum and soon drew them off after him. They were armed with bludgeons, broomsticks, muskets, and cutlasses. With this singular army he proceeded along the quay, crossed the Louvre, was forced, in spite of his teeth, to lead them through the Tuileries, and arrived at the Champs Elysées. Here he succeeded in disarming them, by representing to them that it would be better to appear before the Assembly as petitioners than as furies with weapons. They assented, and Maillard was obliged to conduct them to Versailles, for it was now impossible to dissuade them from proceeding thither. To that point all were at this moment directing their course. Some hordes set out dragging with them pieces of cannon, others surrounded the national guard, which itself surrounded its commander, to prevail on him to go to Versailles, the goal of all wishes.

Meanwhile the court remained tranquil, but the Assembly had received a message from the King which occasioned much tumult. It had presented for his acceptance the constitutional articles and the declaration of rights. The answer was to be a mere simple acceptance, with a promise to promulgate. For the second time, the King, without clearly explaining himself, addressed observations to the Assembly; he signified his *accession* to the constitutional articles without however approving of them; he found excellent maxims in the declaration of rights, but they needed explanation; in short, he said a proper judgment could not be formed of the whole till the constitution should be entirely completed. This was certainly a tenable opinion; it was held by many political writers, as well as the King, but was it prudent to express it at this particular moment? No sooner was this declaration read than complaints arose. Robespierre* said that it was not for the King

* The following sketch of Robespierre, who, from the period of the banquet of the 2d of October, began to make his influence felt in the revolutionary clubs, is derived from the *Biographie Moderne:* "Maximilien Isidore Robespierre was born at Arras in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the Revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went to England, and thence to America, where he suffered his friends to remain ignorant of his existence. His mother, whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer; she soon died, leaving her son, then nine years of age, and a brother, who shared his fate. The Bishop of Arras contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he got him admitted on the foundation. One of the professors there, an admirer of the heroes of Rome, contributed greatly to develop the love of republicanism in him; he surnamed him the Roman, and continually praised his vaunted love of independence and equality. Assiduous and diligent, he went through his studies with considerable credit, and gave promise of talent that he never realized. In 1775, when Louis XVI. made his entry into Paris, he was chosen by his fellow students to present to that prince the homage of their gratitude. The political troubles of 1788 heated his brain; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings in 1789; and the *tiers-état* of the province of Artois appointed him one of their deputies to the States-general. On his arrival at the Assembly he obtained very little influence there; however, though the want of eloquence did not permit him to vie with the orators who then shone in the tribune, he began to acquire great power over the populace. For some time he paid court to Mirabeau, who despised him, yet he accompanied him so assiduously in the streets and public squares, that he was at last surnamed Mirabeau's ape. In 1790 he continued to gain power over the rabble, and frequently spoke in the Assembly. On the King's departure for Varennes he was disconcerted; but as soon as that prince had been arrested, his hopes of overturning the monarchy increased, and he laboured hard to bring on the insurrections which took place in the Champ de Mars. He had been for some time connected with Murat and Danton, and by their help he exercised great authority over the Jacobins, and, through them, over the capital. He was in consequence denounced by the Girondists, who accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. He was one of the most strenuous advocates for the King's trial, and voted for his execution. After overthrowing the party of the Gironde, he turned against his old allies, the Dantonists, whom he brought, together with their chief leaders, to the scaffold, from which time, till his fall, he reigned without rivals. He restored the worship of the Supreme Being, which the atheist faction of the Hebertists had succeeded in abolishing. After ruling France for some months with a rod of iron, he was arrested, together with his partisans, by the Convention, in consequence of having excited

to criticise the Assembly; and Duport, that this answer ought to be countersigned by a responsible minister. Petion* took occasion to refer to the dinner of the life-

the fear and distrust of some of his colleagues (Billaud-Varennes among the number). At the moment when he saw that he was going to be seized, he tried to destroy himself with a pistol-shot, but he only shattered his under-jaw. He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, then shut up in the Conciergerie, and executed on the 28th of July, 1794. As he was proceeding to execution, the prisoners obstructing the passage, the gaoler cried out, 'Make way! make way! I say, for the incorruptible man!'—for Robespierre was always vaunting his disinterestedness. He was carried in a cart placed between Henriot and Couthon; the shops, the windows, the roofs were filled with spectators as he passed along, and cries of joy accompanied him all the way. His head was wrapped up in a bloody cloth, which supported his under-jaw, so that his pale and livid countenance was but half seen. The horsemen who escorted him showed him to the spectators with the point of their sabres. The mob stopped him before the house where he had lived; some women danced before the court; and one of them cried out, 'Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives and of all mothers!' The executioner, when about to put him to death, roughly tore the dressing off his wound; upon which he uttered a horrible cry; his under-jaw separated from the other; the blood spouted out; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of thirty-five. The following epitaph was written for him: 'Passenger, lament not his fate, for were he living, thou wouldst be dead.' Robespierre had not any of those accomplishments or brilliant advantages which seem to command success. He was hard and dry, without imagination and without courage; neither could his feeble constitution, his gloomy countenance, his weak sight, and almost inaudible voice, prepossess or seduce the multitude; and although, in public speaking, he had by long habit attained some degree of facility, he could never contend with the principal orators of the Convention: but nature seemed to supply all the resources that she denied him, by granting him the art of profiting at the same time by the talents of others, and by the faults which they might commit. Strong in his integrity in pecuniary matters, he always took care to open the path of honours, and especially of riches, to his rivals, that he might be furnished with additional means of ruining them, when they became obnoxious to him. Of all the men whom the Revolution brought into notice, none has left a name so generally abhorred as Robespierre." E.

In the *Memoirs* of the Duchess d'Abrantes, the following highly characteristic anecdote of Robespierre is related. "When Madame de Provence, quitted France, the Countess Lamarliere could not accompany her, much as she wished to do so. But she was a wife and a mother, and to these ties she was obliged to sacrifice the sentiments of gratitude which animated her heart. She remained in France to suffer persecution and misery. She saw her husband arrested at the head of the troops he commanded, cast into a dungeon, and conducted to the scaffold. She had the courage to implore the mercy of him who never knew mercy; she threw herself at the feet of Robespierre. Madame Lamarliere had then the look of a young woman: a complexion of dazzling brilliancy, a profusion of fair hair, fine eyes and teeth could not fail to render her exceedingly attractive. Her beauty was perhaps rather heightened than diminished by her despair, when she threw herself at the feet of the dictator, and with a faltering voice implored the pardon of the husband of her child. But the axe was in the hand of the executioner, and amidst a nuptial festival, Robespierre pronounced the sentence which made a widow and an orphan. It was on that very day, that Robespierre gave away in marriage the daughter of a carpenter, named Duplay, in whose house he lodged in the Rue St. Honoré. This Duplay was president of the jury on the Queen's trial. The Countess Lamarliere arrived before the hour fixed for the marriage ceremony, and she was obliged to wait in the dining-room, when the table was laid for the nuptial feast. Her feelings may easily be imagined! There she waited, and was introduced to the carpenter's wife. After she was gone, Robespierre merely said, 'That woman is very pretty—very pretty, indeed,' accompanying the observation with some odious remarks." E.

We subjoin the opinion entertained by Lucien Bonaparte, himself an ardent apostle of liberty, respecting Robespierre: "The first months of 1793 beheld the Jacobins redouble their atrocities; and Robespierre, the most cruel hypocrite, and greatest coward of them all, obtained unlimited power. Some ardent imaginations have not hesitated to celebrate the praises of that man, and of his Couthon and St. Just: they have even dared to insinuate that Robespierre was a patriotic victim, immolated by various conspirators more guilty than himself. They have stated that he fell, because he would not proceed in the path of crime. These assertions are contradicted by facts. The revolutionary tribunal was never more active than during the last months of the power of that merciless tribune. Then were struck with hasty blows all those whom birth, fortune, or talents distinguished from the crowd. In the month of April, Malesherbes, one of the most virtuous of men, was dragged to the scaffold at seventy-two years of age, in the same cart with his sister, his son-in-law, his daughter, his grand-daughter, and the husband of that young woman! Robespierre was then at the height of his power. Because he afterwards decimated his accomplices, and because he struck at Danton and his partisans, was he for that reason to be considered more excusable? Blood cannot wash away blood! And as for his festival of the Supreme Being, what else was it but a contempt for the religion of all Frenchmen, and a denial of the gospel! Blood was not sufficient for the incorruptible! He desired even to thrust his sacrilegious hands into the very depths of our conscience."—*Memoirs of the Prince of Canino.* E.

* At this period Petion was one of the most influential men of the Revolution. He was an advocate at Chartres, and had been deputed to the States-general by the *tiers-état* of the bailiwick

guards, and denounced the imprecations uttered against the Assembly. Gregoire adverted to the dearth, and inquired why a letter had been sent to a miller with a promise of two hundred livres a week if he would give up grinding. The letter proved nothing, for any of the parties might have written it; still it excited a great tumult, and M. de Monspey proposed that Petion should sign its denunciation. Mirabeau, who had disapproved in the tribune itself of the course adopted by Petion and Gregoire, then came forward to reply to M. de Monspey. "I have been the very first," said he, "to disapprove of these impolitic denunciations; but, since they are insisted upon, I will myself denounce, and I will sign, when it has been declared that there is nothing inviolable in France but the King." Silence succeeded to this terrible apostrophe; and the Assembly returned to the consideration of the King's answer. It was eleven in the forenoon; tidings of the movements in Paris arrived. Mirabeau went up to Mounier, the president, who, recently elected in spite of the Palais Royal, and threatened with a glorious fall, exhibited on this melancholy day unconquerable firmness.* Mirabeau approached him. "Paris," said he, "is marching upon us; would it be amiss to go to the

in that city, and distinguished himself by a thorough zeal for the revolutionary party. Endowed with a pleasing address and a disposition ever enterprising, although weak in danger, he became, in spite of the mediocrity of his talents, one of the prime movers in the Revolution. On the 5th of October, he denounced the banquets of the body guards, and seconded the designs of the faction of Orleans, to which he was then entirely devoted. On the 8th, he proposed giving to the King the title of 'King of the French by consent of the Nation,' and suppressing the form of 'by the Grace of God.' In the course of 1790, he supported the revolutionary party with considerable zeal. On the 4th of December, the National Assembly elected him their president. In June following, he was appointed president of the Criminal Tribunal of Paris. When the Assembly was informed of the departure of Louis XVI., he was one of the three commissioners appointed to go to Varennes after this prince. At the end of September, the Duke of Orleans sent him to England; and on his return he obtained the situation of Mayor, of which he took possession on the 18th of November. It is from this period that his real influence may be dated, as well as the outrages with which he did not cease to overwhelm the King, sometimes by handbills, and sometimes through the means of insurrections. On the 3d of August, he formally demanded of the Assembly, in the name of the Commune, the deposition of Louis. On the 10th, he took care to be confined at home by the insurgents under his orders, at the very time that his adherents were preparing to attack the palace. It is doubtful whether Petion were privy to the massacres of September, although Prudhomme declares that the mayor, the ministers, &c., were agreed. Being appointed Deputy of Eure et Loire to the Convention, he was the first president of that assembly, which, at its first meeting on the 21st of September, 1792, decreed the abolition of royalty. From that time, until the death of Louis XVI., Petion ascended the tribune almost every day to urge the monarch's execution; and at this period he also laboured in the interests of the Duke of Orleans, to whose party he appeared very constantly attached. In November, however, a hatred which was in the end fatal to him, began to break out between Petion and Robespierre, although up to that time they had been called the two fingers of the hand. In January, 1793, he voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and on the 25th of March he was appointed a member of the first committee of public safety, and of general defence. From the declarations of General Miaczinski who had asserted that Petion was concerned in the projects of Dumouriez, occasion was taken—through the means of Robespierre, Danton, and that party—to form a committee for examining into his conduct. On the 2d of June, a decree of accusation was passed against Petion, and on the 25th of July he was outlawed because he had succeeded in escaping from his own house. In 1794 he was found dead of hunger, or assassinated, and half devoured by beasts, in a field in the department of Gironde. Petion is said to have had an air of haughtiness, a fine face, and an affable look."—From the *Biographie Moderne*. E.

* "Mounier was a man of strong judgment and inflexible character, who considered the system of the English constitution as the type of representative governments, and wished to effect the Revolution by accommodation. He, and those who thought with him, were called the Monarchists. They desired, besides a chamber of representatives, to have a senate whose members should be nominated by the King on the presentation of the people. They thought that this was the only means of preventing the tyranny of a single assembly. The majority of the Assembly would have wished, not a peerage, but an aristocratic assembly, of which it should nominate the members. They could not then be heard, Mounier's party refusing to co-operate in a project which would have revived the orders, and the aristocrats rejecting a senate which would have confirmed the ruin of the noblesse. The greater number of the deputies of the clergy and of the commons advocated the unity of the Assembly. Thus the nobility from discontent, and the national party from the spirit of absolute justice, concurred in rejecting the high chamber."—*Mignet*. E.

palace to tell the King to accept purely and simply?"—"Paris is marching!" replied Mounier; "so much the better; let them kill us all—yes, all! the state will be a gainer by it."—"A very pretty sentiment, indeed!" rejoined Mirabeau; and he returned to his seat. The discussion continued till three o'clock, and it was decided that the president should go to the King to demand his bare and simple acceptance. At the moment when Mounier was setting out for the palace, a deputation was announced: it was Maillard and the women who had followed him. Maillard desired to be admitted and heard. He was introduced; the women rushed in after him, and penetrated into the hall. He then represented what had happened, the scarcity of bread, and the distress of the people. He mentioned the letter addressed to the miller, and said that a person whom they met by the way had told them that a clergyman was charged to denounce it. This clergyman was Gregoire, and, as we have just seen, it had actually been denounced by him. A voice then accused Juigné, bishop of Paris, of being the writer of the letter. Cries of indignation arose to repel the imputation cast on the virtuous prelate. Maillard and his deputation were called to order. He was told that means had been adopted to supply Paris with provisions; that the King had neglected nothing; that the Assembly was going to petition him to take fresh measures; that he and his followers must retire; and that disturbance was not the way to put an end to the dearth. Mounier then retired to proceed to the palace; but the women surrounded and insisted on accompanying him. He at first declined, but was obliged to allow six to go with him. He passed through the mob which had come from Paris, and which was armed with pikes, hatchets, and sticks pointed with iron. A heavy rain was falling. A detachment of the life-guards fell upon the crowd which surrounded the president and dispersed it; but the women soon overtook Mounier, and he reached the palace, where the Flanders regiment, the dragoons, the Swiss, and the national militia of Versailles, were drawn up in order of battle. Instead of six women, he was obliged to introduce twelve. The King received them graciously, and deplored their distress. They were affected. One of them, young and handsome, overawed at the sight of the monarch, could scarcely give utterance to the word *Bread!* The King, deeply moved, embraced her, and the women returned softened by this reception. Their companions received them at the gate of the palace; they would not believe their report, declared that they had suffered themselves to be tampered with, and prepared to tear them in pieces. The life-guards, commanded by the Count de Guiche, hastened to release them; musket-shots were fired from various quarters; two of the guards fell, and several of the women were wounded. Not far from the spot, one of the mob, at the head of a party of women, forced his way through the ranks of the battalions and advanced to the iron gate of the palace. M. de Savonnières pursued him, but he received a ball which broke his arm. These skirmishes produced the greatest irritation on both sides. The King, apprized of the danger, sent orders to his guards not to fire, and to retire to their hotel. While they were retiring, a few shots were exchanged between them and the national guard of Versailles, and it never could be ascertained from which side the first were fired.

Meanwhile the King was holding a council, and Mounier impatiently awaited his answer. He sent word repeatedly that his functions required his presence with the Assembly, that the news of the sanction would pacify all minds, that he would retire if an answer were not brought, for he would not longer absent himself from the post to which his duties called him. The question discussed in the council was, whether the King should leave Versailles. The council lasted from six till ten at night, and the King, it is said, was against leaving the place vacant for the Duke of Orleans. An attempt was made to send off the Queen and the children, but the crowd stopped the carriages the moment they appeared; and, besides, the Queen was firmly resolved not to leave her husband. At length, about ten o'clock, Mounier received the bare and simple acceptance and returned to the Assembly. The deputies had retired, and the women occupied the hall. He communicated to them the King's acceptance, with which they were highly pleased; and they inquired if they should be the better for it, and especially if they

should have bread. Mounier gave them the most favourable answer that he could, and directed all the bread that could be procured to be distributed among them. In the course of this night, the faults of which it is so difficult to charge to the right account, the municipality committed the blunder of neglecting to provide for the wants of this famished mob, which had left Paris owing to the want of bread, and which could not since have found any on the way.

At this moment, intelligence was received of the arrival of Lafayette. For eight hours he had been opposing the national militia of Paris, who were for proceeding to Versailles. "General," said one of his grenadiers to him, "you do not deceive us, but you deceive yourself. Instead of turning our arms against women, let us go to Versailles to fetch the King, and make sure of his good disposition by placing him in the midst of us." Lafayette had hitherto withstood the solicitations of his army and the inundation of the mob. His soldiers were not attached to him by victory, but by opinion; and, abandoned by their opinion, he could no longer control them. He nevertheless contrived to stop them till night; but his voice reached only to a small distance, and beyond that nothing could appease the fury of the multitude. His life had several times been threatened, and still he resisted. He knew, nevertheless, that hordes were continually leaving Paris, and, as the insurrection was transferring itself to Versailles, it became his duty to follow it thither. The commune directed him to go, and at last he set out. By the way, he halted his army, made it swear to be faithful to the King, and arrived at Versailles about midnight. He sent word to Mounier that the army had promised to do its duty, and that nothing should be done contrary to the law. He hastened to the palace: with every demonstration of respect and sorrow he informed the King of the precautions which had been taken, and assured him of his attachment and that of his army. The King apppeared tranquillized, and retired to rest. The guard of the palace had been refused to Lafayette, and the outposts alone had been granted to him. The other posts were destined for the Flanders regiment, whose dispositions could not be implicitly relied on, for the Swiss, and for the life-guards. These latter had at first been ordered to retire; they had afterwards been recalled, and, being unable to assemble, there was but a small number of them at their post. Amidst the tumult which prevailed, all the accessible parts had not been defended: an iron gate had even been left open. Lafayette caused the outer posts intrusted to him to be occupied, and none of them was forced or even attacked.

The Assembly, notwithstanding the uproar, had resumed its sitting, and was engaged, with the most imposing attitude, in a discussion on the penal laws. Mirabeau, wearied out, exclaimed aloud that the Assembly had not to receive the law from any one, and that it should direct the tribunes to be cleared. The people vehemently applauded his apostrophe; but the Assembly deemed it prudent not to make any more resistance. Lafayette having sent word to Mounier that all appeared to him to be quiet, and that he might dismiss the deputies, the Assembly adjourned till eleven the following day, and broke up.

The crowd had dispersed itself here and there, and appeared to be pacified. Lafayette had reason to feel confidence, as well from the attachment of his army, which in fact did not belie his good opinion, as from the tranquillity which seemed everywhere to prevail. He had secured the hotel of the life-guards, and sent out numerous patroles. At five in the morning he was still up. Conceiving that all was then quiet, he took some refreshment, and threw himself upon a bed, to obtain a little rest, of which he had been deprived for the last twenty-four hours.*

* History cannot bestow too much space on the justification even of individuals, especially in a revolution in which the principal parts were extremely numerous. M. de Lafayette has been so calumniated, and his character is nevertheless so pure, so consistent, that it is right to devote, at least, one note to him. His conduct during the 5th and 6th of October was that of continual self-devotion, and yet it has been represented as criminal by men who owed their lives to it. He has been reproached, in the first place, with the very violence of the national guard, which drew him against his will to Versailles. Nothing can be more unjust, for though you may with firmness control soldiers whom you have long led to victory, yet citizens recently and voluntarily enrolled, and who obey you merely from the enthusiasm of their opinions, are irresistible when these opinions get the better of them. M. de Lafayette struggled against them for a whole day, and certainly

At this moment the people began to stir, and they were already thronging to the environs of the palace.* A quarrel took place with one of the life-guards, who fired from the windows. The brigands immediately rushed on, passed the gate which had been left open, ascended a staircase, where they found no obstruction, and were at length stopped by two life-guardsmen, who heroically defended themselves, falling back only foot by foot, and retiring from door to door. One of these generous servants was Miomandre; he shouted, "Save the Queen!" This cry was heard, and the Queen ran trembling to the King's apartments. While she was escaping, the brigands pushed forward, found the royal bed forsaken, and would have penetrated farther, but they were again checked by the life-guards, posted in considerable number at that point. At this moment the French guards belonging to Lafayette, stationed near the palace, hearing the uproar, hastened to the spot and dispersed the brigands. They arrived at the door behind which the life-guards were intrenched. "Open the door," they cried: "the French guards have not forgotten that you saved their regiment at Fontenoi." The door was opened, and they rushed into each other's arms.

Tumult reigned without. Lafayette, who had lain down only for a few moments, and had not even fallen asleep, hearing the noise, leaped upon the first horse he met with, galloped into the thick of the fray, and there found several of the life-guards on the point of being slaughtered. While he was disengaging them, he

nobody could expect more. Besides, nothing could be more beneficial than his departure; for, but for the national guard, the palace would have been stormed, and it is impossible to say what might have been the fate of the royal family amidst the popular exasperation. As we have already seen, the life-guards would have been overpowered but for the national guards. The presence of M. de Lafayette and his troops at Versailles was therefore indispensable.

Not only has he been reproached for having gone thither, but he has also been censured for having gone to bed when there, and this indulgence has been made the subject of the most virulent and oft-repeated attacks. The truth is, that M. de Lafayette remained up till the morning, and that he passed the whole night in sending out patroles and restoring order and tranquillity; and what proves how judiciously his precautions were taken is, that none of the posts committed to his care was attacked. All appeared quiet, and he did what any one else would have done in his place, he threw himself on a bed, to get a little rest, which he so much needed after struggling for twenty-four hours against the populace. But that rest lasted no longer than half an hour. He was stirring at the first outcries, and in time to save the life-guards who were about to be massacred. What then is it possible to reproach him with? not having been present at the first minute? but this might have happened in any other case. The issuing of an order or the inspecting of a post might have taken him away for half an hour from the point where the first attack was to take place; and his absence at the first moment of the action was the most inevitable of all accidents. But did he arrive in time to save almost all the victims, to preserve the palace and the august personages within it? did he generously involve himself in the greatest dangers? This is what cannot be denied, and what procured him at the time universal thanks. There was then but one voice among those whom he had saved. Madame de Staël, who cannot be suspected of partiality in favour of M. de Lafayette, relates that she heard the life-guards shouting *Lafayette for ever!* Mounier, whose testimony is equally above suspicion, commends his zeal; and M. de Lally-Tollendal regrets that at this crisis he had not been invested with a kind of dictatorship. (See his Report to his Constituents.) These two deputies have expressed themselves so strongly against the 5th and 6th of October, that their evidence may be received with perfect confidence. At any rate, in the first moment nobody durst deny an activity that was universally acknowledged. Subsequently, the spirit of party, feeling the danger of allowing any virtues to a constitutionalist, denied the services of Lafayette, and then commenced that long series of calumny to which he has ever since been exposed.

* "Nothing occurred to interrupt the public tranquillity from three till five o'clock in the morning; but the aspect of the populace presaged an approaching storm. Large groups of savage men and intoxicated women were seated round the watch-fires in all the streets of Versailles, and relieved the tedium of a rainy night by singing revolutionary songs. In one of these circles their exasperation was such, that, seated on the corpse of one of the body-guard, they devoured the flesh of his horse half-roasted in the flames, while a ring of frantic cannibals danced round the group. At six o'clock a furious mob rushed towards the palace, and finding a gate open, speedily filled the staircases and vestibules of the royal apartments. The assassins rushed into the Queen's room a few minutes after she had left it, and, enraged at finding their victim escaped, pierced her bed with their bayonets! They then dragged the bodies of two of the body-guard who had been massacred, below the windows of the King, beheaded them, and carried the bloody heads in triumph upon the points of their pikes through the streets of Versailles."—*Alison.* E.

ordered his troops to hasten to the palace, and remained alone amidst the brigands. One of them took aim at him. Lafayette coolly commanded the people to bring the man to him. The mob instantly seized the culprit, and, before the face of Lafayette, dashed out his brains against the pavement. After saving the life-guards, Lafayette flew with them to the palace, and there found his grenadiers, who had already repaired thither. They all surrounded him, and vowed to die for the King. At this moment, the life-guards who had been saved from destruction, shouted *Lafayette for ever!* The whole court, seeing themselves preserved by him and his troops, acknowledged that to him they were indebted for their lives. These testimonies of gratitude were universal. Madame Adelaide, the King's aunt, ran up to him, and clasped him in her arms, saying, "General, you have saved us."

The populace at this moment insisted with loud cries that the King should go to Paris.* A council was held. Lafayette, being invited to attend it, refused, that he might not impose any restraint on the freedom of opinion. It was at length decided that the court should comply with the wish of the people. Slips of paper, containing this intimation, were thrown out of the windows. Louis XVI. then showed himself at the balcony, accompanied by the general, and was greeted with shouts of "*Long live the King!*" But the Queen did not fare the same; threatening voices were raised against her. Lafayette accosted her. "Madame," said he, "what will you do?"—"Accompany the King," undauntedly replied the Queen. "Come with me then," rejoined the general, and he led her in amaze to the balcony. Some threats were offered by the populace. A fatal shot might be fired; words could not be heard; it was necessary to strike the eye. Stooping and taking the hand of the Queen, the general kissed it respectfully. The mob of Frenchmen was transported at this action, and confirmed the reconciliation by shouts of *Long live the Queen! Long live Lafayette!* Peace was not yet made with the life-guards. "Will you not do something for my guards?" said the King to Lafayette. The latter took one of them, led him to the balcony, clasped him in his arms, and put on him his own shoulder-belt. The populace again cheered, and ratified by its plaudits this new reconciliation.

The Assembly had not deemed it consistent with its dignity to go to the monarch

* "The mob crowded in the marble court, and wandering on the outside of the palace began to express again their designs with frightful howlings. 'To Paris! To Paris!' were the first cries. Their prey was promised them, and then fresh cries ordered the unfortunate family to appear on the balcony. The Queen showed herself accompanied by her children; she was forced by threats to send them away. I mixed in the crowd, and beheld for the first time that unfortunate Princess; she was dressed in white, her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a victim on the block. The enraged populace were not moved at the sight of wo in all its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate Princess could not even find a support in the King, for his presence only augmented the fury of the multitude. At last preparations for departure did more towards appeasing them than promises could have done, and by twelve o'clock the frightful procession set off. I hope such a scene will never be witnessed again! I have often asked myself how the metropolis of a nation, so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of manners—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who so long reigned over it! In walking through the streets of Paris, it seems to me, the features even of the lowest and most miserable class of people do not present to the eye anything like ferociousness, or the meanest passions in all their hideous energy. Can those passions alter the features so as to deprive them of all likeness to humanity? Or does the terror inspired by the sight of a guilty wretch give him the semblance of a wild beast? These madmen, dancing in the mire, and covered with mud, surrounded the King's coach. The groups that marched foremost carried on long pikes the bloody heads of the life-guardsmen butchered in the morning. Surely Satan himself first invented the placing of a human head at the end of a lance! The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes, images of death added to the gestures and salutations which the executioners made them perform in horrible mockery of life, presented the most frightful spectacle that rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly as crime itself, swarming like insects, and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs, embracing and insulting the life-guards. This scene lasted for eight hours before the royal family arrived at the Place de Grève. They alighted at the Hôtel de Ville, their first resting-place during protracted misery, that terminated some years afterwards in a horrible death. Thus ended the memorable 6th of October!"—*Memoirs of Lavallette.* E.

though he had desired it to do so. It had contented itself with sending to him a deputation of thirty-six members. As soon as it was apprized of his intended departure, it passed a resolution purporting that the Assembly was inseparable from the person of the sovereign, and it nominated one hundred deputies to accompany him to Paris. The King received the resolution and set out.*

The principal bands of the mob had already gone. Lafayette had sent after them a detachment of the army, to prevent them from turning back. He also issued orders for disarming the brigands who were carrying the heads of two life-guardsmen on the point of their pikes. These horrible trophies were taken from them, and it is not true that they were borne before the carriage of the King.†

* "The King did not leave Versailles till one o'clock. The hundred deputies in their carriages followed him. A detachment of brigands, carrying in triumph the heads of two of the life-guards, formed the advanced guard, which had set off two hours earlier. These cannibals stopped for a moment at Sèvres, and carried their ferocity to such a pitch as to force an unfortunate barber to dress the hair of those two bleeding heads. The main body of the Parisian army immediately followed. Before the King's carriage marched the poissardes, who had come the preceding evening from Paris, and that whole army of abandoned women, the scum of their sex, still drunk with fury and with wine. Several of them were astride upon the cannon, celebrating by the most abominable songs all the crimes which they had committed or witnessed. Others, nearer to the King's carriage, were singing allegorical airs, and by their gross gestures applying the insulting allusions in them to the Queen. Carts laden with corn and flour, which had come to Versailles, formed a convoy escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and market-porters armed with pikes, or carrying large poplar boughs. This part of the *cortège* produced at some distance the most singular effect: it looked like a moving wood, amidst which glistened pike-heads and gun-barrels. In the transports of their brutal joy, the women stopped the passengers and yelled in their ears, while pointing to the royal carriage, 'Courage, my friends; we shall have plenty of bread now that we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy.' Behind his majesty's carriage were some of his faithful guards, partly on foot, partly on horseback, most of them without hats, all disarmed, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Cent-Suisses, and the national guards, preceded, accompanied, and followed the file of carriages.

"I was an eye-witness of this distressing spectacle, this melancholy procession. Amidst this tumult, this clamour, these songs interrupted by frequent discharges of musketry, which the hand of a monster or an awkward person might have rendered so fatal, I saw the Queen retain the most courageous tranquillity of mind and an air of inexpressible nobleness and dignity: my eyes filled with tears of admiration and grief."—*Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

† The following is Lafayette's own account of this affair. It is derived from the posthumous *Memoirs* of the General, lately published by his family: "The numerous and armed hordes who quitted Paris on the 5th of October, and who, united with the populace of Versailles, committed the disorders of that day, were totally distinct from the immense assemblage that, blockading themselves and us, made it difficult for the news of that tumultuous departure for Versailles to reach the Hôtel de Ville. I instantly perceived that, whatever might be the consequence of this double movement, the public safety required that I should take part in it, and, after having received from the Hôtel de Ville an order and two commissaries, I hastily provided for the security of Paris, and took the road to Versailles at the head of several battalions. When we approached the hall of the Assembly, the troops renewed their oath. They only advanced after I had offered my respects to the president, and received orders from the King who, having heard speeches from the commissaries and me, desired me to occupy the posts of the former French guards; and in truth, at that time, the pretension of taking possession of the palace would have appeared a most singular one. Not only the gardes-du-corps on service, but the Swiss sentinels stationed in the garden, and four hundred gardes-du-corps on horseback on the side towards Trianon, were not dependent in the slightest degree on me. I did not undoubtedly carry terror into the palace; I answered for my own troops; the result proved that I was right in doing so. I was not sufficiently master of the minds of the courtiers to believe that their security depended solely on myself;—for example, it was not I who sent to their own homes, in Versailles, the greatest number of the officers of the gardes-du-corps; nor was it I who sent to Rambouillet, at two o'clock in the morning (instead of employing them in forming patroles) the four hundred horse-guards placed on the side nearest to the gardens of Trianon.

[I have been told by a person worthy of credit, who had this piece of intelligence from M. de la Tour du Pin, the minister, that the King had hesitated until two in the morning respecting the projects of flight proposed to him.]

"I procured lodgings for the drenched and fatigued troops; I ascertained that the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps was defended by a battalion; I ordered patroles in the town, and round the palace. The entry into the King's chamber was refused me at two o'clock in the morning: I then repaired to the house of M. de Montmorin, in the ministers' court, within reach of my grenadiers. At break of day all things appeared to me to wear a tranquil aspect; I went to the Hôtel de Noailles

Louis XVI. at length returned amidst a considerable concourse, and was received by Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville. "I return with confidence," said the King,

very near the palace, in which the staff received reports. I made some necessary arrangements for Paris; I partook of some refreshments; and should have believed that exhausted nature required, after more than twenty hours' unremitting exertion, some repose, if, a few minutes later, a sudden alarm had not restored to me all my strength.

"That infernal irruption was in truth most sudden, and perfectly distinct from the other tumults. Two gardes-du-corps were killed; other brave and faithful guards stopped the brigands at the door of the apartment of the Queen, who was conducted to the King by young Victor Maubourg, one of their officers. The grenadiers of my advanced post had scarcely arranged themselves in order of battle, when they received my command to hasten to the palace. A volunteer company also repaired thither very speedily. I flew at the same time to the spot, having sprung on the first horse I met with. I was fortunate enough in the first instance to liberate a group of gardes-du-corps, and, having confided them to the charge of the few persons who accompanied me, I remained surrounded by a furious mob, one of whom cried out to the others to kill me. I commanded them to seize him, doubtless in a very authoritative voice, for they dragged him towards me, striking his head on the pavement. I found the apartments occupied with national guards. The King deigned never to forget the scene that ensued, when the grenadiers, with tears in their eyes, promised me to perish to the last man for him. During that time our guards were arriving; the courts were lined with national guards, and filled with a multitude in a high state of excitement. Those who heard me address the King were not dissatisfied with my expressions.

"I had long been of opinion that the Assembly would be more quiet and the King more secure in Paris. I refused, however, being present at the deliberation (become necessary, I own), in which the departure was decided upon; and as soon as the Queen had declared her noble determination of accompanying the King, I did, before thousands of witnesses, all that could be expected from the circumstances and my devotion. It was then that in the King's cabinet, while embraced by Madame Adelaide, I received from that respectable princess testimonies of approbation that ill prepared me for the abuse from which I have since been obliged to vindicate myself.

"The statements of the proceedings of the Châtelet have mingled together the assertions, opinions, reports, and even suppositions, of men of all parties. Such absurd accusations are found there, as that Mirabeau was seen on the 5th armed with a sabre, among the soldiers of a Flemish regiment; that a prince distributed money at six o'clock in the morning; and several tales of the same nature, the falsehood of which is evident.—I have looked over some letters from officers and gardes-du-corps, found in the King's cabinet, written in 1790 and 1791. Some of them addressed to a friend are evidently intended to efface, at the expense of other persons, unfavourable expressions; other letters contain inaccuracies, contradictions, and insignificant phrases; but all of them tend to prove that we only had charge of the ancient posts, the French guards; that when the chiefs of the gardes-du-corps required instructions, it was to the King, the ministers, and M. d'Estaing, and not to me, that they thought proper to apply; that I had taken, and even redoubled, every precaution for the Hôtel des Gardes-du-corps; that those guards, as well as the palace, were saved by us; and that a wounded guard of the King selected my house in Paris as the place in which he would best be taken care of. These words, 'M. de Lafayette has saved us,' are continually repeated. Among the false assertions that have been propagated, I shall relate but one; it was said that the heads of two unfortunate gardes-du-corps had been carried before the carriage of the King. While we were only thinking of saving their comrades and the royal family, it is sufficiently horrible that bandits should have escaped with the infamous trophies of their crimes; but they had arrived at the Palais Royal; and public authority had succeeded in dispersing them, before the King had even quitted Versailles." E.

"Lafayette, born in Auvergne, of one of the most ancient families of that province, was employed, when still young, in the army that Louis XVI. sent to defend the independence of the English colonies of North America. Rochambeau placed him at the head of some volunteers, and in this manner he served with some distinction during the whole war. He returned to France with the rank of major-general, full of ideas of liberty. Being appointed by the noblesse of his province, deputy to the States-general, he voted that the examination of the powers should take place in common. After the union of the three orders, he insisted, with Mirabeau, on the removal of the troops whom the court was marching towards Paris. Being appointed vice-president, he presented his well-known declaration of rights. In July, 1789, he was appointed commander of the Parisian national guard. A few days after the famous 5th of October, Lafayette, in a conference very imperious on the one side, and very timid on the other, gave the Duke of Orleans to understand that his name was the pretext for all commotions, and that he must leave the kingdom; an apparent mission was given to this prince, and he set out for England. In February, 1790, Lafayette, in the Assembly, solicited measures for repressing the disturbers of the provinces, and indemnifying the proprietors of burnt houses; these excesses he attributed to the counter-revolutionary spirit. He afterwards voted for the suppression of titles of honour and nobility, refusing even to admit of an exception in favour of the princes. At the Federation in July, he presented the national guards, who were collected from every part of the kingdom, to the Assembly and the King. At the time of Louis's flight he was accused by the Jacobins of having assisted in it, and by the Royalists of having

into the midst of my people of Paris." Bailly repeated these words to those who could not hear them, but he forgot the word *confidence*. "Add *with confidence*," said the Queen. "You are happier," replied Bailly, "than if I had said it myself."*

The royal family repaired to the palace of the Tuileries, which had not been inhabited for a century, and where there had not been time to make the necessary preparations. The guard of it was confided to the Parisian militia, and Lafayette was thus made responsible to the nation for the person of the King, for which all the parties were contending. The nobles were desirous to carry him to some fortress, in order to exercise despotism in his name. The popular party, which

contrived the arrest of his sovereign. When the King's fate was debated in the Assembly, Lafayette was among those who objected to the motion for bringing him to trial, and declaring him deposed. When the Constitution was accepted, Lafayette voted for the amnesty demanded by the King, and resigned his office of commander of the guard, upon which the municipality ordered a gold medal to be struck in his honour. In 1792, Lafayette went to Metz, where he took the command of the central army. At first he encamped under the walls of Givet, but his advanced guard, posted near Philipsburg, met with a slight check, upon which he removed to the intrenched camp at Maubeige, and placed his advanced guard at Grisnelles, under the command of Gouvion, where it was surprised and cut to pieces, and its leader killed by a cannon-ball. Shortly afterwards Lafayette's army received accounts of the attempt made on the 20th of June, and in different addresses declared its disapprobation of the outrage offered on that day to Louis. Proud of such support, Lafayette went to Paris, and appeared at the bar of the legislative body, where he complained of these outrages, and accused the Jacobins. For one moment the Assembly seemed intimidated by this step, but the faction soon took courage: and Lafayette returned to his army, after having in vain urged Louis to leave Paris, and come among his troops who were then faithful. Soon after, commissions having been sent from Paris to insist on his removal from his command, he addressed his troops in a proclamation, in which he called on them to choose between the Constitution and Petion for a king. The whole army exclaimed, 'Long live the King!'—'Long live the Constitution!' but Lafayette placing little dependence on this burst of enthusiasm, fled with several officers of his staff. He was then declared an emigrant. On his arrival at the Austrian advanced posts he was made prisoner. He was afterwards delivered up to the King of Prussia who caused him to be removed to Magdeburg, where he remained a year in a dungeon; but when Prussia made peace with France, he was restored to the Austrians who sent him to Olmutz. After a rigorous imprisonment of three years and five months, he obtained his liberty at the request of Bonaparte. He then withdrew to Hamburg, and after the 18th Brumaire, returned to France."—*Biographie Moderne.* From this period Lafayette remained in comparative retirement till the breaking out of the second Revolution in 1830, when he was again appointed commander of the national guards, which however, he resigned, shortly after the accession of Louis Philippe to the throne. He died in the year 1834 at the age of 76. E.

* "Jean Sylvain Bailly was one of the forty of the French Academy, and deputy of Paris to the States-general. Born in Paris on the 15th of September, 1736, nature had endowed him with all the talents which fit men for the study of the sciences, and the meditations of philosophy. After several essays, which were well received by the public, he published a history of astronomy. When the Revolution broke out in 1789, the electors of Paris chose him as secretary, and then as deputy of the *tiers-état* to the States-general. He was president of this assembly in its first session. On the 16th of July he was appointed Mayor of Paris. When, after the flight of the King, the parties were divided, and the more violent revolutionists wished to seize the opportunity of pronouncing the forfeiture of Louis, Bailly opposed the ferments excited in Paris in favour of the party of the forfeiture. An immense crowd having thronged to the Champ de Mars to frame an address recommending the forfeiture, on the 17th of July, 1791, Bailly caused martial law to be proclaimed against this assembly, which was dispersed by armed force. The National Assembly approved this step; but, from this time, Bailly perceived that his credit was sinking. He vacated the office of mayor early in November, and then went over to England, whence he returned shortly after to Paris, trusting to spend the rest of his days in retirement. He was, however, arrested in 1793, and brought to trial in November, before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to death. On the day after the passing of his sentence, he was put into the fatal cart, and, while proceeding to execution, was loaded with the insults of the people. It was resolved that he should die on the Champ de Mars, in the very place where he had caused the seditious people to be fired on. Here he fell down in a fainting-fit. When he recovered, he demanded, haughtily, that an end might be put to his miseries. 'Dost thou tremble, Bailly?" said one of his executioners, seeing his limbs, weakened by age, quiver. 'Friend,' answered he, calmly, 'if I do tremble, it is with cold.' After having been subjected to every species of ignominy, he ran himself to the scaffold, which had been fixed upon a heap of dung. He died with great courage. Bailly was tall, his face long and serious, and his character by no means devoid of sensibility. There are several valuable works on astronomy by him. His widow died in 1800."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

had not yet conceived the idea of dispensing with him, wished to keep him, to complete the constitution and to withdraw a chief from civil war. Hence the malignity of the privileged classes called Lafayette a gaoler; and yet his vigilance proved only one thing—the sincere desire to have a King.*

From this moment the march of the parties displayed itself in a new manner. The aristocracy, separated from Louis XVI. and incapable of executing any enterprise by his side, dispersed itself abroad and in the provinces. It was from this time that the emigration began to be considerable. A great number of nobles fled to Turin, to the Count d'Artois, who had found an asylum with his father-in-law.† Here their policy consisted in exciting the departments of the south, and in supposing that the King was not free. The Queen, who was an Austrian, and moreover an enemy to the new court formed at Turin, fixed her hopes on Austria. The King, amidst these machinations, saw everything, prevented nothing, and awaited his salvation, come from what quarter it might. From time to time he made the disavowals required by the Assembly, and was not really free, any more than he would have been at Turin or at Coblentz, or than he was under Maurepas; for it is the lot of weakness to be everywhere dependent.

The popular party, thenceforward triumphant, was divided among the Duke of Orleans, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Barnave, and the Lameths.‡ The public voice charged the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau with being the authors of the late insurrection. Witnesses who were not unworthy of credit, asserted that they had seen the duke and Mirabeau on the deplorable field of battle on the 6th of October. These statements were afterwards contradicted; at the moment, however, they were believed. The conspirators had intended to remove the King and even to put him to death, said the boldest calumniators. The Duke of Orleans, they added, had aspired to be lieutenant of the kingdom, and Mirabeau minister. As none of these plans had succeeded, Lafayette, appearing to have thwarted them by his presence, was regarded as the saviour of the King, and the conqueror of the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau. The court, which had not yet had time to become ungrateful, acknowledged Lafayette to be its preserver, and the power of the general at this moment seemed immense. The hotheaded patriots were incensed at it, and began already to mutter the name of Cromwell. Mirabeau, who, as we shall presently see, had no connexion with the Duke of Orleans, was jealous of Lafayette, and called him Cromwell Grandison. The aristocracy seconded these distrusts, and added to them its own calumnies. Lafayette, however, was determined, in spite of all obstacles, to uphold the King and the constitution. For this purpose he resolved in the first place to remove the Duke of Orleans, whose presence gave occasion to many reports, and might furnish, if not the means, at least a pretext, for disturbances. He had an interview with the

* "The insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October was truly a popular movement; we must not seek for any secret causes of it, or ascribe it to concealed ambition; it was provoked by the imprudence of the court. The banquet of the body-guard, the rumours of the flight, the fear of civil war, and the famine, alone carried Paris on Versailles. If particular instigators, which the most interested in proving the fact have left doubtful, contributed to produce the commotion, they changed neither its direction nor its object. This event destroyed the ancient régime of the court; it took away its guard; it transported it from the royal town to the capital of the revolution, and placed it under the surveillance of the people."—*Mignet.* E.

† "The day of the King's entrance into Paris was the first of the emigration of the noblesse—a fatal example of defection, which, being speedily followed by the inferior nobility, produced the most disastrous consequences. But it was the same in all the subsequent changes of the Revolution. The Royalist leaders, always the first to propose violent measures, were at the same time unable to support them when opposed; they diminished the sympathy of the world at their fall from so high a rank, by showing that they were unworthy of it."—*Alison.* E.

‡ "At this epoch, the extremes on the liberal side were Duport, Barnave, and Lameth, who formed a triumvirate, whose opinions were prepared by Duport, supported by Barnave, and whose measures were directed by Alexandre Lameth. This party placed itself at once in a position a little in advance of that at which the Revolution had arrived. The 14th of July had been the triumph of the middle class; the constituent was its assembly; the national guard its armed force; the mayoralty its popular power. Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Bailly, applied themselves to this class, and were, the one its orator, the other its general, and the third its magistrate."—*Mignet.* E.

prince, intimidated him by his firmness, and obliged him to withdraw. The King, who was in the scheme, feigned, with his usual weakness, to be forced into this measure; and writing to the Duke of Orleans, he told him that it was absolutely necessary for him or M. de Lafayette to retire; that, in the state of opinions, the choice was not doubtful; and that, in consequence he gave him a commission for England. We have since been informed that M. de Montmorin, minister for foreign affairs, in order to rid himself of the ambition of the Duke of Orleans, directed him towards the Netherlands, then in rebellion against Austria, and that he had held out hopes to him of acquiring the title of Duke of Brabant.* His friends, when apprized of this resolution, were indignant at his weakness. More ambitious than he, they would have persuaded him not to comply. They went to Mirabeau, and entreated him to denounce in the tribune the violence which Lafayette was committing against the prince. Mirabeau, already jealous of the general's popularity, sent word to him and to the duke, that he would denounce both of them in the tribune if the departure for England should take place. The Duke of Orleans was shaken: a fresh summons from Lafayette decided him; and Mirabeau, on receiving in the Assembly a note acquainting him with the retreat of the prince, exclaimed in vexation: "He is not worth the trouble that is taken about him."† This expression and many others equally inconsiderate have caused him to be frequently accused of being one of the agents of the Duke of Orleans; but this he never was. His straitened circumstances, the imprudence of his language, his familiarity with the Duke of Orleans, though indeed he treated everybody in the same manner, his proposal relative to the Spanish succession, and lastly, his opposition to the departure of the duke, could not but excite suspicions; it is nevertheless true that Mirabeau had no party, nay, that he had no other aim but to destroy the aristocracy and arbitrary power.

The authors of these suppositions ought to have known that Mirabeau was at this time under the necessity of borrowing the most trifling sums, which would not have been the case, if he had been the agent of a prince immensely rich, and who is believed to have been almost ruined by his partisans. Mirabeau had already foreboded the speedy dissolution of the state. A conversation with an intimate friend, which lasted a whole night, in the park of Versailles, caused him to decide on adopting an entirely new plan; and he determined for his glory, for the welfare of the state, and lastly, for his own fortune—for Mirabeau was the man for attending to all these interests at once—to stand immoveable between the disaffected and the throne, and to consolidate the monarchy while making a place in it for himself. The court had tried to gain him, but the affair had been clumsily managed, and without the delicacy requisite towards a man of great pride, and desirous of retaining his popularity, in default of the esteem which he did not yet possess. Malouet, a friend of Necker, and connected with Mirabeau, wished to bring them into communication. Mirabeau had frequently declined this,‡ being certain that he could never agree with the minister. He nevertheless assented. Malouet introduced him, and the incompatibility of the two characters was still

* See Dumouriez's Memoirs.

† I have already shown that there was scarcely any connexion whatever between Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans. Here follows a key to the signification of the celebrated expression, *Ce j... f..... ne mérite pas la peine qu'on se donne pour lui.* The constraint exercised by Lafayette over the Duke of Orleans indisposed the popular party, and irritated above all the friends of the prince, who was doomed to exile. The latter conceived the idea of letting loose Mirabeau against Lafayette, by taking advantage of the jealousy of the orator against the general. Lauzun, a friend of the duke's, went one evening to Mirabeau, to urge him to take up the subject the very next morning. Mirabeau, who often gave way to persuasion, was about to yield, when his friends, more vigilant than himself over his own conduct, begged him not to stir. It was therefore resolved that he should not speak. Next morning, at the opening of the sitting, news arrived of the departure of the Duke of Orleans; and Mirabeau, who owed him a grudge for his compliance to Lafayette, and bethought him of the useless efforts of his friends, exclaimed, *Ce j... f..... ne mérite pas la peine qu'on se donne pour lui.*

‡ Messrs. Molouet and Bertrand de Molleville have not hesitated to assert the contrary, but the fact here advanced is attested by witnesses of the highest credibility.

more strongly felt after this interview, in which, according to the admission of all present, Mirabeau displayed the superiority which he had in private life, as well as in the tribune. It was reported that he had manifested a wish to be bought, and that, as Necker made no overture, he said on going away: "*The minister shall hear of me.*" This again is an interpretation of the parties, but it is false. Malouet had proposed to Mirabeau, who was known to be satisfied with the liberty acquired, to come to an understanding with the minister, and nothing more. Besides, it was at this very period that a direct negotiation was opened with the court. A foreign prince, connected with men of all parties, made the first overtures. A friend, who served as an intermediate agent, explained that no sacrifice of principles would be obtained from Mirabeau; but that, if the government would adhere to the constitution, it would find in him a stanch supporter; that, as to the conditions, they were dictated by his situation; that it was requisite, even for the interest of those who wished to employ him, that that situation should be rendered honourable and independent—in other words, that his debts should be paid; that, finally, it was necessary to make him attached to the new social order, and without actually giving him the ministry, to hold out hopes of it at some future time.* The negotiations were not entirely concluded till two or three months afterwards, that is, in the first months of 1790.† Historians unacquainted with these particulars, and misled by the perseverance of Mirabeau in opposing the government, have assigned a later period to this treaty. It was, however, nearly concluded at the commencement of 1790. We shall notice it in its proper place.

The only way in which Barnave and the Lameths could rival Mirabeau was by a greater patriotic austerity. Apprized of the negotiations which were in progress, they accredited the rumour already circulated, that the ministry was about to be conferred on him, in order that they might thus deprive him of the means of accepting it. An occasion for thwarting his views soon occurred. The ministers had no right to speak in the Assembly. Mirabeau was unwilling, when appointed minister, to lose the right of speaking, which was the chief instrument of his influence; he wished moreover to bring Necker into the tribune, that he might crush him there. He proposed therefore to give a consultative voice to the ministers. The popular party, in alarm, opposed the motion without any reasonable motive, and appeared to have a dread of ministerial seductions. But its apprehensions were absurd; for it is not by their public communications with the chambers that the ministers usually corrupt the national representation. Mirabeau's motion was negatived, and Lanjuinais, pushing rigour still further, proposed to forbid the existing deputies to accept the ministry. A violent debate ensued. Though the motive of these propositions was known, it was not avowed; and

* In Mirabeau, as in all superior men, much littleness is united with much greatness. He had a lively imagination, which it was requisite to amuse with hopes. It was impossible to give him the ministry without destroying his influence, and consequently without ruining him, and nullifying the aid that might be derived from him. On the other hand he needed this bait for his imagination. Those therefore who had placed themselves between him and the court, recommended that at least the hope of a portfolio should be left him. However, the personal interests of Mirabeau were never the subject of particular mention in the various communications which took place; nothing in fact was ever said about money or favours, and it was difficult to make Mirabeau understand what the court wished to convey to him. For this purpose a very ingenious method was suggested to the King. Mirabeau had so bad a reputation that few persons would have been willing to serve as his colleagues. The King, addressing M. de Liancourt, for whom he had a particular friendship, asked him, if, in order to render him service, he would accept a portfolio in company with Mirabeau. M. de Liancourt, devoted to the monarch, replied, that he was ready to do whatever the good of his service required. This question, which was soon reported to the orator, filled him with satisfaction, and he no longer doubted that he should be appointed minister, as soon as circumstances permitted.

† "Disgusted with the fickleness of the multitude, Mirabeau had long made secret advances to the constitutional party, and entered into correspondence with the King, for the purpose of restraining the further progress of the Revolution. He received, for a short time, a pension of 20,000 francs, or 800*l.* a month, first from the Count d'Artois, and afterwards from the King; but it was not continued till the time of his death, from finding that he was not so pliant as the court party expected."—*Alison.* E.

Mirabeau, who was incapable of dissimulation, at length exclaimed that it would be wrong, for the sake of a single individual, to take a measure pernicious to the state ; that he supported the motion, on condition that the ministry should be interdicted, not to all the present deputies, but only to M. de Mirabeau, deputy of the seneschalship of Aix. His frankness and boldness were of no avail, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

We have seen how the state was divided between the emigrants, the Queen, the King, and different popular chiefs, such as Lafayette, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Lameth. No decisive event, like that of the 14th of July or the 5th of October, was possible for a long time to come. It was requisite that fresh contrarieties should exasperate the court and the people, and produce a signal rupture.

The Assembly had removed to Paris, after repeated assurances of tranquillity on the part of the commune, and the promise of entire liberty in the votes. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal, indignant at the events of the 5th and 6th of October, had resigned their seats, saying that they would not be either spectators of, or accomplices in, the crimes of the factious. They must have regretted this desertion of the public welfare, especially when they saw Maury and Cazalès, after seceding from the Assembly, soon return to it and courageously support to the end the cause which they had espoused. Mounier, retiring to Dauphiné, assembled the states of the province, but a decree soon caused them to be dissolved, without any resistance. Thus Mounier and Lally, who, at the period of the junction of the orders and of the oath at the Tennis Court, had been the heroes of the people, were no longer held in any estimation by them. The parliaments had been first outstripped by the popular power ; so had Mounier, Lally and Necker, been after them ; and so many others were very soon destined to be.

The dearth, the exaggerated but nevertheless real cause of the disturbances, gave occasion also to a crime. A baker, named François, was murdered by some brigands, Lafayette succeeded in securing the culprits, and delivered them up to the Châtelet, which was invested with an extraordinary jurisdiction over all offences relative to the Revolution. Here Besenval, and all those who were accused of having a hand in the aristocratic conspiracy foiled on the 14th of July, were under trial. The Châtelet was authorized to try according to new forms. Till the introduction of the trial by jury, which was not yet instituted, the Assembly had ordered publicity, the contradictory defence, and all the measures which operated as safeguards to innocence. The murderers of François were condemned, and tranquillity was restored. Upon this occasion, Lafayette and Bailly proposed the adoption of martial law. The motion, though strongly opposed by Robespierre, who thenceforward showed himself a warm partisan of the people and the poor, was nevertheless approved by the majority. By virtue of this law, the municipalities were responsible for the public tranquillity ; in case of disturbance, they were directed to require the aid of the regular troops or the militia ; and they were enjoined, after three warnings, to employ force against seditious assemblages. A committee of search was established in the commune of Paris and in the National Assembly, to look after the numerous enemies, whose machinations crossed each other in all directions. All these measures were not more than sufficient to control the host of adversaries leagued against the new revolution.

The formation of the constitution was prosecuted with activity. The feudal system had been abolished, but there was still wanting a last measure for destroying those great bodies which had been enemies constituted in the state against the state. The clergy possessed immense property. It had been conferred on them by princes as feudal grants, or by the pious by way of legacy. If the property of individuals, the fruit and object of their labour, ought to be respected, that which had been given to bodies for a certain purpose might have another destination assigned to it by the law. It was for the service of religion, or at least upon this pretext, that it had been bestowed ; religion being a public service, the law had a right to provide for it in a totally different manner. The Abbé Maury here displayed his imperturbable spirit : he gave the alarm to the landed proprietors, threatened them with speedy spoliation, and declared that the provinces were

sacrificed to the stockjobbers of the capital. His sophistry was singular enough to be recorded. It was to pay the public debt that the property of the clergy was disposed of; the creditors were the great capitalists of Paris; the property which was sacrificed to them was in the provinces: hence the bold reasoner concluded that it was sacrificing the country to the capital; as if the country were not on the contrary a gainer by the new division of those immense estates hitherto reserved for the luxury of a few indolent churchmen.

All these efforts were useless. The bishop of Autun, the author of the proposal, and Thouret, the deputy, demolished these vain sophisms.* The Assembly was proceeding to resolve that all the possessions of the clergy belonged to the state; the opposition, however, still insisted on the question of property. They were told that if they were proprietors, the nation had a right to make use of their property, since this kind of property had frequently been employed in cases of emergency for the service of the state. This they did not deny. Taking advantage of their assent, Mirabeau then moved that, for the words *belong to*, should be substituted, *are at the disposal of*, the state, and the discussion was instantly terminated by a great majority. The Assembly thus destroyed the formidable power of the clergy and the luxury of the high dignitaries of the order, and secured those immense financial resources which so long upheld the Revolution. At the same time, it provided for the subsistence of the *curés*, by resolving that their salaries should not be less than twelve hundred francs, adding, moreover, the use of a parsonage-house and garden. It declared that it ceased to recognise religious vows, and restored liberty to all the inmates of cloisters, leaving to those who preferred it the right of continuing the monastic life. Their property was withdrawn, and pensions were granted in its stead. Carrying its forecast still farther, it established a difference between the wealthy orders and the mendicant orders, and proportioned the salary of both to their former condition. It pursued the same course in regard to pensions; and when Camus, the Jansenist, desirous of returning to the evangelical simplicity, proposed to reduce all pensions to one very low standard, the Assembly, on the recommendation of Mirabeau, reduced them proportionably to their actual value, and suitably to the former state of the receivers. It was impossible to carry attention to previous habits to a greater length, and in this consists the *real respect* for property. In like manner, when the Protestants, expatriated ever since the edict of Nantes, reclaimed their possessions, the Assembly restored such only as had not been sold.

Prudent and delicate in regard to persons, the Assembly treated things without ceremony, and was much bolder in matters relating to the constitution. The prerogatives of the great powers had been fixed: the question now was, the division of the territory of the kingdom. It had always been divided into provinces, successively united with ancient France. These provinces, differing from one another in laws, privileges, and manners, formed a most heterogeneous whole. Sieyes†

* "Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to renounce the property of the ecclesiastical benefices in favour of the nation, which would employ it in the support of the altars and payment of its debt. He proved the justice and the propriety of this measure; he showed the great advantages which would result from it to the state. The clergy struggled against this proposition, but it was carried on the 2d of December. From that moment the hatred of the clergy to the Revolution broke forth. It had been less intractable than the noblesse at the commencement of the States-general, in the hope of preserving its wealth; afterwards it showed itself not less opposed to the new régime."—*Mignet.* E.

"M. de Talleyrand is the only bishop ever appointed by the choice, and at the request of the clergy of France. He was then Abbé de Perigord, and agent of the clergy; but contrary to the usual custom, especially in the case of a man of such high birth, Louis XVI. had delayed appointing him. The general assembly of the clergy expressly voted that a representation should be made to the King, in their name, expressive of their astonishment that the Abbé de Perigord was not made a bishop; and it was in consequence of this indication that the King at last gave him the bishopric of Autun."—*Memoirs of Lafayette.* E.

† "Sieyes was one of those men, who, in ages of enthusiasm, found a sect, and, in an age of intelligence, exercise the ascendant of a powerful understanding. Solitude and philosophic speculation had ripened it for a happy moment; his ideas were new, vigorous, various, but little systematic. Society had in particular been the object of his examination; he had followed its progress

conceived the idea of blending them together by a new division, which should annihilate the ancient demarcations, and introduce the same laws and the same spirit into all parts of the kingdom. This was accomplished by the division into departments. These were divided into districts, and the districts into municipalities. In all these degrees, the principle of representation was admitted. The departmental administration, that of the district, and that of the communes, were assigned to a deliberate council and to an executive council; both were elective. These various authorities depended the one on the other, and they had the same powers, throughout their respective jurisdictions. The department made the assessments of the taxes upon the districts, the district upon the communes, and the commune upon individuals.

The Assembly then fixed the quality of a citizen enjoying political rights. It required the age of twenty-five years, and the payment of contributions to the amount of one silver mark. Every man who combined these conditions had the title of active citizen, and those who did not, styled themselves passive citizens. These extremely simple denominations were turned into ridicule; for it is names that people lay hold of when they want to depreciate things; but they were natural, and aptly expressed their object. The active citizen concurred in elections, either for the formation of the administrations, or for that of the Assembly. The elections of the deputies had two degrees. No specific condition was required to constitute eligibility; for it was observed in the Assembly, a man is an elector by his existence in society, and he must be eligible from the mere confidence of the electors.

These operations, interrupted by a thousand incidental discussions, were nevertheless prosecuted with great ardour. The right side (the party of the nobility and clergy), only contributed by its obstinacy to impede them, the moment opportunity offered to contest any portion of influence with the nation. The popular deputies, on the contrary, though forming several parties, acted in concert, or differed without animosity, agreeably to their private opinions. It was easy to perceive that among them conviction predominated over party considerations. Thouret, Mirabeau, Duport, Sieyes, Camus, Chapelier, were seen alternately uniting and dividing, according to their opinion, in each discussion. As for the members of the nobility and clergy, they never appeared but in party discussions. If the parliaments had issued decrees against the Assembly, if deputies or writers had insulted it, they then came forward, ready to support them. They supported also the military commandants against the people, the slave-traders against the negro slaves; they were against the admission of Jews and Protestants to the enjoyment of the common rights. Lastly, when Genoa declared against France, on account of the enfranchisement of Corsica, and the union of that island with the kingdom, they were in favour of Genoa against France. In short, aliens, indifferent to all beneficial discussions, not listening to them, but conversing among themselves, they never rose but when there were rights or liberty to be refused.*

and decomposed its machinery. The nature of government appeared to him less a question of right than a question of epoch. Although cool and deliberate, Sieyes had the ardour which inspires the investigation of truth, and the fearlessness to insist on its promulgation; thus he was absolute in his notions, despising the ideas of others because he found them incomplete, and only, in his eyes, only the half truth, which was error. Contradiction irritated him; he was little communicative; he would have wished to make himself thoroughly understood, but he could not succeed with all the world. His disciples transmitted his systems to others—a circumstance which gave him a certain air of mysteriousness, and rendered him the object of a sort of adoration. He had the authority which complete political science bestows, and the constitution could have sprung from his head, all armed like the Minerva of Jupiter, or the legislation of the ancients, if in our times every one had not wished to assist in it, or to judge of it. Nevertheless, with some modifications, his plans were generally adopted, and he had in the committees far more disciples than fellow-labourers."—*Mignet.* E.

* It will not be uninteresting to show the opinion of Ferrieres concerning the manner in which the deputies of his own party behaved in the Assembly.

"In the National Assembly," says Ferrieres, "there were not more than about three hundred really upright men, exempt from party-spirit, not belonging to any club, wishing what was right, wishing it for its own sake, independently of the interest of orders or of bodies, always ready to embrace the most just and the most beneficial proposal, no matter from what quarter it came, or by whom it was supported. These were the men worthy of the honourable function to which they

As we have already observed, it was no longer possible to attempt any great conspiracy in favour of the King, since the aristocracy was put to flight, and the court was encompassed by the Assembly, the people, and the national militia. Partial movements were, therefore, all that the malcontents could attempt. They fomented the discontent of the officers who adhered to the former order of things; while the soldiers, having everything to gain, inclined to the new. Violent quarrels took place between the army and the populace: the soldiers frequently gave up their officers to the mob, who murdered them; at other times, these mutual jealousies were happily appeased, and all again became quiet, when the commandants of towns could conduct themselves with any address, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. The clergy had inundated Britanny with protestations against the alienation of its property. Attempts were made to excite a remnant of religious fanaticism in the provinces, where the ancient superstition still prevailed. The parliaments were also employed, and a last trial was made of their authority. Their vacation had been prorogued by the Assembly, because it did not wish to have any discussion with them during the interval that should elapse before it could dissolve them. The chambers of vacation administered justice in their absence. At Rouen, at Nantes, at Rennes, they passed resolutions, in which they deplored the ruin of the ancient monarchy and the violation of its laws; and, without mentioning the Assembly, they seemed to point to it as the cause of all the prevailing evils. They were called to the bar, and delicately reprimanded. That of Rennes, as the most culpable, was declared incapable of fulfilling its functions. That of Metz had insinuated that the King was not free. Such, as we have already observed, was the policy of the discontented: as they could not make use of the King, they sought to represent him as in a state of restraint, and for this reason they were desirous of annulling all the laws to which he appeared to assent. He seemed himself to second this policy. He would not recall his life-guards, who were dismissed on the 5th and 6th of October, and caused the duty about his person to be performed by the national militia, among whom he knew that he was safe. His intention was to appear to be a captive. The commune of Paris foiled this too petty artifice, by soliciting the King to recall his guards, which he refused to do upon frivolous pretexts, and through the medium of the Queen.*

had been called, who made the few good laws that proceeded from the Constituent Assembly; it was they who prevented all the mischief which was not done by it. Invariably adopting what was good, as invariably opposing what was bad, they have frequently produced a majority in favour of resolutions which, but for them, would have been rejected from a spirit of faction; and they have often defeated motions which, but for them, would have been adopted from a spirit of interest.

"While on this subject I cannot abstain from remarking on the impolitic conduct of the nobles and the bishops. As they aimed only to dissolve the Assembly, to throw discredit on its operations, instead of opposing mischievous measures, they manifested an indifference on this point which is inconceivable. When the president stated the question they quitted the hall, inviting the deputies of their party to follow them; or, if they stayed, they called out to them to take no part in the deliberation. The Clubbists, forming through this dereliction of duty a majority of the Assembly, carried every resolution they pleased. The bishops and the nobles, firmly believing that the new order of things would not last, hastened with a sort of impatience, as if determined to accelerate the downfall, both the ruin of the monarchy and their own ruin. With this senseless conduct they combined an insulting disdain both of the Assembly and of the people who attended the sittings. Instead of listening they laughed and talked aloud, thus confirming the people in the unfavourable opinion which it had conceived of them; and instead of striving to recover its confidence and its esteem, they strove only to gain its hatred and its contempt. All these follies arose solely from the mistaken notion of the bishops and the nobles; who could not persuade themselves that the Revolution had long been effected in the opinion and in the heart of every Frenchman. They hoped, by means of these dykes, to set bounds to a torrent which was daily swelling. All they did served only to produce a greater accumulation of its waters, to occasion greater ravages; obstinately clinging to the old system, the basis of all their actions, of all their opposition, but which was repudiated by all. By this impolitic obstinacy they forced the Revolutionists to extend the Revolution beyond the goal which they had set up for themselves. The nobles and the bishops then exclaimed against injustice, tyranny. They talked of the antiquity and the legitimacy of their rights to men who had sapped the foundation of all rights."—*Ferrieres*, tome ii., p. 122.

* The question of the recall of the King's guards furnished occasion for an anecdote which

The year 1790 had just commenced, and a general agitation began to be perceptible. Three tolerably quiet months had passed since the 5th and 6th of October, and the commotion seemed to be breaking out anew. Violent storms are always followed by calms, and these calms by petty gusts, which gradually become more and more vehement. These disturbances were laid to the charge of the clergy, the nobility, the court, and even of England, who directed her ambassador to justify her conduct. The paid companies of the national guard were themselves infected with this general discontent. Some soldiers assembled in the Champs Elysées, and demanded an increase of pay. Lafayette, present everywhere, hastened to the spot, dispersed and punished them, and restored quiet among his troops, who were still faithful, notwithstanding these slight interruptions of discipline.

There were great rumours of a plot against the Assembly and the municipality, the supposed ringleader of which was the Marquis de Favras.* He was apprehended, with circumstances of public notoriety, and sent to the Châtelet. It was immediately reported that Bailly and Lafayette were to have been assassinated; that twelve hundred horse were ready at Versailles to carry off the King; that an army, composed of Swiss and Piedmontese, was to receive him and to march to Paris. The alarm spread. It was added that Favras was the secret agent of the highest personages. Suspicion was directed to Monsieur, the King's brother. Favras had been in his guards, and moreover had negotiated a loan in his behalf. Monsieur, alarmed at the agitation which prevailed, repaired to the Hôtel de Ville,

deserves to be recorded. The Queen complained to M. de Lafayette that the King was not free, and, in proof of this, she alleged that the duty of the palace was done by the national guard and not by the life-guards. M. de Lafayette immediately asked her if she should be gratified by the recall of the latter. The Queen at first hesitated to answer; but she durst not refuse the offer made by the general to bring about their recall. He instantly repaired to the municipality, which, at his instigation, presented a formal petition to the King to recall his life-guards, offering to share with them the duty of the palace. The King and Queen were not displeased with this solicitation; but they were soon rendered sensible of its consequences, and those who were desirous that they should not appear to be free induced them to refuse their compliance. It was, nevertheless, embarrassing to assign a motive for their refusal; and the Queen, to whom difficult commissions were frequently allotted, was directed to tell M. de Lafayette that the proposal of the municipality was not acceded to. The motive which she alleged was, that the King would not expose the life-guards to the risk of being murdered. M. de Lafayette had just met one of them walking in uniform in the Palais Royal. He mentioned this fact to the Queen, who was still more embarrassed, but persisted in the determination which she was charged to express.

* "The Marquis de Favras, formerly lieutenant of Monsieur's Swiss guards, was condemned by the Châtelet of Paris, on the 18th of February, 1790, for having endeavoured to excite a counter-revolutionary project, and for having intended to attempt the life of Lafayette, Bailly and Necker, and to carry off the King and the royal family. He was born at Blois; devoted himself from his earliest youth to the service, and went into the musketeers in 1755. In 1761 he obtained a company of dragoons in the regiment of Belsunce; and served with distinction in the campaigns of 1762 and 1763, after which he was appointed adjutant. In 1772 he acquired the office of first lieutenant of Monsieur's Swiss, which conferred the rank of colonel. In 1786 he went to Vienna to get his wife legitimatized, as only daughter of the Prince of Anhalt-Schaumburg. In 1787 he commanded a legion in Holland, at the time of the insurrection against the Stadtholder. In 1790 he was accused of having plotted, at Paris, against the Revolution; of having wanted to introduce armed men into Paris by night, in order to destroy the three principal heads of the administration; of attacking the King's guard; of taking away the seals of the state; and even of carrying off the King and his family to Véronne. He was summoned before the Châtelet, and repelled all the accusations brought against him; but his denials did not prevent the judges from condemning him. The announcement of his sentence did not shake his fortitude; he dictated his will with calmness, and paid great attention to the style of it. Favras was executed on the 11th of February, 1790. On mounting the scaffold he desired to be heard, and addressing himself to the people, said, 'Citizens, I am about to appear before God; I cannot be suspected of lying at this dreadful moment; well, then, I swear to you before Heaven, that I am not guilty. Do your office,' added he, addressing the executioner. The people showed the greatest fury against this victim, who was sacrificed to the policy of the moment. During the trial, groups of furious persons made the environs of the Châtelet echo with cries of 'Favras to the lamp-post!' Monsieur was so talked of among the populace as the principal person in this affair, that he thought proper to go to the town-hall and publicly disavow the plots ascribed to him. The Assembly seemed persuaded of the truth of these denials."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

protested against the insinuations thrown out against him, explained his connexion with Favras, appealed to his popular sentiments formerly manifested in the Assembly of the Notables, and desired that he might be judged, not from public rumours, but from his known and unswerving patriotism.* His speech was received with shouts of applause, and the crowd escorted him back to his residence.

The trial of Favras was continued. This Favras had run all over Europe, married a foreign princess, and been devising plans for retrieving his fortunes. He had been engaged in them on the 14th of July, on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the last months of 1789. The witnesses who accused him furnished precise particulars of his last scheme. The murder of Bailly and Lafayette and the abduction of the King appeared to form part of this scheme ; but there was no proof that the twelve hundred horse were in readiness, or that the Swiss and Piedmontese army was in motion. Circumstances were far from favourable to Favras. The Châtelet had just liberated Besenvel and the other persons implicated in the plot of the 14th of July: public opinion was dissatisfied. Lafayette nevertheless encouraged the gentlemen of the Châtelet, exhorted them to be just, and assured them that their sentence, be it what it might, should be executed.

This trial revived the suspicions against the court. These new schemes caused it to be deemed incorrigible ; for, even in the midst of Paris, it was still seen conspiring. The King was therefore advised to take a decisive step, which should satisfy public opinion.

On the 4th of February, 1790, the Assembly was surprised to perceive some alterations in the arrangement of the hall. The steps of the bureau were covered with a carpet sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis. The arm-chair of the secretaries was lowered ; the president was standing beside the seat which he usually occupied. "Here is the King!" suddenly exclaimed the door-keepers ; and Louis XVI. instantly entered the hall. The Assembly rose at his appearance, and he was received with applause. A concourse of spectators, quickly collected, filled the tribunes, thronged all parts of the hall, and awaited the royal speech with the utmost impatience. Louis XVI., standing, addressed the seated Assembly : he began by referring to the troubles to which France had fallen a prey, the efforts which he had made to allay them, and to supply the wants of the people ; he recapitulated the proceedings of the representatives, observing that he had attempted the same things in the provincial assemblies ; lastly, he showed that he had himself formerly the very same wishes which had just been realized. He added, that he deemed it his duty to unite more particularly with the representatives of the nation, at a moment when decrees destined to establish a new organization in the kingdom had been submitted to him. He would promote, he said, with all his power the success of that vast organization ; every attempt hostile to it should be held culpable, and opposed with all his means. At these words, the hall rang with plaudits. The King continued ; and, referring to his own sacrifices, he exhorted all those who had been losers to take example from his resignation, and to indemnify themselves for their losses by the blessings which the new constitution promised to France. But when, after vowing to defend that constitution, he added, that he would do still more, and that, in concert with the Queen, he would early predispose the mind and

* The speech of Monsieur at the Hôtel de Ville contains a passage too important not to be quoted here.

"As to my private opinions," said this august personage, "I shall speak of them with confidence to my fellow-citizens. Ever since the day that, in the second Assembly of Notables, I declared my sentiments respecting the fundamental question which divided people's minds, I have not ceased to believe that a great revolution was at hand ; that the King, by his intentions, his virtues, and his supreme rank, ought to be the head of it, since it could not be beneficial to the nation without being equally so to the monarch ; in short, that the royal authority ought to be the rampart of the national liberty, and the national liberty the basis of the royal authority. I challenge you to produce a single one of my actions, a single one of my expressions, which has contradicted these principles, which has shown that, in what circumstances soever I have been placed, the happiness of the King and that of the people have ceased to be the sole object of my thoughts and my views. I have therefore a right to be believed on my word. I never have changed my sentiments and principles, and never will change them."

heart of his son in favour of the new order of things, and accustom him to seek happiness in the happiness of the French, cries of attachment burst forth from all quarters—all hands were outstretched towards the monarch, all eyes looked for the mother and her son, all voices asked for them: the transport was universal. At length the King concluded his speech, by recommending peace and concord to his *good people, by whom he is assured that he is loved, when those around him wish to cheer him up under his troubles.** At these last words all present burst forth

* The speech of the King on this occasion is too remarkable not to be quoted, with some remarks. That excellent and too unfortunate prince was in a continual hesitation, and, at certain times, he perceived very clearly his own duties and the faults of the court. The tone which pervades the speech delivered by him on the 4th of February proves sufficiently that in this instance his words were not prompted, and that he expressed himself with a due sense of his actual situation.

"Gentlemen, the critical circumstances in which France is placed bring me among you. The progressive relaxation of all the bonds of order and subordination, the suspension or the inactivity of justice, the discontents arising from individual privations, the unfortunate oppositions and animosities which are the inevitable consequences of long dissensions, the critical state of the finances, and the uncertainty respecting the public fortune; in short, the general agitation of minds, all seem to concur in exciting uneasiness in the true friends to the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom.

"A grand goal is presented to your view, but it is requisite that it be attained without any increase of agitation and without new convulsions. It was, I must say, in a more agreeable and a more quiet manner that I hoped to lead you to it when I formed the design of assembling you, and of bringing together for the public welfare the talents and the opinions of the representatives of the nation; but my happiness and my glory are not the less closely connected with the success of your labours.

"I have protected them by incessant vigilance from the baneful influence which the disastrous circumstances amidst which you are placed might have upon you. The horrors of dearth, which France had reason to apprehend last year, have been averted by the utmost care and by immense supplies. The disorder which the former state of the finances, the discredit, the extreme scarcity of specie, and the gradual decrease of the revenue, must naturally produce; this disorder, at least in its vehemence and in its excesses, has hitherto been prevented. I have everywhere mitigated, and particularly in the capital, the dangerous consequences of the want of employment, and, notwithstanding the decay of all the means of authority, I have maintained the kingdom, not in the quiet which I could have wished—very far from it—but in a state of tranquillity sufficient to receive the blessing of a wise and well-regulated liberty. Lastly, notwithstanding our generally known situation at home, and notwithstanding the political storms which are agitating other nations, I have preserved peace abroad, and kept up with all the powers of Europe the relations of good-will and amity, which are capable of rendering that peace more durable.

"After having thus preserved you from great calamities, which might so easily have thwarted your efforts and your labours, I think the time is come when it is of importance to the interest of the state that I should associate myself, in a more express and manifest manner, in the execution and success of all that you have planned for the benefit of France. I cannot seize a more signal occasion than that when you submit to my acceptance decrees destined to establish a new organization in the kingdom, which must have so important and so propitious an influence on the happiness of my subjects, and on the prosperity of this empire.

"You know, gentlemen, it is more than ten years ago that, at a time when the wishes of the nation relative to provincial assemblies had not yet been expressed, I began to substitute that kind of administration for the one, which ancient and long habit had sanctioned. Experience having taught me that I have not erred in the opinion which I had formed of the utility of these establishments, I strove to extend the same benefit to all the provinces of my kingdom; and, in order to insure general confidence to the new administrations, I determined that the members who were to compose them should be freely elected by all the citizens. You have improved upon these views in several ways; and the most essential, no doubt, is that equal and wisely-calculated subdivision, which, by breaking down the ancient partitions between province and province, and establishing a general and complete system of equilibrium, more intimately unites all the parts of the kingdom in one and the same spirit, and one and the same interest. This grand idea, this salutary design, are entirely your own: it required nothing less than an union of opinions on the part of the representatives of the nation; it required nothing less than their just ascendency over the general sentiments, to undertake with confidence a change of such vast importance, and to vanquish in the name of reason the opposition of habit and of private interests."

All that the King here says is perfectly just and sincere. It is true that he had formerly attempted all the improvements of his own accord, and that he had set a rare example among princes—that of anticipating the wants of their subjects. The commendations which he bestows on the new territorial division bear also the character of entire sincerity, for it was certainly beneficial to the government, by destroying the opposition which particular localities had frequently made to

into exclamations of gratitude. The president made a short reply, in which he adverted to the disturbed feelings which prevailed in all hearts. The prince was

it. Everything induces us therefore to believe that the King here speaks with perfect sincerity. He proceeds :

"I will promote, I will second, by all the means in my power, the success of that vast organization, on which depends the welfare of France; and I think it necessary to observe, that I am too attentive to the internal condition of the kingdom, my eyes are too open to the dangers of all kinds by which we are encompassed, not to be deeply sensible that, in the present disposition of minds, and considering the actual state of public affairs, it is requisite that a new order of things should be established quietly and peaceably, or the kingdom may be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy.

"Let well-disposed citizens reflect on this, as I have done, fixing their attention exclusively on the welfare of the state, and they will perceive, even in spite of the difference of opinion, that a paramount interest must this day unite them all. Time will remedy what may yet remain defective in the collection of the laws which shall have been the work of this Assembly."

This indirect and delicate censure proves that the King had no intention to flatter, but to speak the truth, observing at the same time the necessary measure.

"But every enterprise that should tend to shake the principles of the constitution itself, all concert that should aim at overthrowing them or diminishing their beneficial influence, would serve only to introduce among us the frightful evils of discord; and, supposing such an attempt against my people and myself to be successful, the result would deprive us of the various blessings of which a new order of things holds out a prospect to us, without supplying any substitute.

"Let us then confidently indulge the hopes which we are justified in conceiving, and let us think of realizing them only by unanimity. Let it be known everywhere that the monarch and the representatives of the nation are united in the same interest and in the same wish; in order that this opinion, this firm belief, may diffuse through the provinces a spirit of peace and good-will, and that all citizens distinguished for their honesty, all those who are capable of rendering the state essential service by their zeal and their talents, may be solicitous to take part in the different subdivisions of the general administration, the unanimity of which must efficaciously concur in the re-establishment of order, and in the prosperity of the kingdom.

"We must not disguise it from ourselves; there is much to be done to reach that goal. A persevering determination, a general and common effort, are absolutely necessary to obtain real success. Continue your labours, then, without any other passion than that of doing good; keep your chief attention constantly fixed on the condition of the people, and on the public liberty; but direct it also to the means of soothing, of tranquillizing, all jealousies, and put an end as speedily as possible to the different alarms which keep so many of her citizens aloof from France, and the effect of which is in such contrast with the laws of safety and liberty that you are desirous of establishing: prosperity will not return without the general consent. We perceive on every side hopes; be impatient to see also on every side happiness.

"Some day, I fondly believe, every Frenchman without exception will acknowledge the benefit of the total suppression of the differences of order and condition; when they have to labour in common for the public welfare, for the prosperity of the country which equally interests all the citizens; and every one must see without difficulty that, in order to be called henceforward to serve the state in any manner, it will be sufficient for a man to have rendered himself remarkable by his talents and by his virtues.

"At the same time, however, all that reminds a nation of the antiquity and the continuity of the services of an honoured race is a distinction that nothing can destroy; and, as it is united with the duties of gratitude, those who in all classes of society aspire to serve their country efficaciously, and those who have already had the happiness to do so, have an interest in respecting this transmission of titles or of recollections, the fairest of all the inheritances that can be bequeathed to one's children.

"Neither must the respect due to the ministers of religion be allowed to be swept away; and when their consideratlon shall be principally united to the sacred truths which are under the safeguard of order and morality, all honest and enlightened citizens will have an equal interest in upholding and defending it.

"*No doubt those who have relinquished their pecuniary privileges, those who will no longer form, as of old, an order in the state, find themselves subjected to sacrifices, the importance of which I fully appreciate; but I am persuaded that they will have generosity enough to seek an indemnification in all the public advantages of which the establishment of national assemblies holds out a hope.*"

The King continues, as the reader perceives, to impress upon all parties the advantages of the new laws, and at the same time the necessity of retaining something of the ancient. What he says to the privileged classes proves his real opinion respecting the necessity and justice of the sacrifices that had been required of them, and their resistance will be everlastingly condemned by the words contained in this speech. It would be vain to urge that the King was not free: the care which he here takes to balance the concessions, counsels, and even reproaches, proves that he spoke sincerely. He expressed himself very differently when, some time afterwards, he wished to give notoriety to

conducted back to the Tuileries by the multitude. The Assembly voted thanks to him and to the Queen. A new idea was started; Louis XVI. had engaged to

the state of restraint in which he conceived himself to be. His letter to the ambassadors, quoted hereafter, will sufficiently prove this. The thoroughly popular exaggeration which pervades it demonstrates the intention to appear to be no longer free. But the moderation of what he says here leaves no room for doubt, and what follows is so touching, so delicate, that it is impossible not to have been felt by him, who had made up his mind to write and to deliver it.

"I too should have losses to enumerate, if, amidst the most important interests of the state, I could dwell upon personal calculations; but I find a compensation that satisfies me, a full and entire compensation, in the increase of the national happiness; and this sentiment comes from the very bottom of my heart.

"I will defend, therefore, I will uphold, constitutional liberty, the principles of which the public wish, in accordance with mine, has sanctioned. *I will do more; and in concert with the queen, who shares all my sentiments, I will early adapt the mind and heart of my son to the new order of things which circumstances have brought about. I will accustom him, from his very first years, to seek happiness in the happiness of the French,* and ever to acknowledge that, in spite of the language of flatterers, a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a just liberty adds a new value to the sentiments of affection and loyalty, of which the nation has for so many ages given such touching proofs to its kings.

"I dare not doubt that, in completing your work, you will provide with wisdom and candour for the firm establishment of the executive power, that condition without which there cannot exist any durable order at home, or any consideration abroad. No distrust can reasonably be left you: it is therefore your duty, as citizens and as faithful representatives of the nation, to insure to the welfare of the state, and to the public liberty, that stability which can proceed only from an active and tutelary authority. You will surely bear in mind that, without such an authority, all the parts of your constitution will remain at once without bond and without correspondence: and, in turning your attention to liberty, which you love, and which I love also, you will not lose sight of this truth, that disorder in administration, by producing a confusion of powers, frequently degenerates, through blind violence, into the most dangerous and the most alarming of all tyrannies.

"Thus, not for my sake, gentlemen, who weigh not what is personal to myself against the laws and institutions which are to regulate the destiny of the empire, but for the very happiness of our country, for its prosperity, for its power, I exhort you to rid yourselves of all the impressions of the moment, which could divert you from considering in its totality what such a kingdom as France requires, both on account of its great extent, its immense population, and its inevitable relations with foreign countries.

"Neither will you neglect to turn your attention to what is required of legislators by the manners, the character, and the habits, of a nation that has become too famous in Europe, from the nature of its understanding and genius, for it to appear matter of indifference whether you uphold or undermine in it those sentiments of kindness, confidence, and generosity, which have gained it so much renown.

"Set it also an example of that spirit of justice which serves as a safeguard to property, to that right respected by all nations, which is not the work of chance, which springs not from the privileges of opinion, but which is closely connected with the most essential relations of public order, and with the first conditions of social harmony.

"By what fatality is it that, when tranquillity began to be restored, fresh disturbances have spread over the provinces! By what fatality is it that fresh outrages are there perpetrated! Join with me in putting a stop to them, and let us exert all our efforts to prevent criminal excesses from sullying these days in which the felicity of the nation is preparing. You who possess so many means of influencing public confidence, *enlighten, in regard to its true interests, that people which pains are taken to mislead; that good people which is so dear to me, and by which I am assured that I am loved when those around me wish to cheer me up under my troubles.* Ah! if it but knew how unhappy I feel at the news of an attack upon property, or an act of violence against persons, perhaps it would spare me this severe infliction.

"I cannot address you on the great interests of the state without urging you to bestow your attention, in a serious and definitive manner, on all that relates to the re-establishment of order in the finances, and to the tranquillity of the innumerable multitude of citizens who are connected by some tie with the public fortune.

"It is time to allay all apprehensions; it is time to confer on this kingdom the strength of credit which it has a right to claim. You cannot undertake everything at once; accordingly, I invite you to reserve for other times part of the benefits which the assemblage of your talents pictures to your view; but when you shall have added to what you have already accomplished a wise and rational plan for the exercise of justice; when you shall have firmly laid the foundations of a perfect equilibrium between the revenue and the expenditure of the state; lastly, when you shall have completed the work of the constitution, you will have acquired strong claims to public gratitude; and, in the successive continuation of the national assemblies, a continuation founded henceforward on that very constitution, there will be nothing more to do than to add, from year to year, new means of prosperity. May this day, on which your Sovereign comes to unite with you in the most

uphold the constitution; it was fitting that the deputies should bind themselves to do the same. The civic oath was therefore proposed, and every deputy came forward to swear to be faithful *to the nation, to the law, and to the King; and to uphold with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the King.* The supplementary members, the deputies of commerce, desired to take the oath in their turn; the tribunes and the galleries followed their example, and on all sides nothing was to be heard but the words, *I swear it.*

The oath was repeated at the Hôtel de Ville, and by commune after commune throughout France. Rejoicings were ordered, which appeared to be general and sincere. This was certainly a fair occasion for the court to commence a new line of conduct, instead of frustrating this, as all previous advances towards a reconciliation on the part of the people; but, the very same evening, whilst Paris was in a blaze with bonfires kindled to celebrate the happy event, the court had betaken itself again to its ill-humour, and the popular deputies experienced from it a reception wholly different from that which was reserved for the noble deputies. In vain did Lafayette, whose advice was replete with good sense and zeal, repeat to the court that the King could no longer waver, and that he ought to attach himself altogether to the popular party, and strive to win its confidence; that for this purpose it was requisite that his intentions should not only be proclaimed to the Assembly, but that they should be manifested by his minutest actions; that he ought to show displeasure at every expression in the least degree equivocal, used in his presence, and reprove the slightest doubt thrown out as to his real sentiments; that he ought to show neither restraint nor dissatisfaction, nor to leave any secret hope to the aristocrats: and lastly, that the ministers ought to be united, instead of entering into rivalship with the Assembly, and obliging it to have recourse incessantly to the public opinion. In vain did Lafayette repeat these prudent counsels with respectful earnestness: the King received his letters and thought him an honest man; the Queen repulsed them with petulance, and even seemed to be irritated by the respect paid by the general. She gave a much better reception to Mirabeau, who possessed more influence, but was certainly a man of less irreproachable character, than Lafayette.

The communications of Mirabeau with the court still continued. He had even kept up an intercourse with Monsieur, whose opinions rendered him more accessible to the popular party, and he had repeated to him what he had never ceased to tell the Queen and M. de Montmorin, that the monarchy could not be saved unless by liberty. Mirabeau at length came to terms with the court by means of an intermediate agent. He declared his principles in a kind of profession of faith; he engaged not to swerve from them, and to support the court so long as it should follow the same line. A considerable salary was given to him in return. Morality indeed condemns such treaties, and insists that a man ought to do his duty for the sake of duty alone. But was this selling himself? A weak man would no doubt have sold himself by sacrificing his principles: but the mighty Mirabeau, so far from sacrificing his, brought power over to the court, and received from it that aid which his urgent necessities and his licentious passions rendered indispensable to him. Unlike those who give up for a high price mean talents and a cowardly conscience, Mirabeau, inflexible in his principles, combated by turns his own party and the court, as if he had not expected popularity from the former, or the means of existence from the latter. To such a point was this opposition carried that historians, unable to believe him an ally of the court which he combated, have not fixed the date of his treaty earlier than the year 1791, though it was concluded in

frank and cordial manner, be a memorable epoch in the history of this empire! It will be so, I hope, if my ardent wishes, if my earnest exhortations can be a signal of peace and reconciliation between you. *Let those who would still keep aloof from a spirit of concord that is become so necessary, make a sacrifice to me of all the recollections which afflict them; I will repay them with my gratitude and my affection.*

"Profess, all of you, from this day forward; profess, all of you—and I will set the example—but one opinion, but one interest, but one will, attachment to the new constitution, and an ardent desire for the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of France."

the very first months of 1790. Mirabeau saw the Queen, charmed her by his superiority, and experienced from her a reception that flattered him exceedingly.* That extraordinary man had a keen relish for all pleasures, for those of vanity as well as for those of the passions. It was necessary to take him with his strength and his foibles, and to employ him for the benefit of the common cause. Besides Lafayette and Mirabeau, the court relied on Bouillé, whom it is time to introduce to the reader.†

Bouillé, full of courage, integrity, and talent, had all the prejudices of the aristo-

* Previously to this interview, the Queen, though she dreaded his power, held Mirabeau in the utmost detestation, as appears from the following anecdote which the Duchess d'Abrantes has related in her *Memoirs:* "On the 7th of May, 1789, the Queen was informed of Mirabeau's hostile intentions. M. Necker was consulted about the expediency of entering into a negotiation with him; and his opinion was, that Mirabeau was possessed of extraordinary talent, but wanted judgment; and M. Necker considered him not very formidable. He therefore declined to have anything to do with the matter, and merely yielded to the Queen's wish to place at her disposal a sum of money to assist the execution of her designs. Furnished with his instructions and a well-stocked purse, the Count de Reb— went one morning to Mirabeau, plied him with much art, and finally made him offers which he felt confident he would not hesitate to accept. But fate ordained that the man who had always been needy and tormented by creditors, should be at that moment well supplied with money. What was the result? He rejected the Count de Reb—'s offer, and asked him for whom he took him. He thus dismissed the count with all the dignity of an ancient Greek, telling him that offers of money could not be listened to by him. The count, though chagrined, did not lose hope. He knew Mirabeau well enough, and was sure he would not remain long in his present frame of mind. Shortly afterwards, a certain M. Joulevet, called on the count de Reb—, and announced to him that Mirabeau consented to place all his influence at the disposal of the court, but required an honourable treaty and not a paltry bargain; that he did not wish to supersede M. Necker, but that any other department of the ministry would suit him. On these terms he would devote himself to the court. The count, on hearing this, went to Mirabeau, was well received, and heard all the reasons he gave for his readiness to *sacrifice* himself by entering the ministry at such a moment. The same day, the count saw the individual who was to speak to the Queen; and he, on the first intelligence of the capitulation of Mirabeau—for he was really a tower of strength—ran immediately to acquaint her majesty with the news. The Count de Reb—followed, and when he entered the royal cabinet, the Queen advanced towards him, her countenance beaming with pleasure. 'The King will be gratified by your zeal, Monsieur,' said she to the plenipotentiary: 'well, had you a good bargain of this man? How much has he cost?' He replied that Mirabeau, with true magnanimity, had rejected all propositions of a pecuniary nature. He then mentioned the appointment to the ministry. At this the Queen reddened, and then turned deadly pale. She closed her eyes, and striking her forehead with her hand, exclaimed 'A minister! Make Riquetti Mirabeau a minister! Never, never will I allow the threshold of the King's council to be sullied by the footsteps of such a man!' She trembled with rage. 'Let him have money—grant him all he asks for: but to make him a minister! Is it possible that my friends can give me this advice?' She then paced the room with every mark of agitation, repeating the words, 'A minister, forsooth! a minister!' The negotiation was consequently broken off for a season; for Mirabeau would not accept money, and the Queen would not, till long afterwards, consent to grant him an interview." E.

† "The Marquis de Bouillé was a gentleman of Auvergne, and a relative of Lafayette's. After having served in the dragoons, he became colonel of the regiment of Vexin infantry. Having attained the rank of major-general, the King appointed him governor-general of the Windward Islands. In 1778, he took Dominica, St. Eustatia, and soon after St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. On his return he was made lieutenant-general. In 1789 he brought back to its duty the revolted garrison of Metz. On the 5th of September, in the same year, Grégoire complained to the Assembly, that M. de Bouillé had not administered the civic oath individually, and obtained a decree that he should be obliged to do it. In 1790 he was commissioned to bring under subjection the garrison of Nancy, which had risen against its chiefs; he advanced upon the town with four thousand men, and succeeded in this enterprise, in which he showed much bravery, and which at first gained him great praises from the National Assembly, and afterwards as many reproaches. Being chosen by the King to facilitate his escape from Paris in June, 1791, Bouillé marched at the head of a body of troops to protect the passage of the royal family; but, by false advices or ill-executed orders, this enterprise failed, and M. de Bouillé had great difficulty in leaving France. From Luxemburg he wrote to the Assembly a letter full of threats, and concluded by saying, that if a hair of Louis XVI.'s head was touched, he would not leave one stone on another in Paris. On the 13th of July the Assembly decreed that he should be tried for contumacy, and that the papers relative to the King's escape should be sent to the high court of the nation. From Vienna, whither he had first gone, Bouillé passed to the Court of Sweden, which gave him employment, and in the name of which he promised powerful assistance to the French princes. After the death of Gustavus III. M. de Bouillé went to England, where he published some valuable papers on the Revolution. He died in London, in 1803."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

cracy, and was distinguished from it only by less infatuation and more experience in business. Having retired to Metz, were he commanded a vast extent of frontier and a great part of the army, he strove to foment jealousies between his troops and the national guard, in order that he might keep his soldiers steady to the court.* Placed there on the watch, he scared the popular party; he seemed the general of the monarchy, as Lafayette was the general of the constitution. The aristocracy nevertheless displeased him, the weakness of the King disgusted him with the service, and he would have quitted it had he not been pressed by Louis XVI. to continue in it. Bouillé was full of honour. After taking his oath, he thought of nothing but how to serve the King and the constitution. The court, therefore, needed but to unite Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Bouillé; and through them it would have had the national guards, the assembly, and the army, that is to say, the three powers of the day. Some motives, it is true, divided these three personages. Lafayette, full of good-nature, was ready to unite with all who were desirous of serving the King and the constitution; but Mirabeau was jealous of Lafayette's power, dreaded his purity, which was so highly extolled, and seemed to regard it as a reproach. Bouillé hated in Lafayette his enthusiastic character, and perhaps viewed in him an irreproachable enemy; he preferred Mirabeau, whom he deemed more manageable and less rigorous in his political creed. It was for the court to unite these three men by removing their particular motives for keeping aloof from each other. But there was only one bond of union, a free monarchy. The court ought therefore to have frankly resigned itself to this only course, and to have followed it up with all its might. But the court ever unsteady, received Lafayette coldly, without repulsing him; paid Mirabeau, who lectured it from time to time; kept up Bouillé's dislike of the Revolution; looked to Austria with hope; and suffered the emigrants at Turin to take active measures. Such is the way with weakness. It strives to delude itself with hopes rather than to insure success, and in this manner it ultimately ruins itself by exciting suspicions which irritate parties as much as decided opposition. It is much better to strike than to threaten them.

In vain Lafayette, who would fain have done what the court neglected to do, wrote to Bouillé, his kinsman, exhorting him to serve the throne jointly with himself, and by the only possible means, those of frankness and liberty. Bouillé, at the evil instigation of the court, replied coldly and evasively, and, without attempting anything against the constitution, he continued to render himself formidable by the secrecy of his intentions and the strength of his army.

The reconciliation of the 4th of February, which might have led to such important results, was therefore useless. The trial of Favras was concluded, and, whether from fear or a conviction of his guilt, the Châtelet sentenced him to be hanged. Favras displayed in his last moments a firmness more worthy of a martyr than of an intriguer. He protested his innocence, and demanded permission to make a declaration before he died. The scaffold was erected in the Place de Grève. He was conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville, where he remained till night. The populace, eager to see a marquis hanged, impatiently awaited this example of equality in punishments. Favras related that he had held communications with a high dignitary of the state, who had engaged him to dispose the public mind favourably towards the King. As this would have put him to considerable expense, the personage in question had given him one hundred louis, which he had accepted. He affirmed that this was the whole extent of his crime; and he mentioned no name. He asked, however, if the confession of names could save him. Not satisfied with the answer that was returned, "In that case," said he, "I will take my secret with me;" and he walked with great firmness towards the place of execution. It was night: the Place and the gibbet itself were lighted up. The populace enjoyed the sight, delighted to find equality even on the scaffold. It was to them a subject for cruel jests; and they parodied in various ways the execution of this unfortunate man. The body of Favras was delivered to his family, and fresh events soon caused his death to be forgotten alike by those who had punished and those who had employed him.

* This he admits himself in his Memoirs.

The exasperated clergy continued to excite petty disturbances throughout France. The nobility relied much upon its influence among the people. So long as the Assembly had proceeded no further than by a decree to place ecclesiastical property at the disposal of the nation, the clergy had hoped that the decree would not be carried into execution; and, in order to render it useless, it proposed a variety of plans for supplying the wants of the exchequer. The Abbé Maury* had proposed a tax on luxury, and the Abbé Salside had replied, by moving that no ecclesiastic should possess an income exceeding one thousand crowns. The wealthy abbé was silenced by such a proposal. On another occasion, in discussing the debt of the state, Cazalès had proposed to investigate, not the titles of each credit, but the credit itself, its origin, and its motive; which would have been renewing bankruptcy by the odious and worn-out expedient of *chambres ardentes*. The clergy, inimical to the creditors of the state, to whom it deemed itself sacrificed, had supported the proposal, notwithstanding the strictness of its principles in regard to property. Maury had spoken with great warmth, and even violated the respect due to the Assembly, by saying to some of its members that they had only the *courage of shame*. The Assembly had taken offence at this expression, and thought of expelling him. But Mirabeau, who had reason to suppose that the attack was aimed at him, represented to his colleagues that each deputy belonged to his constituents, and that they had no right to exclude any individual. This moderation befitted real superiority. It was successful, and Maury was more severely punished by a reprimand, than he would have been by expulsion. All these expedients for putting the creditors of the state in the same condition as themselves were useless to the clergy; and the Assembly decreed the sale of property belonging to the crown and the church to the amount of four hundred millions.

The clergy, rendered desperate, then circulated writings among the people, and

* "Jean Siffrein Maury, prior of Lyons, abbot of La Frenade, and King's preacher, was born at Vabreas, in the county of Avignon, on the 26th of June, 1746, of a family engaged in commerce, and in the law. He came very young to Paris, where his talent for preaching gained him several benefices, and he acquired reputation and a seat in the Academy, by his sermons and panegyrics previous to the Revolution: at which period he employed all his eloquence in defence of the monarchy. It has been observed that he is almost the only person whom this line of conduct has not led to indigence or death. In 1789 the clergy of Peronne deputed him to the States-general, where he displayed eloquence, erudition, and a talent for extempore speaking, which rendered him formidable to the opposite party. In the chamber of the clergy he strongly objected to the union of the orders, and when it was effected, he for some time abandoned Versailles, and was arrested at Peronne, but soon released by order of the Assembly, in which he again appeared. On the 13th of October, the Abbé Maury spoke eloquently in defence of the property of the clergy, which it was proposed to declare national. On the 9th of November, he occasioned a tremendous commotion by accusing the president of exclusive partiality to the left side. On the 19th of December, he, supported by a great part of his order, protested against the measure for making assignats payable from the property of the clergy. On the 23d, he spoke with energy against the admission of Jews, executioners, and players, to the rights of citizens, representing the two latter professions as infamous. On the 24th of February, 1791, Maury made a victorious attack on the motion for compelling the King and the presumptive heir to the crown to reside near the legislative body, and ended his speech by a shout of 'God save the King!' which was repeated by the right side. On the 13th of May, he discussed the great question concerning the admission of people of colour to the rights of citizens, which produced considerable effect on the Assembly, and gained him the applause of all parties. Leaving France after the Assembly closed, Maury went to Rome where the Pope conferred on him the title of Bishop, and sent him to Frankfort in 1792 to assist as apostolic nuncio at the coronation of the emperor. In 1792, after the 10th of August, the Legislative Assembly passed a decree of accusation against Maury; but it is worthy of remark that, though one of the most zealous defenders of the monarchy and the clergy, he was never an object of personal hatred to the populace. 'At least he does not seek to betray us, but openly supports the cause he has embraced,' said the people of the capital. Maury's presence of mind was remarkable. On one occasion when a Parisian mob pursued him, with the fatal cry of 'To the lamp-post!" he coolly turned round and said, 'And when you have put me in the place of the lamp, do you imagine you will see the better?' A general laugh followed this remark, and Maury was left unmolested. In 1793 he was appointed Archbishop of Nice, and the next year he received the cardinal's hat. In the beginning of 1805, Maury addressed a letter to Napoleon, in which he recognised the new government. Although he himself escaped the scaffold by quitting France before the reign of the Jacobins, yet almost the whole of Maury's family perished in one year."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

declared that the plan of the revolutionists was to attack the Catholic religion. It was in the southern provinces that it hoped to be most successful. We have seen that the first emigration had directed its course towards Turin. It was with Provence and Languedoc that its principal communications were kept up. Calonne, so celebrated at the time of the Notables,* was the minister of the fugitive court. That court was split into two parties. The high nobility was solicitous to maintain its empire, and dreaded the interference of the provincial noblesse, and still more that of the *bourgeoisie*. In consequence, it would have recourse to none but foreign aid to re-establish the throne. Besides, to employ religion, as the emissaries of the provinces proposed to do, appeared ridiculous to men who had diverted themselves for a century with the pleasantries of Voltaire.

The other party, composed of petty nobles and expatriated citizens, proposed to combat the passion for liberty by a still stronger passion, fanaticism,—and to conquer single-handed, without laying itself under obligation to foreigners. The former alleged the vindictive nature of civil war as an excuse for foreign interference. The latter maintained that the effusion of blood was inseparable from such war, but that it ought not to be sullied by a treason. These men, more courageous, more patriotic, but more ferocious than the others, could not possibly succeed in a court where Calonne ruled. As, however, this court had need of everybody, the communications between Turin and the southern provinces were continued. It was determined to attack the revolution by foreign as well as by civil war, and to this end an attempt was made to awaken the ancient fanaticism of those countries.†

* "M. Calonne was the third who had succeeded to the office of comptroller of the finances from the dismissal of M. Necker. He was confessedly a man of ability, and had filled successively the office of intendant of Metz, and of the province of Flanders and Artois. The public, however, saw with disgust and apprehension the wealth of the nation fall into the hands of a man who had dilapidated his own patrimony; who, inconsiderate in character and immoral upon system, had dishonoured his talents by his vices, and his dignities by the baseness of his conduct; and who, while he exercised the office of procureur-general of the parliament of Douay, had degraded himself so far as to act as the spy of the minister with respect to the procureur-general of the parliament of Bretagne, and had the insolence to sit as the judge of that respectable magistrate, whom he had calumniated; and who, grown gray in the intrigues of gallantry and of the court, came with a flock of needy sycophants to devour the revenues of the nation under the pretence of administering them. The first part of the career of M. Calonne was, notwithstanding, brilliant, but it was only a brilliant deception. One of his first measures was to establish a sinking fund, which, by a kind of ministerial juggle, was, in a certain course of years, to discharge the whole national debt. It was even reported by his agents that he had discovered the miraculous secret of paying off the debts of the nation by—borrowing!"—*Impartial History of the French Revolution.* E.

In the memoirs ascribed to the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe, it is asserted that M. de Calonne took an active part in the publication of Madame de la Motte's work against the Queen, relative to the celebrated affair of the necklace. It is there said also, that Sheridan, having accidentally seen at a London bookseller's a copy of the first edition corrected by a person in Paris, supposed to be one of the King's ministers, wrote to the Princess de Lamballe to inform her of the circumstance. A confidential agent was sent to London to purchase this copy, which was transmitted to the Queen; and the additions and corrections were instantly recognised as the handwriting of M. de Calonne. His dismissal from office was the immediate consequence. E.

† In order to convey a correct idea of the emigration and the opinions which divided it, I cannot do better than quote the Memoirs of M. Fromont himself. In a volume entitled *Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Révolution*, M. Fromont thus expresses himself (p. 4, *et seq.*):

"I repaired secretly to Turin (January, 1790) to the French princes, to solicit their approbation and their support. In a council which was held on my arrival, I demonstrated to them that, *if they would arm the partisans of the altar and the throne, and make the interest of religion go hand in hand with those of royalty, it would be easy to save both.* Though strongly attached to the faith of my forefathers, it was not upon the non-Catholics that I proposed to make war, but upon the declared foes of Catholicism and royalty, upon those who loudly asserted that Jesus Christ and the Bourbons had been talked of too long, upon those who wished to strangle the last of kings with the intestines of the last of priests. The non-Catholics *who continued faithful* to the monarchy have always found in me the most affectionate fellow-citizen, the *rebel* Catholics the most implacable enemy.

"My plan tended solely to raise a party, and to give it all the extension and consistency I could. The real argument of the revolutionists being force, I felt that the real answer was force. *Then, as at present*, I was convinced of this great truth, *that a strong passion can be stifled only by a still stronger; and that religious zeal alone can stifle the republican mania.* The miracles which

The clergy neglected no means of seconding this plan. The Protestants in those parts excited the envy of the Catholics. The clergy took advantage of these dis-

zeal for religion has since wrought in La Vendée and in Spain prove that the philosophers and the revolutionists of all parties would not have succeeded in establishing their anti-religious and anti-social system for a few years over the greater part of Europe, had the ministers of Louis XVI. conceived such a plan as mine, or had it been sincerely adopted and supported by the advisers of the emigrant princes.

"But, unluckily, most of the persons who directed Louis XVI. and the princes of his house reasoned and acted only on philosophic principles, though the philosophers and their disciples were the cause and the agents of the Revolution. They would have fancied that they were ridiculous and dishonoured if they had uttered the single word *religion*, or had employed the powerful means which it furnishes, and of which the greatest politicians of all ages have successfully availed themselves. While the National Assembly strove to mislead the people, and to secure their confidence by the suppression of feudal rights, of tithes, of the *gabelle*, &c., the monarchists proposed to bring them back to submission by an exposition of the incoherence of the new laws, by a picture of the misfortunes of the King, and by writings above their comprehension. By these means they hoped to revive in the hearts of all the French a pure and disinterested love for their sovereign; they imagined that the clamours of the discontented would stop the enterprises of the factions, and enable the King *to proceed direct to the goal which he was desirous of attaining*. The worth of my advice was probably rated according to my station in life, and the value placed by the grandees of the court upon their titles and their wealth."

M. Fromont continues his narrative, and in another place characterizes the parties into which the fugitive court was divided, in the following manner (p. 33):

"These honourable titles, and the attentions generally paid to me at Turin, would have made me forget the past, and conceive the most flattering hopes for the future, if I had discovered prudence in the advisers of the princes, and perfect harmony among those who had most influence on our affairs; but I observed with grief that the *emigration was split into two parties*, one of which would not attempt a counter-revolution but *by the aid of foreign powers*, and the other but *by the royalists of the interior*.

"*The first party* promised that, on the cession of certain provinces to the powers, they would furnish the French princes with armies sufficiently numerous to reduce the factions; that in time it would be easy to withdraw the concessions which they had been forced to make; and that the court, by contracting no obligation *to any of the bodies of the state*, would be able to dictate laws to all the French. . . . . The courtiers trembled lest the nobility of the provinces and the royalists of the *tiers-état* should have the honour of setting the tottering monarchy upon its legs again. They were aware that they would no longer be the dispensers of bounties and favours, and that their reign would be at an end as soon as the nobility of the provinces should have re-established the royal authority at the expense of its blood, and thereby earned the gratitude and the confidence of its sovereign. Dread of this new order of things caused them to unite, if not to dissuade the princes from employing in any way the royalists of the interior, at least to persuade them to fix their attention principally on the cabinets of Europe, and to induce them to found their greatest hopes on foreign assistance. In consequence of this dread, they *secretly* set at work the most efficacious means for ruining the internal resources, and for thwarting the proposed plans, several of which were calculated to effect the re-establishment of order, if they had been wisely directed and supported. This is what I myself witnessed: this is what I will some day prove by authentic facts and testimonies; but the time is not yet come. In a conference held about this very time on the subject of the advantage to be derived from the favourable disposition of the people of Lyons and Franche-Comté, I stated without reserve the means which ought to be employed, *at the same time*, to insure the triumph of the royalists of the Gevaudan, the Cevennes, the Vivarais, the Comtat Venaissin, Languedoc, and Provence. In the heat of the discussion, the Marquis d'Autichamp, maréchal-de-camp, *the great champion of the powers*, said to me, 'But will not the oppressed, and the relatives of the victims, seek to revenge themselves?'—'What signifies that,' said I, 'provided we attain our aim?'—'See,' he exclaimed, 'how I have made him admit that private revenge would be wreaked!' With something more than astonishment at this observation, I said to the Marquis de Rouzière, who sat next to me, 'I did not imagine that a civil war ought to resemble a mission of Capuchins.' Thus it was, that, by filling princes with the fear of rendering themselves odious to their bitterest enemies, the courtiers induced them to adopt half-measures, sufficient, no doubt, to provoke the zeal of the royalists of the interior, but most inadequate, after compromising them, to protect them from the fury of the factions. Since that time I recollect that, while the army of the princes was in Champagne, M. de la Porte, aide-de-camp to the Marquis d'Autichamp, having taken prisoner a republican, fancied, agreeably to the system of his general, that he should bring him back to his duty by a pathetic exhortation, and by restoring to him his arms and his liberty; but no sooner had the republican got to the distance of a few paces, than he levelled his conqueror with the ground. The Marquis d'Autichamp, unmindful of the moderation which he had displayed at Turin, burned several villages to avenge the death of his imprudent missionary.

"*The second party* maintained that, since the powers had several times taken up arms to humble the Bourbons, and in particular to prevent Louis XIV. from securing the crown of Spain for his

sensions, especially during the solemnities of Easter. At Montpellier, at Nimes, at Montauban, the old fanaticism was roused in all possible ways.

Charles Lameth complained in the tribune that the festival of Easter had been abused for the purpose of misleading the people, and exciting them against the new laws. At these words the clergy rose, and would have quitted the Assembly. The Bishop of Clermont threatened to do so, and a great number of ecclesiastics were already on their legs, and about to retire, when Charles Lameth was called to order, and the tumult subsided. Meanwhile the sale of the possessions of the clergy was carried into execution. This was warmly resented by them, and they omitted no occasion of manifesting their indignation.

Dom Gerle, a Carthusian, a man perfectly sincere in his religious and patriotic sentiments, one day desired permission to speak, and proposed that the Catholic religion should be declared the only religion of the state. A great number of deputies instantly rose, and were ready to vote the motion by acclamation, saying that the Assembly had now an opportunity to clear itself from the charge preferred against it of attacking the Catholic religion. Still, what was the tendency of such a motion? It either aimed at giving a privilege to the Catholic religion, and no religion ought to have any; or it was the declaration of a fact, namely, that the majority of the French were Catholics—a fact which need not have been declared. Such a motion, therefore, could not be entertained. Accordingly, in spite of the efforts of the nobility and clergy, the debate was adjourned to the following day. An immense crowd collected. Lafayette, apprized that evil-disposed persons intended to excite disturbance, had doubled the guard. The discussion commenced. An ecclesiastic threatened the Assembly with malediction. Maury uttered his usual cries. Menou calmly replied to all the reproaches brought against the Assembly, and said that it could not reasonably be accused of an intention to abolish the Catholic religion, at the very moment when it was making the cost of its worship an item in the public expenditure. He proposed, therefore, to pass to the order of the day. Dom Gerle was persuaded to withdraw his motion, and excused himself for having excited such a tumult. M. de la Rochefoucault submitted a motion differently worded, which succeeded that of Menou. All at once a member of the right side complained that the Assembly was not free. He called upon Lafayette, and inquired why he had doubled the guard. The motive was not suspected, for it was not the left side that could be afraid of the people, and it was not his own friends that Lafayette sought to protect. This appeal increased the tumult; the discussion nevertheless continued. In the course of the debate Louis XIV. was mentioned. "I am not surprised," exclaimed Mirabeau, "that reference should be made to the reign in which the edict of Nantes was revoked; but consider that, from this tribune whence I address you, I see that fatal window, where a king, the murderer of his subjects, mingling worldly interests with those of religion, gave the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew!" This terrible apostrophe did not put an end to the discussion. It lasted some time longer, and the motion of

grandson, so far from calling them to our aid, we ought, on the contrary, to rekindle the zeal of the clergy, the devotion of the nobility, the love of the people, for the King, and *lose no time in quelling a family quarrel*, of which foreigners might, perhaps, be tempted to take advantage. . . . . It was to this fatal division among the leaders of the emigration, and to the unskilfulness or the treachery of the ministers of Louis XVI., that the revolutionists owed their first successes. I will go still farther, and assert that it was not the National Assembly which effected the Revolution, but those who were about the King and the princes. I maintain that the ministers delivered up Louis XVI. to the enemies of royalty, as certain dabblers have delivered up the princes and Louis XVIII. to the enemies of France. I maintain that the majority of the courtiers about Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and the princes of their house, were and are *charlatans, real political eunuchs;* that to their listlessness, their cowardice, or their treason, are to be imputed all the calamities which France has suffered, and those which still threaten the world. If I had borne a great name, and had belonged to the council of the Bourbons, I should not have outlived the idea that a horde of base and cowardly brigands, none of whom have displayed any kind of genius or superior talent, should have contrived to overthrow the throne, to establish their domination over several powerful states of Europe, and to make the world tremble. When this idea haunts me, I bury myself in the obscurity of my station, that it may screen me from censure, as it has withheld from me the power to arrest the progress of the Revolution."

the Duke de la Rochefoucault was finally adopted. The Assembly declared that its sentiments were known, but that, out of regard for the liberty of conscience, it neither could nor ought to deliberate on the motion submitted to it.

Scarcely had a few days elapsed before a new expedient was employed to threaten and to dissolve the Assembly. The new organization of the kingdom was completed; the people were about to be convoked to elect their magistrates, and it was conceived that they might as well choose at the same time new deputies instead of those who composed the Assembly then sitting. This plan, proposed and discussed before, had already been rejected. It was again brought forward in April, 1790. Some of the instructions limited the powers to one year; and the deputies had actually been nearly a year assembled. They had met in May, 1789, and it was now near the month of April, 1790. Though the instructions had been annulled, and they had bound themselves not to separate before the completion of the constitution, these men, for whom there was neither decree passed nor oath taken, proposed to have other deputies elected, and to give up their places to them.

Maury, charged to propose this measure, played his part with more assurance than ever, but with more address than usual. He appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and said that they could no longer put themselves in the place of the nation and prolong powers which were but temporary. He asked by what right they had invested themselves with sovereign attributes; he insisted that this distinction between the legislative and constituent power was a chimerical distinction; that a sovereign convention could not exist unless in the absence of all government; and that, if the Assembly were that convention, it had only to depose the King and to declare the throne vacant. Loud cries interrupted these words and expressed the general indignation. Mirabeau then rose with dignity. "We are asked," said he, "since what time the deputies of the people have become a National Convention. I answer, from the day, when, finding the entry to their seats encompassed by soldiers, they went and met in the first place where they could assemble, to swear to perish rather than to betray and abandon the rights of the nation. On that day, the nature of our powers, whatever they were, was changed. Be the powers that we have exercised what they may, our efforts, our labours, have legitimated them. The adhesion of the whole nation has sanctified them. All of you recollect the expression of that great man of antiquity, who had neglected the legal forms for saving the country. Called upon by a factious tribune to say if he had observed the laws, he replied, 'I swear that I have saved the country.' Gentlemen," added Mirabeau, addressing the deputies of the commons, "I swear that you have saved France!"

At this magnificent oath, says Ferrières, the whole Assembly, as if under the influence of a sudden inspiration, closed the discussion, and resolved that the electoral bodies should not proceed to the election of new deputies.

Thus was this new scheme frustrated, and the Assembly enabled to proceed with its labours. Disturbances nevertheless continued throughout France. The commandant De Voisin was murdered by the people. The forts of Marseilles were seized by the national guard. Commotions originating in a different spirit took place at Nimes and Montauban. Emissaries from Turin had excited the Catholics; they had delivered addresses, in which they declared the monarchy in danger, and insisted that the Catholic religion should be declared the religion of the state. A royal proclamation had in vain replied. They had rejoined. The Protestants had come to blows with the Catholics on the subject; and the latter, waiting in vain for the promised aid from Turin, had been at length repulsed. Several of the national guards had set themselves in motion to assist the patriots against the insurgents; the combat had thus commenced, and the Count de Mirabeau, the declared adversary of his illustrious brother, announcing the civil war from the tribune, seemed by his motions, his gestures, and his words, to excite it amidst the Assembly.

Thus, while the more moderate deputies strove to allay the revolutionary ardour, an indiscreet opposition excited a fever, which repose might have reduced,

and furnished the most vehement popular orators with pretexts. The violence of the clubs increased in consequence. That of the Jacobins, the offspring of the Breton club, at first established at Versailles, afterwards at Paris, surpassed the others in numbers, talents, and violence. Its sittings were frequented like those of the Assembly itself. Here met the principal popular deputies, and here the most obstinate of them found excitements. Lafayette, with a view to counteract this terrible influence, had combined with Bailly and the most enlightened men to form another club, called the club of 1789, and subsequently that of the Feuillans. But the remedy was powerless. An assemblage of a hundred cool, well-informed persons could not attract the multitude, like the club of the Jacobins, where all the popular passions were allowed full scope. To shut up the clubs would have been the only course; but the court had too little frankness, and excited too little mistrust, for the popular party to think of resorting to such an expedient. The Lameths were at the head of the club of the Jacobins. Mirabeau was as often at the one as at the other; and it was evident to every one that his place was between all the parties. An occasion soon occurred, on which he assumed a more decided character, and gained a memorable advantage for monarchy.

The French revolution began to attract the attention of foreign sovereigns; its language was so lofty, so firm, and it had a character of such generality, that foreign princes could not but be alarmed at it. Up to this time it might have been taken for a temporary agitation; but the success of the Assembly, its firmness, its unexpected constancy, and, above all, the prospect which it held forth to France and to all nations, could not fail to draw upon it both respect and hatred, and to engage the notice of cabinets. Europe was then divided between two great hostile leagues; the Anglo-Prussian league on the one hand, and the imperial courts on the other.

Frederick William had succeeded the great Frederick to the throne of Prussia. This prince, fickle and weak, renouncing the politics of his illustrious predecessor, had forsaken the alliance of France for that of England. United with the latter power, he had formed that famous Anglo-Prussian league, which attempted such great things, and executed none of them; which excited Sweden, Poland, and the Porte, against Russia and Austria, then abandoned all those whom it had so excited, and even assisted in despoiling them by the partition of Poland.

The plan of England and Prussia united, had been to ruin Russia and Austria, by raising against them Sweden, where reigned the chivalrous Gustavus, Poland groaning under a former partition, and the Porte smarting from Russian invasions. The particular intention of England, in this league was, without declaring war against France, to revenge herself for the assistance afforded to the American colonies. She had found the means of doing so in setting the Turks and the Russians at variance. France could not remain neuter between these two nations, without alienating the Turks, who reckoned upon her, and without losing her commercial preponderance in the Levant. On the other hand, by taking part in the war, she should lose the alliance of Russia, with which she had just concluded a most advantageous treaty, which insured her supplies of timber and of all the articles that the North furnishes in abundance for the navy. Thus in either case France must sustain injury. Meanwhile England was equipping her forces, and preparing to employ them according to circumstances. Moreover, observing the derangement of the finances under the Notables, and the popular excesses under the Constituent Assembly, she conceived that she should have no occasion for war; and it has been thought that she would have been better pleased to destroy France by means of internal disturbances than by arms. Hence she has always been charged with encouraging our dissensions.

This Anglo-Prussian league had occasioned some battles to be fought, with doubtful success. Gustavus had extricated himself like a hero from a position into which he had brought himself like an adventurer. Holland, which had risen against the stadtholder, had been again subjected to him by English intrigues and Prussian armies. England had thus skilfully deprived France of a powerful maritime alliance; and the Prussian monarch, who sought triumphs of vanity only, had revenged an out-

rage committed by the states of Holland against the wife of the stadtholder, who was his own sister. Poland completed her constitution, and was about to take up arms. Turkey had been beaten by Russia. Meanwhile the death of Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, which happened in January 1790, had changed the aspect of things. He had been succeeded by Leopold, that enlightened and pacific prince, whose happy reign had blessed Tuscany. Leopold, clever as he was wise, wished to put an end to the war; and in order to succeed the better, he employed the resources of seduction, which had such power over the fickle imagination of Frederick William. Representations were made to that prince, picturing the blessings of peace, the evils of war which had so long pressed heavily upon his people, and, lastly, the dangers of the French revolution, which proclaimed such mischievous principles. Ideas of absolute power were awakened within him ; he was even led to conceive hopes of chastising the French revolutionists, as he had chastised those of Holland. He suffered himself to be persuaded at the moment when he was about to reap the advantages of that league, so boldly planned by his minister Hertzberg.

It was in July, 1790, that peace was signed at Reichenbach. In August Russia made her's with Sweden, and then had to cope only with Poland, which was far from formidable, and the Turks, who were beaten at all points. We shall notice hereafter these various events. Thus, then, the attention of the powers was almost exclusively directed to the French revolution. Some time before the conclusion of peace between Prussia and Leopold, when the Anglo-Prussian league threatened the two imperial courts, and secretly injured France, as well as Spain, our constant and faithful ally, some English vessels were seized by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound. Warm remonstrances were made and followed up by a general armament in the English ports. Spain, appealing to treaties, immediately applied to France for assistance, and Louis XVI. ordered the equipment of fifteen sail. England was accused of wishing, on this occasion, to increase our embarrassments. The clubs of London, it is true, had several times complimented the National Assembly, but the cabinet left a few philanthropists to indulge in these philosophic effusions, and was meanwhile paying, it is said, those astonishing agitators who appeared everywhere, and gave so much trouble to the national guards of the kingdom.

The disturbances were still greater at the moment of the general armament, and people could not help perceiving a connexion between the threats of England and the renewal of the commotions. Lafayette, in particular, who never spoke in the Assembly but on subjects which concerned the public tranquillity, denounced from the tribune a secret influence. "I cannot forbear directing the attention of the Assembly," said he, "to that new fermentation which manifests itself from Strasburg to Nimes, and from Brest to Toulon, and which the enemies of the people would in vain attribute to them, since it bears all the characteristics of a secret influence. If we talk of establishing departments, the country is laid waste. If neighbouring powers begin to arm, disturbances immediately break out in our ports and in our arsenals." Several commandants had in fact been murdered, and either through accident or design the best officers in our navy had been sacrificed. The English ambassador had been directed by his court to repel these imputations. But every one knows what confidence is due to such messages. Calonne, too, had written to the King,* to justify England, but Calonne's testimony in favour of a foreign country was liable to suspicion. He urged to no purpose that every expense is known in a representative government, that even secret expenses are at least acknowledged as such, and that there was no item of that kind in the English budgets. Experience has proved that even responsible ministers are never without money. The most that can be said is that time, which reveals everything, has revealed nothing on this head, and that Necker, whose situation qualified him to judge, never believed in this secret influence.†

The King, as we have just seen, had notified to the Assembly the equipment of

* See *L'Armoire de Fer*, No. 25. Letter from Calonne to the King, dated April 9, 1790.

† See what Madame de Staël says in her *Considérations sur la Révolution Française.*

fifteen sail of the line, thinking that it would approve of that measure and vote the necessary supplies. The Assembly gave the most favourable reception to the message, but perceived that it involved a constitutional question, which it behoved it to resolve, before it replied to the King. "The measures are taken," said Alexandre Lameth; "our discussion cannot delay them; we must therefore first decide whether the King or the Assembly shall be invested with the right of making peace and war." It was, in fact, almost the last important prerogative to be determined, and one of those which could not but excite the strongest interest. The imaginations of men were filled with the blunders of courts; and they were against leaving to the throne the power of plunging the nation into dangerous wars, or dishonouring it by base compromises. Nevertheless, among all the duties of government, the making of war and peace is that which involves the most action, and over which the executive power ought to exercise the most influence; it is that in which it must be left most liberty, that it may act freely and properly. The opinion of Mirabeau, who was said to have been gained by the court, was known beforehand. The opportunity was favourable for wresting from the orator his much-envied popularity. The Lameths were aware of this, and had charged Barnave to crush Mirabeau. The right side drew back, as it were, and left the field clear for those two rivals.

The discussion was awaited with impatience: it commenced. After several speakers had thrown out merely preliminary ideas, Mirabeau addressed the Assembly, and placed the question in a new light. War, according to him, is almost always unforeseen. Hostilities commence before threats. The King, charged with the public safety, ought to repel them, and thus war is begun before the Assembly has time to interfere. The same is the case with treaties. The King alone can seize the proper moment for negotiating, for conferring, for disputing, with other powers; the Assembly can but ratify the conditions obtained. In either predicament, the King alone can act and the Assembly approve or disapprove. Mirabeau therefore thought that the executive power should be held bound to prosecute the hostilities commenced, and that the legislative power should, as the case might be, allow the war to continue or demand peace.

This opinion was applauded, because Mirabeau's opinion always was. Barnave nevertheless rose, and, without noticing the other speakers, merely answered Mirabeau. He admitted that the sword is frequently drawn before the nation can be consulted, but he maintained that hostilities are not war; that the King ought to repel them, and, as speedily as possible to apprize the Assembly, which then, as sovereign, declares its own intentions. Thus the whole difference lay in the words, for Mirabeau gave to the Assembly the right of disapproving the war, and requiring peace, Barnave that of alike declaring both; but in either case the decision of the Assembly was to be obligatory, and Barnave allowed it no more right than Mirabeau. Barnave was nevertheless applauded and carried in triumph by the populace, and it was alleged that his adversary was sold. A pamphlet entitled "Great Treason of the Count de Mirabeau" was hawked about the streets with loud cries. The occasion was decisive; every one expected an effort from the terrible champion. He demanded permission to reply, obtained it, ascended the tribune in the presence of an immense multitude assembled to hear him, and declared, as he went up to it, that he would come down again either dead or victorious. "I too," he began, "have been borne in triumph, and yet they are crying to-day, the *great treason of the Count de Mirabeau.* I needed not this example to learn that it is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock. Yet these strokes from below shall not stop me in my career." After this impressive exordium, he intimated that he should reply to Barnave only, and he thus proceeded: "Explain yourself," said he to him: "you have in your opinion limited the King to the notification of hostilities, and you have given to the Assembly alone the right of declaring the national will on that point. There I stop you, and recall you to our principles, which share the expression of the national will between the Assembly and the King. . . . . In attributing it to the Assembly alone, you have transgressed against the constitution. I call you to order . . . You answer not . . . . I shall continue."

No answer could in fact be given. Throughout a long reply, Barnave remained exposed to these thundering apostrophes. Mirabeau answered him article by article, and demonstrated that Barnave had not given to the Assembly anything more than he had himself given to it; but that, by limiting the King to a mere notification, he had deprived him of his necessary concurrence in the expression of the national will. He concluded by reproaching Barnave with those culpable rivalries between men, who, he said, ought to live like true comrades in arms. Barnave had enumerated the partisans of his opinion. Mirabeau in his turn mentioned his. He pointed out among them those moderate men, the first founders of the constitution, and who talked to the French of liberty, whilst his base calumniators were sucking the milk of courts (alluding to the Lameths, who had received favours from the Queen), "men," added he, "who will boast while they live of their friends and of their enemies."

Mirabeau's speech gained unanimous applause. There was in the Assembly a considerable number of deputies, who belonged neither to the right nor to the left side, but who, without espousing any party, decided upon the impression of the moment. It was they who gave the victory to genius and reason, because they created a majority on which side soever they voted. Barnave would have replied; the Assembly opposed his intention and insisted that the question should be put to the vote. The decree of Mirabeau, ably amended by Chapelier, had the preference, and was finally adopted to the general satisfaction; for these rivalries did not extend beyond the circle in which they originated, and the popular party conceived that it conquered just as well with Mirabeau as with the Lameths.

The decree conferred on the King and the nation the right of making peace and war. To the King was assigned the disposal of the forces. He was to notify the commencement of hostilities; to call together the Assembly if it was not sitting, and to propose the decree of peace or war. The Assembly was to deliberate on his express proposition, and the King was afterwards to sanction its deliberation. It was Chapelier, who, by a very judicious amendment, had required the express proposition and the definitive sanction. This decree, conformable with reason, and with the principles already established, excited sincere joy among the constitutionalists, and foolish hopes among the counter-revolutionists, who imagined that the public mind was about to change, and that this victory of Mirabeau's was to become their own. Lafayette, who, on this occasion had joined Mirabeau, wrote on the subject to Bouillé, held out to him hopes of tranquillity and moderation, and strove, as he always did, to reconcile him to the new order of things.

The Assembly continued its financial labours. They consisted in disposing to the best advantage of the property of the clergy, the sale of which, long decreed, could not be prevented, either by protests, or by pastoral charges, or by intrigues. To dispossess a too powerful body of a great portion of the territory of the kingdom —to divide it in the best possible manner, so as to fertilize it by division; to make landed proprietors of a considerable portion of the people who were not such; lastly, to extinguish by the same operation the debts of the state and to restore order in the finances—such were the objects of the Assembly, and it was too sensible of their utility to be deterred by obstacles. The Assembly had already ordered the sale of crown and church property to the amount of four hundred millions, but it was necessary to find means to dispose of these possessions without lowering their value by putting them up to sale all at once. Bailly proposed, in the name of the municipality of Paris, a plan that was ably conceived, namely, to transfer these possessions to the municipalities, which should purchase them in a mass, for the purpose of selling them again by degrees, so that the sales of the whole might not take place at once. The municipalities not having funds to pay immediately, should give bills at a certain date, and the creditors of the state were to be paid with *bons* on communes, which they were required to pay off in succession. These *bons*, which in the discussion were called municipal paper, furnished the first idea of the assignats.

In following up Bailly's plan, the Church property was invaded; it was to be divided among the communes, and the creditors were to be brought nearer to their

pledge, by acquiring a claim upon the municipalities, instead of having a claim upon the state. The guarantees would therefore be augmented, since the payment was to be brought nearer; it would even depend upon the creditors to effect it themselves, since with these *bons* or assignats they could acquire a proportionable value in property put up to sale. Thus a great deal would have been done for them. But this was not all. They might not choose to convert their *bons* into land, either from scruples or from any other motive. They would then be obliged to keep their *bons*, which, as they could not circulate like money, would be mere unpaid obligations. There remained but one more measure to be taken, which was, to give to these *bons* or obligations the faculty of circulation. They would then become really and truly money, and the creditors, being enabled to pay with them, would be actually reimbursed. Another consideration was decisive. There was a scarcity of specie. This was attributed to the emigration which carried away a great deal of ready money, to the payments that had to be made to foreigners, and lastly to malevolence. The real cause was the want of confidence occasioned by the disturbances. Specie is apparent by the circulation. When confidence prevails, the activity of the exchange is extreme; money moves about rapidly, is seen everywhere, and is believed to be more considerable because it is more serviceable; but when political commotions create alarm, capital languishes, specie moves slowly; it is frequently hoarded, and complaints are unjustly made of its absence.

The desire to provide a substitute for metallic specie, which the Assembly considered scarce, by putting into the hands of the creditors something better than a dead obligation, and the necessity of supplying a multitude of other urgent wants, caused the forced currency of money to be given to these *bons* or assignats. The creditor was thereby paid, since he could oblige others to take the paper which he had received, and thus supply all his wants. If he did not choose to purchase lands, those who had taken the circulating paper of him would eventually buy them. The assignats which should come in by this method were to be burned; thus the lands of the clergy would soon be distributed and the paper suppressed. The assignats bore interest at so much per day, and acquired value by remaining in the hands of those who held them.

The clergy, viewing this measure as an instrument of execution against its possessions, strongly opposed it. Its noble and other allies, adverse to everything that facilitated the progress of the revolution, opposed it also and cried out against paper-money. The name of Law was brought forward, and the memory of his bankruptcy revived. The comparison, however, was not just, because the value of Law's paper-money depended on the profits to be gained by the India Company, while that of the assignats was founded on a territorial capital, real and easily convertible. Law had committed considerable frauds on the court, and had greatly exceeded the presumed amount of the Company's capital. The Assembly, on the contrary, could not believe that, with the new forms which it had just established, such errors could take place. Lastly, the amount of the assignats created, formed but a very small portion of the capital allotted to them. But it was true enough that paper, however safe, is not like money, a reality, or according to Bailly's expression, "a physical actuality." Specie carries its own value along with it. Paper, on the contrary, requires one more operation, a purchase of land, a realization. It must therefore be below specie, and as soon as it is below it, money, which nobody will give for paper, is hoarded and at length disappears. If, moreover, abuses in the administration of the property, and in moderate issues of paper, destroy the proportion between the circulating medium and the capital, confidence vanishes; the nominal value is retained, but the real value ceases; he who gives this conventional money robs him who receives it, and a great crisis ensues. All this was possible enough, and with more experience would have appeared certain. As a financial measure, the issue of assignats was therefore highly censurable; but it was necessary as a political measure; for it supplied urgent wants, and divided property without the aid of an agrarian law. The Assembly, therefore, had no reason to hesitate; and in spite of Maury and his partisans, it decreed four hundred millions of forced assignats with interest.

Necker had long since lost the confidence of the King, the former deference of his colleagues, and the enthusiasm of the nation.* Engrossed by his calculations he sometimes entered into discussion with the Assembly. His reserve for extraordinary expenses occasioned a demand for the production of the red book, the famous register containing, it was said, a list of all the secret disbursements. Louis XVI. complied with pain, and caused seals to be put upon the leaves in which were entered the expenses of his predecessor, Louis XV. The Assembly respected his delicacy, and confined itself to the expenditure of the current reign. Nothing personally concerning the King was found. Every prodigality had been for the benefit of courtiers. The Lameths were found down for a gratuity of sixty thousand francs, granted by the Queen for their education. They sent back that sum to the public exchequer. The pensions were reduced according to the twofold proportion of services and the former condition of the persons. The Assembly showed in every point the greatest moderation. It petitioned the King to fix the civil list himself, and it voted by acclamation the twenty-five millions which he demanded.

This Assembly, strong in its number, in its intelligence, in its power, in its resolutions, had conceived the immense plan of regenerating all the departments of the state, and it had just framed the new judicial system. It had distributed the courts in the same manner as the local administrations, by districts and departments. The judges were left to the popular election. This last measure had been strongly opposed. Political metaphysics had been again enlisted on this occasion to prove that the judicial power was dependent on the executive, and that the King ought to appoint the judges. Reasons had been found on both sides; but the only one that should have been given to the Assembly, which was on the point of making a monarchy, was that royalty, successively stripped of its prerogatives, becomes a mere magistracy, and the state a republic. But to say what monarchy was would have been too bold, requiring concessions which a nation never consents to make in the first moment of its awaking. The fault of nations is to demand either too much or nothing. The Assembly sincerely wished well to the King; it was full of deference for him, and manifested it on every occasion; but it was attached to the person, and, without being aware of it, destroyed the thing.

After introducing this uniformity into the law, and the administration, the Assembly had still to regulate the service of religion and to organize it like all the other systems. Thus, when it had established a court of appeal and a superior administration in every department, it was natural to place there a bishopric also. How, indeed, could certain episcopal sees be suffered to comprehend fifteen hundred square leagues, whilst others embraced but twenty;—certain livings to be ten leagues in circumference, whilst others numbered scarcely fifteen houses; and certain *curés* to have at the utmost but seven hundred livres, whilst there were beneficed ecclesiastics who possessed incomes of ten and fifteen thousand livres?

The Assembly, in reforming abuses, was interfering neither with the doctrines of the Church, nor with the Papal authority, since the circumscriptions had always belonged to the temporal power. It determined, therefore, to form a new division, and to subject, as of old, both *curés* and bishops to the popular election. Here, it was encroaching on the temporal power alone, since it was the King who chose, and the Pope who instituted ecclesiastical dignitaries. This plan, which was called the civil constitution of the clergy, and which drew upon the Assembly more calumny than anything it had yet done, was nevertheless the work of the most pious deputies. It was Camus and other Jansenists, who, desirous of invigorating

* "In passing through Geneva, the First Consul had an interview with M. Necker. I know not how it happened, but at the time he did not speak to me of this interview. However, I was curious to know what he thought of a man who had acquired so much celebrity in France. One evening, when we were talking, first of one thing, and then of another, I managed to turn the conversation on that subject. 'M. Necker,' said he, 'appears to me very far below his reputation. He did not equal the idea I had formed of him. I tried all I could to get him to talk, but he said nothing remarkable. He is an ideologist—a banker. It is impossible that such a man can have any but narrow views; and, besides, all celebrated people lose on a close view."—*Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon.* E.

religion in the state, strove to bring it into harmony with the new laws. It is certain that, justice being everywhere else re-established, it would have been strange had it not also been introduced into the ecclesiastical administration. With the exception of Camus and some others of his stamp, the members of the Assembly, educated in the school of the philosophers, would have treated Christianity like all the other religions admitted into the state, and would not have bestowed a thought upon it. They entertained sentiments which in our present social state it is usual not to combat, even when we do not share them. They supported therefore the religious and sincerely Christian plan of Camus. The clergy opposed it, alleging that it encroached on the spiritual authority of the Pope, and appealed to Rome. The principal bases of the plan were nevertheless adopted, and immediately presented to the King, who asked for time that he might refer to the high Pontiff. The King, whose enlightened religion recognised the wisdom of this plan, wrote to the Pope, with a sincere desire of obtaining his assent, and thus overthrowing all the objections of the clergy. We shall presently see what intrigues prevented the success of his wishes.

The month of July approached. It was nearly a year since the Bastille was taken, since the nation had seized all power, since it had announced its intentions by the Assembly, and executed them itself, or caused them to be executed under its superintendence. The 14th of July was considered as the day which had commenced a new era, and it was resolved that its anniversary should be celebrated with great festivity. The provinces and the towns had already set the example of confederating, to resist with united strength the enemies of the Revolution. The municipality of Paris proposed for the 14th of July a general federation of all France, which should be celebrated in the heart of the capital by the deputies of all the national guards and of all the corps of the army. This plan was hailed with enthusiasm, and immense preparations were made to render the festival worthy of its object.

Other nations, as we have seen, had long turned their eyes upon France. The sovereigns began to hate and fear, the people to esteem, us. A party of foreign enthusiasts appeared before the Assembly in the costume of their respective nations. Their spokesman, Anacharsis Clootz, by birth a Prussian, a man of wayward imagination, demanded, in the name of the human race, to be admitted into the Federation.* These scenes, which appear ridiculous to those who are not eye-wit-

* "J. B. de Clootz, a Prussian baron, known since the Revolution by the name of Anacharsis Clootz, was born at Cleves on the 24th of June, 1755, and became the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he dissipated by his misconduct. He was not destitute of ability, but was half-crazed by his fanatical love of liberty, and his constant habit of poring over the works of German metaphysicians. As he was the nephew of Cornelius Parr, author of several works, he thought he must also be a writer. He travelled in different parts of Europe, and particularly cultivated the society of Burke, who was then a member of the opposition in the English parliament. During the French Revolution, Clootz made himself notorious by the absurd extravagance of his conduct. The masquerade, know by the name of the 'Embassy of the Human Race,' was the first scene in which he attracted attention. He appeared on the 19th of June, 1790, at the bar of the National Assembly, followed by a considerable body of Parisian porters in foreign dresses, whom he presented as deputies from all nations. He styled himself the 'Orator of the human race,' and requested to be admitted to the Federation, which was agreed to. On the 22d of January, 1792, he wrote a letter to the Legislative Assembly, beginning thus: 'The orator of the human race to the legislature of the human race sends greeting.' On the 21st of April he delivered a ridiculous tirade at the bar relative to the declaration of war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; proposed to the Assembly to adhere for a year to a strict regimen; and ended by offering, what he called, a patriotic gift of twelve thousand livres. He in consequence obtained the honour of a seat among the members. On the 12th of August he came to congratulate the Assembly on the events of the 10th, and offered to raise a Prussian legion. On the 27th, he begged the Assembly to set a price on the heads of the King of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick, and delivered a long speech, in which the following expressions occurred: 'Charles IX. had a successor; Louis will have none.'—'You know how to value the heads of philosophers; a price yet remains to be set on those of tyrants.'—'My heart is French, and my soul sans-culotte.' The hatred of this fanatic against the Christian religion was as fervent as that which he entertained against the monarchy. In September, 1792, he was deputed from the Oise to the Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis XVI. in the name of the

nesses of them, make deep impression upon all who are. The Assembly complied with the demand, and the president replied to these foreigners that they should be admitted, in order that they might be able to relate to their countrymen what they had seen, and to make them acquainted with the joys and the blessings of liberty.

The emotion caused by this scene produced another. An equestrian statue of Louis XIV. represented him trampling upon the image of several conquered provinces. "In the days of liberty," exclaimed one of the Lameths, "these monuments of slavery ought not to be endured. It is not fit that the people of Franche-Comté, when they come to Paris, should see their image thus enchained." Maury opposed a measure in itself unimportant, but which it was necessary to concede to the public enthusiasm. At the same moment a member proposed to abolish the titles of count, marquis, baron, &c.; to prohibit liveries; in short, to suppress all hereditary titles. Young Montmorenci seconded the motion. A noble asked what they would substitute for the words, "Such a one was created count for services rendered to the state?"—"Let it merely be said," replied Lafayette, "that on such a day such a person saved the state." The motion was carried, notwithstanding the extraordinary irritation of the nobility, which was more galled by the abolition of its titles than by the more substantial losses which it had sustained since the commencement of the Revolution. The more moderate portion of the Assembly had proposed that, in abolishing titles, those who chose to retain them should be at liberty to do so. Lafayette lost no time in apprizing the court before the decree was sanctioned, and advised that it should be sent back to the Assembly, which would consent to amend it; but the King instantly gave his sanction, in which some thought they could discover the disingenuous intention of driving things to extremities.

The object of the Federation was the civic oath. It was discussed whether the federalists and the Assembly should take the oath to the King, or whether the King, considered as the highest public functionary, should swear with all the others at the altar of the country. The latter course was preferred. Thus did the Assembly put etiquette in complete harmony with the laws, and the King would be no more in the ceremony than he was in the constitution. The court, which constantly was conceiving distrust of Lafayette, was alarmed at a rumour that was circulated, purporting that he was about to be appointed commandant of all the national guards of the kingdom. It was but natural that those who did not know Lafayette should feel this distrust; and his enemies, of all parties, strove to augment it. How, in fact, could it be supposed that a man, possessing such popularity, at the head of a considerable force, would not abuse it? Nothing, however, was further from his intention; he had resolved to be nothing but a citizen, and, whether from virtue or well-judged ambition, the merit is the same. Human pride must be placed somewhere—it is virtue to place it in doing what is right.

Lafayette, in order to remove the alarm of the court, proposed that one and the same person should not command more than the guard of one department. The motion was carried by acclamation, and the disinterestedness of the general was warmly applauded. Lafayette was nevertheless charged with the whole arrangement of the festival, and appointed chief of the Federation in his quality of commandant of the Parisian guard.

The day approached, and the preparations were carried on with great activity. The ceremony was to take place in the Champ de Mars, a spacious area, extending from the Military School to the bank of the Seine. It had been planned to remove

human race! In the same year he published a work entitled 'The Universal Republic,' wherein he laid it down as a principle that 'the people was the sovereign of the world—nay, that it was God!'—'that fools alone believed in a Supreme Being!' &c. He soon afterwards fell under the suspicion of Robespierre, was arrested as a Hebertist, and condemned to death on the 24th of March, 1794. He died with great firmness, and, on his way to execution, lectured Hebert on materialism, 'to prevent him,' as he said, 'from yielding to religious feelings in his last moments.' He even asked to be executed after all his accomplices, in order that he might have time 'to establish certain principles during the fall of their heads.'"—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

the earth from the centre to the sides, so as to form an amphitheatre capable of containing the mass of the spectators. Twelve thousand labourers were kept at work without intermission, and yet it was apprehended that the operations could not be finished by the 14th. The inhabitants then proposed to assist the workmen. In an instant the whole population were transformed into labourers. Churchmen, soldiers, persons of all classes, took up the spade and the pickaxe. Elegant females themselves lent a hand. The enthusiasm soon became general. The people repaired to the spot by sections, with banners of different colours, and to the sound of drums. On arriving, they mingled and worked together. At nightfall, on a given signal, each rejoined his company, and returned to his home. This fraternal harmony prevailed till the work was finished. Meanwhile, the federalists kept arriving, and they were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. The enthusiasm was general, in spite of the alarm which the very small number of persons who remained inaccessible to emotions strove to excite. It was said that the brigands meant to take advantage of the moment when the people should be at the Federation to plunder the city. It was insinuated that the Duke of Orleans, who had returned from London, entertained sinister designs. The national gaiety was nevertheless undiminished, and no faith was put in any of these evil forebodings.

The 14th at length arrived. All the federate deputies of the provinces and the army, ranged under their chiefs and their banners, set out from the Place of the Bastille and proceeded to the Tuileries. The deputies of Béarn, in passing the Place de la Feronnerie, where Henry IV. was assassinated, paid him a tribute of respect, which, in this moment of emotion, was expressed by tears. The federalists, on their arrival in the garden of the Tuileries, received into their ranks the municipality and the Assembly. A battalion of boys, armed like their fathers, preceded the Assembly. A body of old men followed it, and thus revived the memory of ancient Sparta. The procession moved forward amidst the shouts and applause of the people. The quays were lined with spectators. The houses were covered with them. A bridge thrown in a few days across the Seine, and strewed with flowers, led from one bank to the other, facing the scene of the Federation. The procession crossed it, and each took his place. A magnificent amphitheatre, formed at the farther extremity, was destined for the national authorities. The King and the president sat beside one another on similar seats, sprinkled with golden fleurs-de-lis. Behind the King there was an elevated balcony for the Queen and the court. The ministers were at some distance from the King, and the deputies ranged on either side. Four hundred thousand spectators occupied the lateral amphitheatres. Sixty thousand armed federalists performed their evolutions in the intermediate space; and in the centre, upon a base twenty-five feet high, stood the altar of the country. Three hundred priests, in white surplices and tricoloured scarfs, covered the steps and were to officiate in the mass.

It was three hours before all the federalists had arrived. During this interval the sky was overcast with clouds, and the rain fell in torrents. That sky, whose brightness harmonizes so well with human joys, refused at this moment serenity and light. One of the battalions, as it came up, grounded arms, and conceived the idea of forming a dance. Its example was instantly followed by all the others, and in a moment the intermediate space was filled by sixty thousand men, soldiers and citizens, opposing gaiety of heart to the unfavourable weather. At length the ceremony commenced. The sky happily cleared, and threw its brilliancy over this solemn scene. The Bishop of Autun* began the mass. The choristers ac-

* "Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, minister for foreign affairs, ci-devant bishop of Autun, Abbé of Celles and St. Denis, was born at Paris in 1754, and as deputy from the clergy of the bailiwick of Autun, joined the meeting of the commons on the opening of the States-general. He combined with natural ability a great facility of labour and application. His name, his dignities, and his example operated on a great number of deputies, who were wholly guided by his counsels. On the 20th of August, 1789, Talleyrand procured the adoption of an article concerning the admission of all citizens, without distinction, to all offices. Three days afterwards, he opposed the mention of divine worship in the declaration of the rights of man, and maintained that it was in

companied the voice of the prelate; the cannon mingled with it their solemn peals. Divine service over, Lafayette alighted from his horse, ascended the steps of the throne, and received the orders of the King, who handed to him the form of the oath. Lafayette carried it to the altar. At that moment all the banners waved, every sabre glistened. The general, the army, the president, the deputies, cried, "I swear it." The King, standing, with his hand outstretched towards the altar, said: "I, King of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me." At this moment, the Queen, moved by the general emotion, clasped in her arms the august child, the heir to the throne, and, from the balcony where she was stationed, showed him to the assembled nation. At this movement shouts of joy, attachment, enthusiasm, were addressed to the mother and the child, and all hearts were hers. At this very same moment all France, assembled in the eighty-three chief towns of the departments, took the same oath to love the King who would love them. In such moments hatred itself is softened, pride gives way, all are happy in the general happiness and proud of the dignity of all. Why, alas! are these pleasures of concord so soon forgotten!

This august ceremony over, the procession returned, and the people gave themselves up to rejoicing.* These rejoicings lasted several days. A general review

the constitutional act that the holy name of the Catholic religion ought to be pronounced. In August, October, and November, he made speeches on the finances, in one of which he recommended the sale of Church property. In February, 1790, he composed the famous address to the French, to remind them of what the National Assembly had already done for them, and still intended to do; and on the 14th of July he celebrated the mass of the Federation. On the 29th of December, he published an address to the clergy, giving an account of the motives which had induced him to take the constitutional oath, and exhorting them to follow his example. In March and November, 1791, he joined the Abbé Sieyes in defending the non-juring priests. Having been very intimate with Mirabeau, he, in the tribune in March, 1791, read a long discourse on Inheritances, which that great statesman had intrusted to him, on his death-bed, in order that he should communicate it to the Assembly. Assisted by the Bishops of Lydia and Babylon, Talleyrand consecrated the first bishops who were called constitutional, an act with drew upon him the displeasure of the court of Rome. After the session he was sent to England as private negotiator, in order to conclude a treaty of peace between the two nations, but failed in his negotiation. Terrified at the blood which was so lavishly poured forth in France, and informed also that after the 10th of August, 1792, papers had been found at the Tuileries which might compromise him, he retired to the United States. After the 9th Thermidor, 1794, he returned to Paris, became a member of the National Institute, and in 1797 he entered on the administration of foreign affairs. From that time he began to acquire great influence in the government, and was one of those who contrived the events of the 18th Brumaire. In 1802, after the re-establishment of Catholic worship in France, the First Consul obtained for Talleyrand a brief from the Pope, which restored him to a secular and lay life, and authorized his marriage with Mrs. Grant."—*Biographie Moderne.*

Talleyrand remained in the administration of foreign affairs, up to the period of the disastrous Russian campaign, when he began to make secret overtures—at least so it is reported of him by Napoleon's biographers—to the Bourbons. On the Emperor's downfall, he held office for a time under Louis XVIII., and on the expulsion of Charles X., was appointed ambassador to England by Louis Philippe. E.

* "In spite of plotting aristocrats, lazy, hired spademen, and almost of destiny itself (for there has been much rain), the Champ de Mars on the 13th of the month is fairly ready.—The morning comes, cold for a July one, but such a festivity would make Greenland smile. Through every inlet of that national amphitheatre (for it is a league in circuit, cut with openings at due intervals), floods in the living throng; covers without tumult space after space. Two hundred thousand patriotic men, and, twice as good, one hundred thousand patriotic women, all decked and glorified as one can fancy, sit waiting in this Champ de Mars. What a picture, that circle of bright-died life, spread up there on its thirty-seated slope: leaning, one would say, on the thick umbrage of those avenue trees, for the stems of them are hidden by the height; and all beyond it mere greenness of summer earth, with the gleams of waters, or white sparklings of stone edifices. On remotest steeple and invisible village-belfry, stand men with spy-glasses. On the heights of Chaillot are many-coloured, undulating groups; round, and far on, over all the circling heights that imbosom Paris, it is as one more or less peopled amphitheatre, which the eye grows dim with measuring. Nay, heights have cannon, and a floating battery of cannon is on the Seine. When eye fails, ear shall serve; and all France properly is but one amphitheatre, for in paved town, and unpaved hamlet men walk listening, till the muffled thunder sounds audible on their horizon, that they too

of the federalists was held. Sixty thousand men were under arms and exhibited a magnificent sight, at once military and national. At night Paris was the scene of a charming *fête*. The principal places of assemblage were the Champs Elysées and the Bastille. On the site of this ancient prison, now converted into an open square, was set up this inscription: "Place for dancing." Brilliant lamps arranged in festoons made amends for the daylight. Opulence had been forbidden to annoy this quiet *fête* by the movement of carriages. Each was expected to make himself one of the people and to feel happy in being so. The Champs Elysées exhibited a touching scene. There every one walked about without noise, without tumult, without rivalry, without animosity. All classes intermingled, enjoyed themselves beneath the mild lamp-light, and seemed delighted to be together. Thus, even in the bosom of ancient civilization, men seemed to have found anew the times of primitive fraternity.

The federalists after attending the imposing discussions of the National Assembly, after witnessing the pomp of the court and the magnificence of Paris, after experiencing the kindness of the King, whom they all visited, and by whom they were received with touching expressions of benevolence, returned home in transports of intoxication, full of good feelings and illusions. After so many painful events, and while preparing to describe others still more terrible, the historian dwells with pleasure on these too transient scenes, where all hearts had but one sentiment, love for the public weal.*

may begin swearing and firing. But now, to streams of music, come federates enough—for they have assembled on the Boulevard St. Antoine, and come marching through the city, with their eighty-three department banners, and blessings not loud but deep; comes National Assembly and takes seat under its canopy; comes Royalty, and takes seat on a throne beside it. And Lafayette, on white charger is here, and all the civic functionaries; and the federates form dances till their strictly military evolutions and manœuvres can begin. Task not the pen of mortal to describe them; truant imagination droops—declares that it is not worth while. There is wheeling and sweeping to slow, to quick, and double-quick time. Sieur Motier, or Generalissimo Lafayette—for they are one and the same, and he is General of France in the King's stead for four-and-twenty hours—must step forth with that sublime, chivalrous gait of his; solemnly ascend the steps of the Fatherland's altar, in sight of Heaven and of scarcely-breathing earth; and pronounce the oath, 'To King, to law, and nation,' in his own name, and that of armed France. Whereat there is waving of banners, and acclaim sufficient. The National Assembly must swear, standing in its place; the King himself audibly. The King swears; and now be the welkin split with *vivats;* let citizens enfranchised embrace; armed federates clang their arms; above all, that floating battery speak! It has spoken—to the four corners of France! From eminence to eminence bursts the thunder, faint heard, loud repeated. From Arras to Avignon—from Metz to Bayonne! Over Orleans and Blois it rolls, in cannon-recitative; Puy bellows of it amid his granite mountains; Pau, where is the shell-cradle of great Henri. At far Marseilles, one can think, the ruddy evening witnesses it; over the deep blue Mediterranean waters, the castle of If, ruddy-tinted, darts forth from every cannon's mouth its tongue of fire; and all the people shout—Yes, France is free! Glorious France, that has burst out so, into universal sound and smoke; and attained—the Phrygian *cap* of liberty!"—*Carlyle's "French Revolution."* E.

* I have already quoted some pages of the Memoirs of Ferrières relative to the first sitting of the States-general. As nothing is more important than to ascertain the real sentiments which the Revolution excited, I think it right to give the description of the Federation by the same Ferrières. We shall see if this enthusiasm was genuine, if it was communicative, and if that Revolution was so hideous as some have wished to make it appear.

"Meanwhile the federalists were arriving from all parts of the empire. They were lodged in the houses of private individuals, who cheerfully supplied beds, linen, wood, and all that could contribute to render their stay in the capital agreeable and comfortable. The municipality took precautions that so great an influx of strangers might not disturb the public tranquillity. Twelve thousand labourers worked incessantly at preparing the Champ de Mars. Notwithstanding the activity with which the operations were prosecuted, they advanced but slowly. It was feared that they could not be completed by the 14th of July, the day irrevocably fixed for the ceremony, because it was the famous epoch of the insurrection of Paris, and of the taking of the Bastille. In this perplexity, the districts, in the name of the country, invited the good citizens to assist the workmen. This civic invitation electrified all heads; the women shared and propagated the enthusiasm; seminarists, scholars, nuns of the order called *Sœurs du Pot*, Carthusians grown old in solitude, were seen quitting their cloisters, hurrying to the Champ de Mars, with shovels upon their shoulders, bearing banners adorned with patriotic emblems. There all the citizens collected, blended together, formed an immense and incessantly moving mass of labourers, every point of which presented a

This touching festival of the federation was but a fugitive emotion. On the morrow, all hearts still wished what they had wished the day before, and the war

varied group: the dishevelled courtesan is placed beside the modest matron, the Capuchin draws the truck with the chevalier of St. Louis, the porter with the *petit-maitre* of the Palais Royal, the sturdy fishwoman drives the wheelbarrow filled by the hands of the delicate and nervous lady; wealthy people, indigent people, well-dressed people, ragged people, old men, boys, comedians, *Cent-Suisses*, clerks, working and resting, actors and spectators, exhibited to the astonished eye a scene full of life and bustle; moving taverns, portable shops, increased the charm and gaiety of this vast and exhilarating picture; songs, shouts of joy, the sound of drums and military instruments, that of spades and wheelbarrows, the voices of the labourers calling to and encouraging one another. . . . . The mind felt sinking under the weight of a delicious intoxication at the sight of a whole people who had descended again to the sweet sentiments of a primitive fraternity. . . . As soon as the clock struck nine, the groups separated. Each citizen repaired to the station of his section, returned to his family, to his acquaintance. The bands marched off to the sound of drums, returned to Paris, preceded by torches, indulging from time to time in sallies against the aristocrats, and singing the celebrated air, *Ca ira*.

"At length, the 14th of July, the day of the Federation arrived, amidst the hopes of some, and the alarms and terrors of others. If this grand ceremony had not the serious and august character of a festival at once national and religious, a character almost incompatible with the French spirit, it displayed that lively and delightful image of joy and enthusiasm a thousand times more touching. The federalists, ranged by departments under eighty-three banners, set out from the site of the Bastille; the deputies of the troops of the line and of the navy, the Parisian national guard, drums, bands of music, the colours of the sections, opened and closed the procession.

"The federalists passed through the *rues* St. Martin, St. Denis, and St. Honoré, and proceeded by the Cours la Reine to a bridge of boats constructed across the river. They were greeted by the way with the acclamation of an immense concourse, which filled the streets, the windows of the houses, and the quays. The heavy rain which was falling neither deranged nor slackened the march. Dripping with wet and perspiration, the federalists danced *farandoles*, shouting, "Long live our brethren, the Parisians!' Wine, ham, fruit, sausages, were let down from the windows for them; they were loaded with blessings. The National Assembly joined the procession at the Place Louis XV., and walked between the battalion of the veterans and that of the young pupils of the country—an expressive image, which seemed to concentrate in itself alone all ages and all interests.

"The road leading to the Champ de Mars was covered with people, who clapped their hands and sang *Ca ira*. The Quai de Chaillot and the heights of Passy presented a long amphitheatre, where the elegant dresses, the charms, the graces, of the women, enchanted the eye, without allowing it the faculty of dwelling upon any portion of the scene in preference. The rain continued to fall; nobody seemed to perceive it: French gaiety triumphed both over the bad weather, the bad roads, and the length of the march.

"M. de Lafayette, mounted on a superb horse, and surrounded by his aides-de-camp, gave orders and received the homage of the people and the federalists. The perspiration trickled from his face. A man, whom nobody knew, pushed through the crowd, and advanced, holding a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other. 'General,' said he, 'you are hot; take a glass.' Raising his bottle, he filled a large glass and handed it to M. de Lafayette. The general took the glass, eyed the stranger for a moment, and drank off the wine at a draught. The people applauded. Lafayette, with a smile of complaisance, cast a benevolent and confiding look upon the multitude, and that look seemed to say, 'I shall never conceive any suspicion, I shall never feel any uneasiness, so long as I am in the midst of you.'

"Meanwhile, more than three hundred thousand persons, of both sexes, from Paris, and the environs, assembled ever since six in the morning in the Champ de Mars, sitting on the turf-seats, which formed an immense circus, drenched, draggled, sheltering themselves with parasols from the torrents of rain which descended upon them, at the least ray of sunshine adjusting their dresses, waited, laughing and chatting, for the federalists and the National Assembly. A spacious amphitheatre had been erected for the King, the royal family, the ambassadors, and the deputies. The federalists, who first arrived, began to dance *farandoles*; those who followed joined them, forming a round which soon embraced part of the Champ de Mars. A sight worthy of the philosophic observer was that exhibited by this host of men, who had come from the most opposite parts of France, hurried away by the impulse of the national character, banishing all remembrance of the past, all idea of the present, all fear of the future, indulging in a delicious thoughtlessness, and three hundred thousand spectators, of all ages, of both sexes, following their motions, beating time with their hands, forgetting the rain, hunger, and the weariness of long waiting. At length, the whole procession having entered the Champ de Mars, the dance ceased, each federalist repaired to his banner. The Bishop of Autun prepared to perform mass at an altar in the antique style, erected in the centre of the Champ de Mars. Three hundred priests, in white surplices, girt with broad tricoloured scarfs, ranged themselves at the four corners of the altar. The Bishop of Autun blessed the *oriflamme* and the eighty-three banners: he struck up the *Te Deum*. Twelve hundred musicians played that hymn. Lafayette, at the head of the staff of the Parisian militia and of the deputies

had recommenced. Petty quarrels with the ministry again began. Complaints were made that a passage had been granted to the Austrian troops into the country of Liege. St. Priest was charged with having favoured the escape of several

of the army and navy, went up to the altar, and swore, in the name of the troops and the federalists, to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the King. A discharge of four pieces of cannon proclaimed to France this solemn oath. The twelve hundred musicians rent the air with military tunes; the colours, the banners, waved; the drawn sabres glistened. The president of the National Assembly repeated the same oath. The people and the deputies answered with shouts of *I swear it.* The King then rose, and in a loud voice, said, '*I, King of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state in maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me.*' The Queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, held him up to the people, and said, '*Here is my son; he joins as well as myself in those sentiments.*' This unexpected movement was repaid by a thousand shouts of *Vive le Roi! vive la Reine! vive M. le Dauphin!* The cannon continued to mingle their majestic voices with the warlike sounds of military instruments, and the acclamations of the people. The weather had cleared up; the sun burst forth in all his splendour; it seemed as if it had pleased God himself to witness this mutual contract, and to ratify it by his presence. . . . . Yes, he did both see and hear it, and the terrible calamities which, ever since that day, have not ceased to desolate France,—O Providence ever active and ever faithful!—are the just punishment of perjury. Thou hast stricken both the monarch and the subjects who violated their oath!

"The enthusiasm and the festivities were not confined to the day of the Federation. During the stay of the federalists at Paris, there was one continued series of entertainments, of dances, and of rejoicings. People again went to the Champ de Mars, where they drank, sang, and danced. M. de Lafayette reviewed part of the national guard of the departments and the army of the line. The King, the Queen, and the dauphin, were present at this review. They were greeted with acclamations. The Queen, with a gracious look, gave the federalists her hand to kiss, and showed them the dauphin. The federalists, before they quitted the capital, went to pay their homage to the King; all of them testified the most profound respect, the warmest attachment. The chief of the Bretons dropped on his knee, and presented his sword to Louis XVI. 'Sire,' said he, 'I deliver to you, pure and sacred, the sword of the faithful Bretons: it shall never be stained but with the blood of your enemies.'—'That sword cannot be in better hands than those of my dear Bretons,' replied Louis XVI., raising the chief of the Bretons, and returning to him his sword. 'I have never doubted their affection and their fidelity. Assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend, of all the French.' The King, deeply moved, pressed the hand of the chief of the Bretons, and embraced him. A mutual emotion prolonged for some moments this touching scene. The chief of the Bretons was the first to speak. 'Sire,' said he, 'all the French, if I may judge from our hearts, love, and will love you, because you are a citizen king.'

"The municipality of Paris resolved also to give an entertainment to the federalists. There were a regatta on the river, fireworks, illumination, ball and refreshments in the Halle au Blé, and a ball on the site of the Bastille. At the entrance of the enclosure was an inscription, in large letters, Ici l'on danse (*Dancing here*). Happy assemblage, which formed a striking contrast with the antique image of horror and despair called forth by the recollection of that odious prison! The people went to and from one of these places to the other without impediment. The police, by prohibiting the circulation of carriages, prevented the accidents so common in public festivities, as well as the tumultuous noise of horses, and wheels, and shouts of *Gare* (Take care)—a noise which wearies and stuns the citizens, makes them every moment afraid of being run over, and gives to the most splendid and best-regulated *fête* the appearance of a flight. Public festivities are essentially for the people. It is they alone who ought to be considered. If the rich are desirous of sharing their pleasures, let them put themselves on a level with the people for that day; by so doing they will gain sensations to which they are strangers, and will not disturb the joy of their fellow-citizens.

"It was in the Champs Elysées that persons of feeling enjoyed more satisfactorily this charming popular festival. Columns of lights hung from every tree, and festoons of lamps connected them together; pyramids of fire, placed at intervals, diffused a pure light, which the enormous mass of surrounding darkness rendered still more brilliant by its contrast. The people covered the alleys and the greensward. The citizen, seated with his wife amidst his children, ate, chatted, walked about, and enjoyed himself. Here, young lads and lasses danced to the sound of several bands of music stationed in the open spaces which had been formed. Farther on, sailors, in jacket and trousers, surrounded by numerous groups who looked on with interest, strove to climb up tall masts rubbed with soap, to gain a prize reserved for him who should reach and bring down a tricoloured flag fastened to the summit. You should have seen the bursts of laughter which greeted those who were forced to relinquish the attempt, and the encouragements given to those who, more lucky or more adroit, appeared likely to reach the top. A soothing sentimental joy, diffused over every face, beaming in every eye, reminded you of the peaceful pleasures of the happy shades in the Elysian fields of the ancients. The white dresses of a multitude of females, strolling under the trees of those beautiful alleys, served to heighten the illusion."—*Ferrières*, tom. ii., p. 89.

accused persons, who were suspected of counter-revolutionary machinations. The court out of revenge, again placed in the order of the day the proceedings commenced at the Châtelet against the authors of the disturbances of the 5th and 6th of October. The Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau were implicated in them. These singular proceedings, several times relinquished and resumed, betrayed the different influences under which they had been carried on. They were full of contradictions, and presented no sufficient charge against the two principal persons accused. The court, in conciliating Mirabeau, had nevertheless no settled plan in regard to him. It approached, and withdrew from him by turns, and sought rather to appease him than to follow his advice.

In renewing the proceedings of the 5th and 6th of October, it was not at him that it aimed, but at the Duke of Orleans, who had been much applauded on his return from London, and whom it had harshly repulsed, when he begged to be again taken into favour by the King. Chabroud was to report to the Assembly, that it might judge whether there was ground or not for the accusation. The court was desirous that Mirabeau should keep silence, and that he should abandon the Duke of Orleans, against whom alone it bore a grudge. He nevertheless spoke, and showed how ridiculous were the imputations thrown out against him. He was accused, in fact, of having apprized Mounier that Paris was marching upon Versailles, and of having added this expression: "We want a King, but no matter whether it be Louis XVI. or Louis XVII.; of having gone through the Flanders regiment, sword in hand, and exclaimed at the moment of the departure of the Duke of Orleans: 'This *j . . . f . . . . .* is not worth the trouble that is taken about him.'" Nothing could be more frivolous than such allegations. Mirabeau showed their weakness and absurdity, said but a few words respecting the Duke of Orleans, and exclaimed, when concluding: "Yes, the secret of these infernal proceedings is at length laid bare; it is yonder whole and entire (pointing to the right side); it is to be found in the interest of those whose evidence and whose calumnies have formed their tissue; it is in the resources which they have furnished to the enemies of the Revolution; it is—it is in the hearts of the judges such as it will soon be graven in history by the most just and the most implacable vengeance."

Plaudits accompanied Mirabeau to his seat; the Assembly resolved that there was no ground of accusation against the persons inculpated, and the court incurred the disgrace of a useless attempt.

The Revolution was destined to run its course everywhere, in the army as well as among the people. The army, the last instrument of power, was also the last fear of the popular party. All the military chiefs were enemies of the Revolution, because, being exclusive possessors of promotion and favours, they saw merit admitted to equal privileges with themselves. From the contrary motive, the soldiers inclined to the new order of things; and no doubt the dislike of discipline, and the desire of higher pay, acted as powerfully upon them as the spirit of liberty. A dangerous insubordination manifested itself throughout almost the whole army. The infantry, in particular, perhaps because it mingles more with the people, was in a state of absolute insurrection. Bouillé, who was mortified to see his army slipping out of his hands, employed all possible means to prevent this contagion of the revolutionary spirit. He had received the most extensive powers from Latour du Pin, minister at war; he availed himself of them to keep shifting his troops about continually, and thus to prevent them from contracting a familiarity with the people by staying in the same place. He forbade them above all things to frequent the clubs, and in short he neglected no means of maintaining military subordination. Bouillé, after a long resistance, had at length taken the oath to the constitution. He was a man of honour, and from that moment he seemed to have formed the resolution to be faithful to the constitution and to the King. His dislike of Lafayette, whose disinterestedness he could not but acknowledge, was overcome, and he was more disposed to be on good terms with him. The national guards of the extensive country under his command had proposed to appoint him their general. He had refused the offer in his first fit of pique, but was sorry for having done so

afterwards when he thought of all the good that he should have had it in his power to do. Nevertheless, in spite of some denunciations of the clubs, he still maintained himself in the popular favour.

Revolt first broke out at Metz. The soldiers confined their officers, seized the colours and the military chests, and wished even to make the municipality contribute. Bouillé exposed himself to the greatest danger, and succeeded in his efforts to suppress the sedition. Soon afterwards a similar mutiny took place at Nancy. Some Swiss regiments were implicated in it, and there was reason to apprehend that, if this example were followed, the whole kingdom would soon be a prey to the united excesses of the soldiery and the populace. The Assembly itself trembled at this prospect. An officer was charged to carry the decree passed against the rebels. He could not put it into execution, and Bouillé was ordered to march to Nancy, that the law might have the assistance of force. He had but few soldiers on whom he could rely. Luckily the troops which had lately mutinied at Metz, humbled because he durst not trust them, offered to march against the rebels: the national guards made a similar offer, and he advanced upon Nancy with these united forces and a tolerably numerous body of cavalry. His situation was perplexing, for he could not employ his cavalry, and his infantry was not strong enough to attack the rebels seconded by the populace. Nevertheless he addressed them with the greatest firmness and contrived to overawe them. They were even about to yield and to leave the city agreeably to his orders, when some musket-shots were fired from some unknown quarter. An action now became inevitable. Bouillé's troops, under the idea of treachery, fought with the greatest ardour; but the engagement was obstinate, and they penetrated only step by step through a destructive fire. Being at length master of the principal squares, Bouillé gained the submission of the revolted regiments and compelled them to leave the city; he liberated the imprisoned officers and the authorities, and caused the principal ringleaders to be picked out, and delivered them up to the National Assembly.

This victory diffused general joy, and allayed the fears which had been excited for the tranquillity of the kingdom. Bouillé received congratulations and commendations from the King and the Assembly. He was subsequently calumniated, and his conduct charged with cruelty. It was nevertheless irreproachable, and at the moment it was applauded as such. The King augmented his command, which became very considerable, extending from Switzerland to the Sambre, and comprehending the greatest part of the frontiers. Bouillé, having more reliance on the cavalry than on the infantry, chose the banks of the Seille, which falls into the Moselle, for his cantonments. He there had plains for manœuvring his cavalry, forage for its support, places of considerable strength for intrenching it, and above all, a thin population. Bouillé had determined to take no step against the constitution, but he distrusted the patriots, and he took precautions with a view to succour the King, if circumstances should render it necessary.

The Assembly had abolished the parliaments, instituted juries, suppressed *jurandes*, and was about to order a fresh issue of assignats. The property of the clergy offering an immense capital, and the assignats rendering it continually disposable, it was natural that the Assembly should employ it. All the objections already urged were renewed with still greater violence. The Bishop of Autun himself declared against this new issue, and had the sagacity to foresee all the financial results, of that measure.* Mirabeau, looking chiefly at the political

* M. de Talleyrand had predicted, in a very remarkable manner, the financial results of paper-money. In his speech he first showed the nature of that money, characterized it with the greatest justice, and explained the reasons of its speedy inferiority.

"Will the National Assembly," said he, "order an issue of two thousand millions of money in assignats? People judge of this second issue by the success of the first; but they will not perceive that the wants of commerce, checked by the Revolution, naturally caused our first conventional issue to be received with avidity; and these wants were such, that, in my opinion, this currency would have been adopted, had it even not been forced: to make an attack on this first success, which moreover, has not been complete, since the assignats are below par, in favour of a second

results, obstinately persisted, and with success. Eight hundred millions in assignats were decreed; and this time it was decided that they should not bear interest. It would have been useless in fact to add interest to a circulating medium. Let this be done for a paper which cannot circulate but remains idle in the hands of the holder—nothing is more just: but for a value which becomes actual by its forced currency, it is an error which the Assembly did not commit a second time.

Necker opposed this new issue, and sent in a memorial which was not listened to. Times were materially changed for him, and he was no longer the minister whose continuance in office was deemed by the people essential to their welfare a year before. Deprived of the confidence of the King, embroiled with his colleagues,

and more ample issue, is to expose ourselves to great dangers; for the empire of the law has its measure, and this measure is the interest which men have to respect or to infringe it.

"The assignats will undoubtedly have characters of security which no paper-money ever had; none was ever created upon so valuable a pledge, clothed with so solid a security: that I am far from denying. The assignat, considered as a title of credit, has a positive and material value; this value of the assignat is precisely the same as that of the land which it represents; but still it must be admitted above all, that never will any national paper be upon a par with the metals; never will the supplementary sign of the first representative sign of wealth have the exact value of its model: the very title proves want, and want spreads alarm and distrust around it.

"Why will assignat-money be always below specie? In the first place, because there will always be doubts of the exact application of its proportions between the mass of the assignats and that of the national property; because there will long be uncertainty respecting the consummation of the sales; because no conception can be formed by what time two thousand millions of assignats, representing nearly the value of the domains, will be extinguished; because, money being put in competition with paper, both become a marketable commodity; and the more abundant any commodity is, the lower must be its price; because with money one will always be able to do without assignats, whilst it is impossible with assignats to do without money: and fortunately the absolute want of money will keep some specie in circulation, for it would be the greatest of all evils to be absolutely destitute of it."

Farther on the speaker added: "To create an assignat currency is not assuredly representing a metallic commodity, it is merely representing a metallic currency: now a metal that is merely money, whatever idea may be attached to it, cannot represent that which is at the same time money and merchandise. Assignat-money, however safe, however solid, it may be, is therefore an abstraction of paper-money; it is consequently but the free or forced sign, not of wealth but merely of credit. It thence follows that to give to paper the functions of money by making it like other money, the medium between all exchangeable objects, is changing the quantity recognised as unit, otherwise called in this matter the mint standard; it is operating in a moment what centuries scarcely operate in a state that is advancing in wealth; and if, to borrow the expression of a foreign writer, money performs in regard to the price of things the same function as degrees, minutes, and seconds, in regard to angles, or scales in regard to geographical maps and plans of all kinds, I ask what must be the result from this alteration in the common measure?"

After showing what the new money was, M. de Talleyrand predicted with singular precision the confusion which would result from it in private transactions.

"But, let us at length follow the assignats in their progress and see what course they will have to take. The reimbursed creditor then must either purchase lands with the assignats, or he must keep them, or employ them for other acquisitions. If he purchases lands, then your object will be fulfilled: I shall applaud with you the creation of assignats, because they will not be thrown into circulation; because, in short, they will only have made that which I propose to you to give to public credits, the faculty of being exchanged for public domains. But if this distrustful creditor prefers losing the interest by keeping an inactive title; if he converts assignats into metals for the purpose of hoarding them, or into bills on foreigners to carry them abroad; if these latter classes are much more numerous than the first; if, in short, the assignats remain a long time in circulation before they come to be extinguished in the chest of the sinking fund; if they are forced into currency and stop in the hands of persons who are obliged to take them at par, and who, owing nothing, cannot employ them but with loss; if they are the occasion of a great injustice done by all debtors to all creditors anterior to the passing of assignats at the par of money, whilst it will be contradicted in the security which it orders, since it will be impossible to oblige the sellers to take them at the par of specie, that is to say without raising the price of their commodities in proportion to the loss upon the assignats: how sorely then will this ingenious operation have disappointed the patriotism of those whose sagacity has devised, and whose integrity defends it! and to what inconsolable regret should we not be doomed!"

It cannot then be asserted that the National Assembly was wholly unaware of the possible result of its determination; but to these forebodings might be opposed one of those answers which one never dare give at the moment, but which would be peremptory and which become so in the sequel—the necessity of replenishing the exchequer and of dividing property.

excepting Montmorin, he was neglected by the Assembly, and not treated by it with that attention which he had a right to expect. Necker's error consisted in believing that reason is sufficient for all things, and that, combined with a medley of sentiment and logic, it could not fail to triumph over the infatuation of the aristocrats and the irritation of the patriots. Necker possessed that somewhat vain-glorious reason, which sits in judgment on the vagaries of the passions, and condemns them; but he lacked that other sort of reason, more lofty but less proud, which does not confine itself to condemning, but knows how to govern them also. Thus, placed in the midst of parties, he only irritated all, without being a bridle upon any. Left without friends, since the secession of Mounier and Lally, he had retained none but the useless Mallouet. He had offended the Assembly by reminding it continually and with reproaches of the most difficult of all duties—that of attending to the finances. He had moreover incurred ridicule by the manner in which he spoke of himself. His resignation was accepted with pleasure by all parties. His carriage was stopped as it was quitting the kingdom by the same populace which had before drawn him in triumph; and it was necessary to apply to the Assembly for an order directing that he should be allowed to go to Switzerland. He soon obtained this permission, and retired to Coppet, there to contemplate at a distance a Revolution which he was no longer qualified to observe closely or to guide.

The ministry was now reduced to as complete a cipher as the King, and chiefly busied itself with intrigues, which were either futile or culpable. St. Priest communicated with the emigrants; Latour du Pin lent himself to all the schemes of the military chiefs; Montmorin* possessed the esteem of the court but not its confidence, and he was employed in intrigues with the popular leaders with whom his moderation made him acquainted. The ministers were all denounced on the plea of new plots. "I too," exclaimed Cazalès, "I too would denounce them, if it were generous to attack such weak men; I would charge the minister of the finances with having kept the Assembly in the dark respecting the real resources of the state, and with not having directed a Revolution which he had provoked; I would charge the minister at war with having suffered the army to be disorganized; the minister of the interior with not having enforced the observance of the King's orders; all, in short, with their nullity and the cowardly advice given to their master." In-

* "Armand Marc Count de Montmorin St. Herem, minister of finance, and secretary of state, was one of the Assembly of Notables held at Versailles, and had the administration of foreign affairs at the time when the States-general opened. He was dismissed in 1789 with Necker, but was immediately recalled by order of the National Assembly. In September, 1790, when all his colleagues were dismissed, he retained his place, and even the portfolio of the interior was for a time confided to him. In April, 1791, he sent a circular letter to all the ministers at foreign courts, assuring their sovereigns that the King was wholly unrestrained, and sincerely attached to the new constitution. In the beginning of June, he was struck from the list of Jacobins, and was afterwards summoned to the bar for giving the King's passport when he fled to Varennes; but he easily cleared himself from this charge by proving that the passport had been taken out under a supposititious name. M. de Montmorin soon after this, tendered his resignation; yet though withdrawn from public life, he continued near the King, and, together with Bertrand de Molleville, Mallouet, and a few others, formed a kind of privy council, which suggested and prepared various plans for strengthening the monarchy. This conduct drew on him the inveterate hatred of the Jacobins, who attacked him and Bertrand as members of the Austrian committee. M. de Montmorin was one of the first victims who fell in the massacres of September."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"The unfortunate M. de Montmorin had taken refuge on the 10th of August at the house of a washerwoman in the fauxbourg St. Antoine. He was discovered in the early part of September by the imprudence of his hostess, who bought the finest fowls and the best fruit she could find, and carried them to her house, without taking any precautions to elude the observation of her neighbours. They soon suspected her of harbouring an aristocrat. This conjecture spread among the populace of the fauxbourg, who were almost all of them spies and agents of the Jacobins. M. de Montmorin was in consequence arrested, and conducted to the bar of the National Assembly. He answered the questions put to him in the most satisfactory manner; but his having concealed himself, and a bottle of laudanum having been found in his pocket, formed, said his enemies, a strong presumption that he was conscious of some crime. After being detained two days in the committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbaye; and a few days afterwards was murdered in a manner too shocking to mention; and his mangled body carried in triumph to the National Assembly."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

activity is a crime in the eyes of parties desirous of proceeding to their goal. Accordingly, the right side condemned the ministers not for what they had done, but for what they had not done. Cazalès and his supporters, though they condemned them, were nevertheless averse to applying to the King for their dismissal, because they regarded such an application as an infringement of the royal prerogative. The motion was not pressed; but the ministers successively resigned, excepting Montmorin, who alone was retained. Duport-du-Tertre, who was merely an advocate, was appointed keeper of the seals. Duportail, recommended to the King by Lafayette, succeeded Latour du Pin in the war department, and showed himself more favourably disposed towards the popular party. One of the measures taken by him was to deprive Bouillé of all the liberty which he assumed in his command, and especially of the power of displacing the troops at his pleasure;—a power which Bouillé employed, as we have seen, to prevent his soldiers from fraternizing with the people.

The King had studied the history of the English revolution with particular attention. He had always been powerfully struck by the fate of Charles I. and he could not help feeling sinister forebodings. He had particularly remarked the motive of Charles's condemnation. That motive was civil war. He had thence contracted an invincible horror of every measure that could produce bloodshed, and invariably opposed all the schemes of flight proposed by the Queen and the court.

During the summer which he passed at St. Cloud in 1790, he had opportunities enough for flight, but he never would listen to the mention of it. The friends of the constitution dreaded like him such a step, which seemed likely to lead to a civil war. The aristocrats alone desired it, because, in becoming masters of the King by withdrawing him from the Assembly, they flattered themselves with the prospect of governing in his name, and returning with him at the head of foreigners; not yet knowing that in such cases one can never go anywhere but in the rear. With the aristocrats were perhaps united some precocious imaginations, which already began to dream of a republic, which no one else yet thought of, and the name of which had never yet been mentioned, unless by the Queen in her fits of passion against Lafayette and the Assembly, whom she accused of urging it on with all their might. Lafayette, chief of the constitutional army and of all the sincere friends of liberty, kept incessant watch over the person of the monarch. Those two ideas, the departure of the King and civil war, were so strongly associated in all minds ever since the commencement of the Revolution, that such an event was considered as the greatest calamity that could be apprehended.

Meanwhile the expulsion of the ministry, which, if it had not the confidence of Louis XVI. was at least his choice, indisposed him towards the Assembly, and excited his fears for the total loss of the executive power. The new religious debates, to which the bad faith of the clergy gave rise on occasion of the civil constitution, affrighted his timid conscience, and thenceforward he thought of departure.* It was towards the end of 1790 that he wrote on the subject to Bouillé,

* "About this time Madame de Staël invented a plan for his Majesty's escape, which she communicated to M. de Montmorin in a letter that he showed me. The plan was as follows:—The estate of Lamotte, on the coast of Normandy, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, was to be sold. Madame de Staël proposed, that she should publicly give out that she had an intention to purchase it; and on this pretext, that she should make frequent journeys to that place, always in the same carriage, and accompanied in the same manner—namely, by a man of the same size and shape as the King, dressed in a gray coat, and a round periwig; by a waiting-woman resembling the Queen; by a child of the age and figure of the Dauphin; and by a footman on horseback. When these repeated journeys had accustomed the masters of the post-houses, and the postilions on the road, to the appearance of Madame de Staël and her travelling companions, she proposed that their places should be occupied by the King, Queen, and Dauphin, in the hope that they would arrive safely at the castle of Lamotte, where a fishing-vessel would be in readiness to transport them whither they pleased. This plan appeared to M. de Montmorin equally dangerous, romantic, and inconsistent with propriety; he therefore never mentioned it to the King, in the fear that his majesty, who regarded Madame de Staël as an enthusiast, would reject every future plan of escape as wild and extravagant, merely because a similar measure had been proposed by her."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

who at first opposed the scheme, but afterwards gave way, lest he should cause the unfortunate monarch to doubt his zeal. Mirabeau, on his part, had formed a plan for upholding the monarchy. In continual communication with Montmorin, he had hitherto undertaken nothing of consequence; because the court, hesitating between emigration and the national party, was not cordially disposed towards anything, and dreaded, above all other schemes, that which would subject it to a master so sincerely constitutional as Mirabeau. Nevertheless, at this period it cordially agreed with him. Everything was promised him if he succeeded. All possible resources were placed at his disposal. Talon, civil lieutenant to the Châtelet, and Laporte, recently summoned by the King to manage the civil list, had orders to see him and to aid in the execution of his plans. Mirabeau condemned the new constitution. For a monarchy it was, according to him, too democratic, and for a republic, there was a king too much. Observing, above all, the popular violence, which kept continually increasing, he resolved to set bounds to it. At Paris, under the rule of the mob and of an all-powerful Assembly, any attempt of this sort was impossible. He felt that there was but one alternative, to remove the King from Paris, and place him at Lyons. There the King could have explained himself: he could have energetically stated the reasons which caused him to condemn the new constitution, and have given another, which was ready prepared. At the same instant a first session would have been convoked. Mirabeau, in conferring in writing with the most popular members, had had the art to draw from all of them the acknowledgment of their disapprobation of an article in the existing constitution. On comparing these different opinions, it was found that the constitution was altogether condemned by its framers themselves.* He proposed to annex them to the manifesto of the King, to insure its effect and to cause the necessity for a new constitution to be the more strongly felt. We are not acquainted with all his means of execution: but we know that, through the policy of Talon, civil lieutenant, he had secured pamphleteers, and club and mob orators; and that by his immense correspondence he could have made sure of thirty-six departments of the south. No doubt he meant to gain the aid of Bouillé, but he would not place himself at the mercy of that general. While Bouillé should be encamped at Montmedy, he wished the King to stay at Lyons; and he himself was to be at Lyons or Paris, according to circumstances. A foreign prince, a friend of Mirabeau, saw Bouillé on behalf of the King, and communicated to him this plan, but unknown to Mirabeau,† who had no thought of Montmedy, for which place the King subsequently set out. Bouillé, struck by the genius of Mirabeau, declared that everything ought to be done to win such a man, and that for his own part he was ready to second him with all his means.

M. de Lafayette was unacquainted with this plan. Though sincerely attached to the person of the King, he had not the confidence of the court, and besides he excited the envy of Mirabeau, who was not desirous of having such a companion. M. de Lafayette, moreover, was known to pursue only the direct road; and this plan was too bold, it deviated too much from the legal course, to suit him. Be

* It is not possible that there should not be diversity of opinions in regard to a work composed collectively, and by a great number of persons. Unanimity having never taken place, excepting on certain very rare points, of course every part was disapproved by those who voted against it. Thus every article of the constitution of 1791 must have met with some disapprovers among the very authors of that constitution; the whole was nevertheless their real and incontestable work. What happened in this instance would have been inevitable in any deliberative body, and the expedient of Mirabeau was but a trick. It may even be said, that his procedure was far from delicate, but great allowance must be made for a man of mighty mind and dissolute manners, whom the morality of the aim rendered not over scrupulous in regard to that of the means. I say the morality of the aim, for Mirabeau sincerely believed in the necessity of a modified constitution; and, though his ambition and his petty personal rivalries contributed to keep him aloof from the popular party, he was sincere in his fear of anarchy. Others besides him dreaded the court and the aristocracy more than the people. Thus there were everywhere, according to the positions of parties, different fears, and everywhere true ones. Conviction changes with the points of view; and morality, that is to say, sincerity, is to be found alike on the most opposite sides.

† Bouillé, in his Memoirs, seems to believe that it was on the part of Mirabeau and the King that overtures were made to him. This is a mistake. Mirabeau was ignorant of this double-dealing, and had no intention of putting himself into Bouillé's power.

this as it may, Mirabeau wished to be the sole executer of his plan, and in fact he carried it on quite alone during the winter of 1790–1791. It is impossible to tell whether it would have succeeded, but thus much is certain, that without stemming the revolutionary torrent, it would at least have influenced its direction ; and that, though it would undoubtedly not have changed the inevitable result of the revolution, it would have modified events by its powerful opposition. It is still a question, however, whether, had he even succeeded in quelling the popular party, he could have made himself master of the aristocracy and of the court. One of his friends mentioned to him this last objection. "They have promised me everything," said Mirabeau. "And if they should not keep their word?"—"If they do not keep their word, I will soon turn them into a republic."

The principal articles of the civil constitution, such as the new circumscription of the bishoprics and the election of all the ecclesiastical functionaries, had been decreed. The King had referred to the Pope, who, after answering him in a tone half severe and half paternal, had appealed in his turn to the clergy of France. The clergy, availing itself of this occasion, alleged that spiritual interests were compromised by the measures of the Assembly. At the same time it circulated pastoral charges, declared that the displaced bishops would not quit their sees but by compulsion and force ; that they would hire houses and continue their ecclesiastical functions ; and that all who adhered faithfully to their religion ought to have recourse to them alone. The clergy intrigued particularly in La Vendée and in some of the southern departments, where it acted in concert with the emigrants. A federative camp had been formed at Jallez, where, under the apparent pretext of federation, the pretended federalists purposed to establish a centre of opposition to the measures of the Assembly. The popular party was exasperated at these proceedings ; and, strong in its power, weary of moderation, it resolved to resort to a decisive expedient. We have already seen what were the motives that had influenced the adoption of the civil constitution. The framers of that constitution were the most sincere Christians in the Assembly ; and these, irritated by an unjust resistance, resolved to overcome it.

The reader knows that a decree obliged all the public functionaries to take an oath to the new constitution. When this civic oath was discussed, the clergy endeavoured to make a distinction between the political constitution and the ecclesiastical constitution : but the Assembly had gone still farther. On this occasion it resolved to require of the ecclesiastics a rigorous oath, which should impose on them the necessity of retiring if they refused to take it, or of faithfully performing their duties if they did take it. It had the precaution to declare, that it meant not to do violence to consciences ; that it should respect the refusal of those who, considering religion as compromised by the new laws, would not take the oath ; but that it was desirous of knowing them that it might not consign the new bishoprics to their charge. In this course its motives were just and frank. It added to its decree, that those who should refuse to take the oath should be deprived of their functions and salary. Moreover, by way of setting the example, all the ecclesiastics who were deputies were required to take the oath in the Assembly itself, eight days after the sanction of the new decree.

The right side opposed this. Maury gave vent to all his violence, and did all that lay in his power to provoke interruption, that he might have ground for complaint. Alexandre Lameth, who filled the president's chair, maintained order while he spoke, and deprived him of the pleasure of being driven from the tribune. Mirabeau, more eloquent than ever, defended the Assembly. "You," he exclaimed, "the persecutors of religion! you, who have paid it so noble and so touching an homage in the most admirable of your decrees!—you, who devote to its worship part of the public revenue, of which your prudence and your justice have rendered you so economical!—you, who have summoned religion to assist in the division of the kingdom, and have planted the sign of the cross on all the boundaries of the departments!—you, in short, who know that God is as necessary to man as liberty!"

The Assembly decreed the oath. The King referred immediately to Rome.

The Bishop of Aix, who had at first opposed the civil constitution, feeling the necessity of a pacification, joined the King and some of the more moderate of his colleagues in soliciting the assent of the Pope. The emigrants at Turin and the opposing Bishops of France, wrote also to Rome, but in a directly contrary spirit, and the Pope, upon various pretexts, postponed his answer. The Assembly, irritated at these delays, insisted on having the sanction of the King, who, having made up his mind to comply, resorted to the usual stratagems of weakness. He wished to oblige the Assembly to use constraint towards him, that he might seem not to act freely. In fact, he expected a commotion, and then he hastened to give his sanction. As soon as the decree was sanctioned, the Assembly determined to put it in execution, and required its ecclesiastical members to take the oath in their places. Men and women who had until then shown very little attachment to religion, all at once made themselves extremely busy in provoking the refusal of the ecclesiastics.* Some of the bishops and some of the *curés* took the oath. The majority refused, with a feigned moderation and an apparent attachment to its principles. The Assembly nevertheless persisted in the nomination of new bishops and *curés*, and was cheerfully seconded by the administrations. The former ecclesiastical functionaries were at liberty to perform divine service apart, and those who were recognised by the state took their places in the churches. The dissenters at Paris hired the church of the Theatines for their place of worship. The Assembly permitted this, and the national guard protected them as much as possible from the fury of the populace, which did not always allow them to perform their devotions in quiet.

The Assembly has been condemned for having occasioned this schism, and for having added a new cause of division to those which before existed. In the first place, as to its rights, it must be evident to every just mind that the Assembly did not exceed them in directing its attention to the temporalities of the Church. As for considerations of prudence, we may affirm that it added little to the difficulties of its position. It is evident that the court, the nobility, and the clergy, had lost enough, and the people had gained enough, to be irreconcilable enemies, and to impel the Revolution to its inevitable issue, even without the effects of the new schism. And besides, when the Assembly was abolishing all abuses, could it suffer those of the ancient ecclesiastical organization to remain? Could it suffer idle persons to live in abundance; while pastors, the only useful members of the profession, had scarcely the necessaries of existence?

This last struggle completed the work of universal division. While the clergy excited the provinces of the west and south, the refugees at Turin made several attempts, which were frustrated by their weakness and their anarchy. A conspiracy

* Ferrières, an eye-witness of the intrigues of that period, mentions those which were employed to prevent the oath of the priests. This page appears to me too characteristic not to be quoted:

"The bishops and the revolutionists intrigued and were extremely busy, the one to cause the oath to be taken, the other to prevent it. Both parties were sensible of the influence which the line of conduct pursued by the ecclesiastics of the Assembly would have in the provinces. The bishops visited their *curés*; devotees of both sexes set themselves in motion. Nothing was talked of in every company but the oath of the clergy. One would have supposed that the destiny of France and the fate of every Frenchman depended on its being taken or not taken. Men the most free in their religious opinions, and the most notoriously immoral women, were suddenly transformed into rigid theologians, into ardent missionaries of the purity and integrity of the Romish faith.

"*The Journal de Fonteney*, *l'Ami du Roi*, and *la Gazette de Durosoir*, employed their usual weapons—exaggeration, falsehood, calumny. Numberless tracts were distributed, in which the civil constitution of the clergy was treated as schismatic, heretical, and destructive of religion. The devotees hawked about pamphlets from house to house; they entreated, conjured, threatened, according to particular dispositions and characters. To some they represented the clergy triumphant, the Assembly dissolved, the prevaricating ecclesiastics stripped of their benefices, confined in their houses of correction; the faithful ones covered with glory and loaded with wealth. The Pope was about to launch his anathemas at a sacrilegious Assembly and at the apostate priests. The people deprived of the sacraments would rise; the foreign powers would enter France, and that structure of iniquity and villany would crumble to pieces upon its own foundations."—*Ferrières*, tom. ii., p. 198.

was set on foot at Lyons. The arrival of the princes, and an abundant distribution of favours were there announced. Lyons was even promised to be made the capital of the kingdom, instead of Paris, which had incurred the displeasure of the court. The King was apprized of these schemes, and, not expecting success from them, perhaps not even desiring it, for he despaired of governing the victorious aristocracy, he did all that lay in his power to prevent it. This conspiracy was discovered about the end of 1790, and its principal agents were delivered up to justice.

This last reverse determined the emigrants to remove from Turin to Coblentz, where they settled in the territory of the Elector of Treves, and at the expense of his authority, which they almost entirely usurped. We have already seen that these nobles, who had fled from France, were divided into two parties. The one, consisting of old servants, pampered with favours, and composing what was called the court, would not, while supported by the provincial nobility, consent to share influence with the latter, and for this reason they meant to have recourse to foreigners alone. The others, men relying more upon their swords, proposed to raise the provinces of the south, by rousing their fanaticism. The former carried their point, and repaired to Coblentz, on the northern frontier, to wait there for the foreign aid. In vain did those who wished to fight in the south insist that aid ought to be sought from Piedmont, Switzerland, and Spain, faithful and disinterested allies, and that a distinguished leader should be left in their vicinity. The aristocracy, directed by Calonne, was adverse to this. That aristocracy had not changed since leaving France. Frivolous, haughty, incapable, and prodigal, at Coblentz as at Versailles, it displayed its vices still more conspicuously amidst the difficulties of exile and of civil war. "You must have citizens in your commission," it said to those gallant men who offered to fight in the south, and who asked under what title they were to serve.* Some subordinate agents only were left at Turin; these, actuated by mutual jealousy, thwarted each other's efforts, and prevented the success of every attempt. The Prince of Condé,† who seemed to have retained all the

* M. Fromont relates the following circumstance in his work already quoted:

"In this state of things, the princes conceived the plan of forming in the interior of the Kingdom, as soon as possible, legions of all the loyal subjects of the King, to be employed till the troops of the line should be completely reorganized. Desirous of being at the head of the royalists whom I had directed and commanded in 1789 and 1790, I wrote to Monsieur the Count d'Artois, begging his royal highness to grant me the commission of colonel-commandant, worded in such a manner that every royalist who, like myself, should raise a sufficient number of good citizens to form a legion, might have reason to flatter himself that he should obtain the like favour. Monsieur the Count d'Artois applauded the idea, and listened favourably to my application; but the members of the council were not of his opinion: they thought it so strange that a commoner should aspire to a military commission, that one of them angrily said to me, 'Why did you not ask for a bishopric?' The only answer I gave to the questioner was a loud burst of laughter, which somewhat disconcerted his gravity. Meanwhile, the question was discussed at the house of M. de Flaschlanden; the persons engaged in this deliberation were of opinion that these new corps ought to be called civic legions (*legions bourgeoises*). I remarked to them, that under this denomination they would merely supply the place of the national guards; that the princes could not make them march to any quarter where they might be needed, because they would allege that they were bound only to defend their own hearths; that it was to be feared that the factions would find means to set them at loggerheads with the troops of the line; that with empty words they had armed the people against the depositories of the public authority; that it would therefore be more politic to follow their example, and to give to these new corps the denomination of *royal militia*; that . . . . . 'No, no, sir,' said the Bishop of Arras, suddenly interrupting me, 'the word *bourgeois* must be inserted in your commission;' and the Baron de Flaschlanden, who drew it up, inserted the word *bourgeois* accordingly."—*Recueil de divers Ecrits relatifs à la Revolution*, p. 62.

† "Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, was born at Chantilly in 1736. He was the only son of the Duke of Bourbon and the Princess of Hesse-Rheinfels. In 1753 he married the Princess of Rohan-Soubise, who in 1756 bore him the Prince of Bourbon-Condé. In the seven years' war he distinguished himself by his skill and courage, and in 1762 gained a victory at Johannisberg over the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. In the Revolution, he emigrated, in 1789, to Brussels, and thence to Turin. He afterwards formed a little corps of emigrant nobility, which joined the Austrian army under Wurmser. In 1795 he entered with his corps into the English service. In 1797 he entered the Russian service, and marched with his corps to Russia, where he was hospitably received by Paul I. In 1800, after the separation of Russia from the coalition, he

energy of his branch of the royal family, was not in favour with part of the nobility; he took post near the Rhine, with all those who, like himself, were not disposed to intrigue but to fight.

The emigration became daily more considerable, and the roads were covered with nobles, who imagined that they performed a sacred duty by hastening to take arms against their country. Even women deemed it incumbent on them to attest their horror of the Revolution by forsaking the soil of France. Among a nation which is so easily led away by example it became the fashion to emigrate. People hardly gave themselves the trouble to take leave, so short did they consider the journey, and so speedy their return.* The revolutionists of Holland, betrayed by their general, abandoned by their allies, had yielded in a few days; those of Brabant had not held out much longer: so too, according to these imprudent emigrants, would the French Revolution be quelled in one short campaign, and absolute power would once more flourish in subjugated France.

The Assembly, irritated rather than alarmed at such presumption, had proposed measures, but they had always been deferred. The King's aunts, finding their consciences compromised at Paris, thought to insure their salvation by repairing to the Pope. They set out for Rome, and were stopped on the way by the municipality of Arnai-le-Duc. The people immediately thronged to the residence of Monsieur, who also was said to be preparing to depart. Monsieur appeared, and promised not to forsake the King. The people were pacified, and the Assembly took into consideration the departure of Mesdames. The deliberation had lasted a considerable time, when Menou put an end to it by this sally: "All Europe," said he, "will be astonished to learn that a great Assembly has spent several days in deciding whether two old women shall hear mass at Paris or at Rome." The committee of constitution was nevertheless directed to present a law on the residence of the public functionaries and on emigration. This decree, adopted after warm discussions, rendered it obligatory on public functionaries to reside in the place of their functions. The King, as the highest of all, was required not to withdraw himself from the legislative body during the session, and at other times not to leave the kingdom. The penalty for all the functionaries, in case of their violating this law, was dismissal from office. Another decree relative to emigration was demanded from the committee.

Meanwhile the King, unable to endure the constraint imposed upon him, and the reductions of power to which he was subjected by the Assembly, enjoying moreover no peace of mind since the new decrees relative to priests, had resolved upon flight. The whole winter had been devoted to preparations for it: the zeal of Mirabeau was urged, and great promises were held out to him if he should succeed in setting the royal family at liberty. Mirabeau prosecuted his plan with the utmost activity. Lafayette had just broken with the Lameths. The latter thought him too much attached to the court; and his integrity being, unlike that of Mirabeau, above suspicion, they found fault with his understanding, and alleged

re-entered the English service. He returned to Paris in 1814; and the next year fled with the King to Ghent. He died at Paris in 1818. His grandson was the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien." —*Cyclopædia Americana.* E.

* "Many of the emigrants had joined the army in a state of complete destitution. Others were spending improvidently the last relics of their fortunes. Several corps, composed wholly of officers, served as private soldiers. The naval officers were mounted; the country gentlemen formed themselves into companies, distinguished by the names of their native provinces. All were in good spirits, for the camp life was free and joyous. Some became drawers of water, others hewers of wood; others provided and dressed the provisions, and everywhere the inspiring note of the trumpet resounded. The camp, in fact, was a perfect kingdom. There were princes dwelling in wagons; magistrates on horseback; missionaries preaching the Bible and administering justice. The poor nobles conformed with careless philosophy to this altered state of things, cheerfully enduring present privations in the sanguine expectation of speedily regaining all that they had lost. They confidently believed that the end of autumn would find them restored to their splendid homes, to their groves, to their forests, and to their old dove-cotes."—*Chateaubriand's Memoirs of the Duke de Berri.* E.

that he suffered himself to be duped. The enemies of the Lameths accused them of being jealous of the military power of Lafayette, as they had envied the rhetorical power of Mirabeau. They joined, or seemed to join, the friends of the Duke of Orleans,* and it was asserted that they wished to secure for one of them the command of the national guard. It was Charles Lameth who was said to be ambitious of obtaining this appointment. To this motive were attributed the incessantly recurring difficulties that were subsequently thrown in the way of Lafayette.

On the 28th of February the populace, instigated it is said by the Duke of Orleans, repaired to the castle of Vincennes, which the municipality had appropriated for the reception of prisoners, with whom the prisons of Paris were too much crowded. The castle was attacked as a new Bastille. Lafayette hastened to the spot in time, and dispersed the populace of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, who were led upon this expedition by Santerre.† While he was restoring order in this quarter, other difficulties were preparing for him at the Tuileries. On the rumour of a commotion, the dependents of the palace, to the number of several hundred had repaired thither. They carried concealed weapons, such as hunting-knives and daggers. The national guard, astonished at this concourse, took alarm, and disarmed and maltreated some of them. Lafayette having arrived, caused the palace to be cleared, and seized the weapons. The circumstance was immediately rumoured abroad. It was said that daggers had been found upon them, whence they were afterwards called knights of the dagger. They asserted that they had only come to defend the person of the King, which was threatened. In reply, they were accused of an intention to carry off the King; and the affair ended, as usual, in reciprocal calumnies. This scene determined the real position of Lafayette. It was clearly shown on this occasion, that, placed between the most opposite parties, he was there to protect both the person of the King and the constitution. His double victory increased his popularity, his power, and the hatred of his enemies. Mirabeau, who wrongfully encouraged the distrust of the court towards him, represented his conduct as profoundly hypocritical. Under the appearance of moderation and hostility to all parties, it tended, according to him, to usurpation. In his spleen, he described the Lameths as wicked and senseless men, associated with the Duke of Orleans, and having no more than about thirty partisans in the Assembly. As for the right side, he declared that he could make nothing of it, but that he relied on the three or four hundred members who were bound by no engagements, but decided from the impression of reason and eloquence which he produced at the moment.

There was nothing true in this representation but his estimate of the respective force of the parties, and his opinions concerning the means of directing the Assembly. He virtually governed it, by influencing all who had not bound them-

* The three brothers, Theodore, Charles, and Alexandre Lameth, were peculiarly called on to defend the cause of monarchy, for they had been loaded with benefits by the court, and educated under the special patronage of the Queen, to whom they had been recommended by their mother, who was the sister of Marshal Broglio.—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† Santerre, a brewer in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, at Paris, possessed a boldness and energy which gave him great weight in his own neighbourhood. Though ignorant, he knew well how to address a mob, which made him courted by the Orleanists. On the taking of the Bastille, he distinguished himself at the head of the forces of his fauxbourg, and when the national guard was formed, he was appointed commander of a battalion. In 1792 he began to obtain decided influence with the people, and on the 10th of August, becoming commander of the national guard, he conducted the King to the Temple. Yet, notwithstanding his democratic zeal, he was not considered fit to direct the massacres in the prisons. Marat said of him, that he was a man without any decided character. On the 11th of December he conducted the King to the bar of the National Convention, on the occasion of his trial; and in January, 1793, commanded the troops who superintended his execution. It was Santerre who interrupted the unfortunate monarch when he attempted to address the people, by ordering the drums to be beat. Wishing to figure as a warrior, Santerre departed, with 14,000 men, to fight the royalists in La Vendée; he was, however, continually unsuccessful; and on one occasion, it having been reported that he was killed, this epitaph was made on him: "Here lies General Santerre, who had nothing of Mars but his beer." Santerre survived the troubles of the Revolution, and died in obscurity.—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

selves by engagements. On this same day, the 28th of February, he exercised his sway almost for the last time, displayed his hatred to the Lameths, and brought his formidable power to bear against them.

The law relative to emigration was about to be discussed. Chapelier presented it in the name of the committee, which, he said, participated in the general indignation against those Frenchmen who were forsaking their country; but he declared that, after several days' consideration, the committee had satisfied itself that it was impossible to make any law concerning emigration. It was in reality a difficult thing to do. It was necessary in the first place to inquire if they had a right to attach men to the soil. They certainly had a right to do so, if the welfare of the country demand it. But it was requisite to make a distinction between the motives of travellers, which became inquisitorial. It was requisite to make a distinction between their quality as Frenchmen or foreigners, emigrants or mere mercantile men. Such a law then was extremely difficult, if not impossible. Chapelier added that the committee, in compliance with the directions of the Assembly, had nevertheless drawn up one, which he would read, if permitted, but which he had no hesitation in declaring violated all principles. From all quarters issued cries of "Read!" "Don't read!" A great number of deputies asked leave to speak. Mirabeau demanded it in his turn, obtained permission, and, what is still more, commanded silence. He read a very eloquent letter, addressed some time before to Frederick William, in which he advocated the liberty of emigration as one of the most sacred rights of man, who, not being attached by roots to the soil, ought not to be attached to it by anything but by happiness. Mirabeau, perhaps to gratify the court, but still more from conviction, repelled as tyrannical every measure against the liberty of entering, or withdrawing from, the country. A bad use was no doubt made of this liberty at the moment; but the Assembly, confident in its strength, had winked at so many abuses of the press committed against itself, had encountered so many vain attempts, and so victoriously overthrown them, that one might safely advise it to persist in the same system.

Mirabeau's opinion was applauded, but the members continued to insist on the reading of the proposed law. Chapelier at length read it. It suggested, in case of disturbances, the appointment of a commission of three members, which should appoint by name, and at their pleasure, those who were to be at liberty to leave the kingdom. At this cutting irony, which denounced the impossibility of a law, murmurs arose. "Your murmurs have soothed me," exclaimed Mirabeau; "your hearts respond to mine, and oppose this absurd tyranny. As for me, I hold myself released from every oath towards those who shall be infamous enough to admit of a dictatorial commission."—Cries were raised on the left side. "Yes," he repeated, "I swear . . . ." He was again interrupted. "That popularity," he resumed in a voice of thunder, "to which I have aspired, and which I have enjoyed as well as others, is not a feeble reed; I will thrust it deep into the earth, and I will make it shoot up in the soil of justice and reason." Applauses burst forth from all quarters. "I swear," added the orator, "if a law against emigration is voted, I swear to disobey you."

He descended from the tribune, after astounding the Assembly, and overawing his enemies. The discussion nevertheless continued. Some were for adjournment, that they might have time for making a better law; others insisted that they should forthwith declare that none should be made, in order to pacify the people, and to put an end to the ferment. Murmurs, shouts, applauses, succeeded. Mirabeau asked, and seemed to require, to be heard. "What right of dictatorship is it," cried M. Goupil, "that M. de Mirabeau exercises here?"—Mirabeau, without heeding him, hurried to the tribune. "I have not given you permission to speak," said the president. "Let the Assembly decide." But the Assembly listened without deciding. "I beg my interrupters," said Mirabeau, "to remember that I have all my life combated tyranny, and that I will combat it wherever I find it." As he uttered these words he cast his eyes from the right to the left. Loud applause followed his words. He resumed. "I beg M. Goupil to recollect that he was under a mistake some time since in regard to a Cataline, whose dictator-

ship he this day attacks ;* I beg the Assembly to remark that the question of adjournment, though apparently simple, involves others: for example, it presupposes that a law is to be made." Fresh murmurs arose on the left. "Silence! ye thirty voices!" exclaimed the speaker, fixing his eyes on the place of Barnave and the Lameths. "However," added he, "if it is wished, I too will vote for the adjournment, on condition that it be decreed that, from this time until the expiration of the adjournment, there shall be no sedition." Unanimous acclamations followed the concluding words. The adjournment was nevertheless carried, but by so small a majority that the result was disputed, and a second trial demanded.

Mirabeau, on this occasion, was particularly striking by his boldness. Never, perhaps, had he more imperiously overruled the Assembly. But these were his last triumphs. His end approached. Presentiments of death mingled with his vast projects, and sometimes subdued his flights of fancy. His conscience, however was satisfied ; the public esteem was joined with his own, and assured him that, if he had not yet done enough for the welfare of the state, he had at least done enough for his own glory. Philosophy and gaiety divided his last moments between them. Pale, and with his eyes deeply sunk in their orbits, he appeared quite different in the tribune. Moreover, he was subject to frequent and sudden fainting fits. Excess in pleasure and in business, together with the excitement of the tribune, had in a short time undermined his vigorous constitution. Baths, containing a solution of sublimate, had produced that greenish tint which was attributed to poison.† The court was alarmed ; all parties were astonished, and, before his death, people inquired the cause of it. On his last public appearance he spoke five different times, left the Assembly exhausted, and never afterwards went abroad. The bed of death received him, and he left it only for the Pantheon. He had enjoined Cabanis not to call in any physicians ; he was, nevertheless, disobeyed, and they found that death was approaching, and that it had already seized his lower extremities. His head was last attacked, as if nature had decreed that his genius should continue to shine till the very last moment. An immense crowd collected around his abode, and filled all the avenues in the deepest silence. The court sent messenger after messenger; the bulletins of his health were transmitted from mouth to mouth, and each progressive stage of his disorder excited fresh grief. He himself, surrounded by his friends, expressed some regret at the interruption of his labours, and some pride at what he had accomplished. "Support," said he to his servant, "support this head, the greatest in France." He was affected by the sympathy of the people ; and the visit of his enemy, Barnave, who called upon him in the name of the Jacobins, excited in him a soothing emotion. He bestowed some

* M. Goupil, when attacking Mirabeau upon a former occasion, had exclaimed with the right side, "Cataline is at our doors!"

† The author of the *Mémoires d'un Pair de France* positively asserts that Mirabeau was poisoned. He says, that in 1793, Robespierre, at a moment when he was off his guard, ventured to boast of the share which he had taken in that crime. "Two parties," he adds, "were then labouring to accomplish the ruin of the King ; a third wished it without declaring itself: all of them were concerned to see that Louis XVI. inclined to a cordial reconciliation with the constitution, and all dreaded the sound advice which Mirabeau had it in his power to give him. It was well known that this man was the only person capable of directing affairs in such a manner as to keep the factions within the limits which they hoped to pass. At the issue of any attempt to strip him of his popularity was uncertain, it was thought better to despatch him ; but as no assassin was to be found, it was necessary to have recourse to poison. Marat furnished the receipt for it ; it was prepared under his superintendence, and he answered for its effect. How to administer it was the next question. At length it was resolved to choose the opportunity of a dinner, at which the poisonous ingredients should be introduced into the bread, or wine, or certain dishes of which Mirabeau was known to be fond. Robespierre and Petion undertook to see to the execution of this atrocious scheme, and were assisted by Fabre d'Eglantine and two or three other subordinate Orleanists. Mirabeau had no suspicion of this perfidy ; but its effects were manifested immediately after a party of pleasure, at which he had indulged in great intemperance. He was soon aware that he was poisoned, and told his intimate friends so, and especially Cabanis, to whom he said, 'You seek the cause of my death in my physical excesses ; you will find it rather in the hatred borne me by those who wish for the overthrow of Franee, or those who are afraid of my ascendancy over the minds of the King and Queen.' It was impossible to drive it out of his head that his death was not natural, but great pains were taken to prevent this opinion from getting abroad." E.

more thoughts on public affairs. The Assembly was about to direct its attention to the right of making wills. He sent for M. de Talleyrand, and put into his hands a speech which he had just written. "It will be curious," said he, "to hear a man speaking against wills who is no more, and who has just made his own." The court had, in fact, requested him to do so, promising to pay all the legacies. Extending his views over Europe, and foreseeing the plans of England, "That Pitt," said he, "is the minister of preparations; he governs with threats; I would give him some trouble if I should live." The priest of his parish came to offer his attendance, which he politely declined, saying, with a smile, that he should gladly have accepted it, if he had not in his house his ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of Autun. He desired the windows to be opened. "My friend," said he to Cabanis, "I shall die to-day. All that can now be done is to envelop oneself in perfumes, to crown oneself with flowers, to surround oneself with music, that one may sink quietly into everlasting sleep." Acute pains from time to time interrupted these calm and dignified observations. "You have promised," said he to his friends, "to spare me needless suffering." So saying, he earnestly begged for opium. As it was refused, he demanded it with his accustomed violence. To quiet him, they resorted to deception, and handed him a cup which they said contained opium. He took it with composure, swallowed the draught which he believed to be mortal, and appeared satisfied. In a moment afterwards he expired.* This was on the 20th of April, 1791. The tidings soon reached the court, the city, and the Assembly. All parties had hope in him, and all, excepting the envious, were filled with grief. The Assembly suspended its proceedings; a general mourning was ordered, and a magnificent funeral prepared. A certain number of deputies was asked for. "We will all go!" they exclaimed. The church of St. Genevieve was converted into a Pantheon, with this inscription, which at the moment that I record these facts, no longer exists.

AUX GRANDS HOMMES LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE.†

Mirabeau was the first admitted into it, and placed by the side of Descartes. His funeral took place on the following day. All the authorities, the department, the municipalities, the popular societies, the Assembly, and the army, accompanied the procession. This mere orator obtained more honours than had ever been paid to the pompous coffins formerly conveyed to St. Denis. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, who, after boldly attacking and vanquishing the ancient race, dared to direct his efforts against the new, which had assisted him to conquer; who checked them with his voice, and made them respect him even while he employed his energies against them; that man, in short, who did his duty from reason, and from the promptings of genius, but not for the sake of a handful of gold; and who had the singular honour, when the popularity of all other statesmen terminated in the disgust of the people, to see his yield to death alone. But would he have infused resignation into the heart of the court, moderation into the hearts of the ambitious?—would he have said to the popular tribunes, who sought to shine in their turn, "Remain in these obscure fauxbourgs?"—would he have said to Danton, that second Mirabeau of the populace,‡ "Stop in this section, and ascend

* "Mirabeau bore much of his character imprinted on his person and features. 'Figure to your mind,' he said, describing his own countenance to a lady who knew him not, 'a tiger who has had the small-pox.' When he talked of confronting his opponents in the Assembly, his favourite phrase was, 'I will show them La Hure,' that is, the boar's head, meaning his own tusked and shaggy countenance."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "To great men the grateful country."

‡ "Georges Jacques Danton, an advocate by profession, was born at Arcissur-Arbe, October 26, 1759, and beheaded April 5, 1794. His external appearance was striking. His stature was colossal; his frame athletic; his features harsh, large, and disagreeable; his voice shook the Assembly; his eloquence was vehement; and his imagination as gigantic as his person, which made every one recoil, and at which, says St. Just, 'Freedom herself trembled.' He was one of the founders of the club of the Cordeliers. His importance increased in 1792, when he became one of the instigators of the events of the 20th of June, and a leader on the 10th of August. After the fall of Louis XVI. Danton was made minister of justice, and usurped the appointments of officers in the

no higher?" We cannot tell: but in that case all wavering interests would have placed themselves in his hands and have relied upon him. Long was the want of his presence felt. In the confusion of the disputes which followed, the eye would turn to the place which he had occupied, and seemed to seek him who had been accustomed to terminate them with a victorious word. "Mirabeau is no longer here," exclaimed Maury one day, in ascending the tribune; "I shall not be prevented from speaking."

The death of Mirabeau deprived the court of all courage. Fresh events occurred to accelerate the flight of the royal family which it had resolved upon. On the 18th of April the King intended to go to St. Cloud. A report was spread, that, as he did not choose to employ a priest who had taken the oath for the duties of Easter, he had resolved to keep away during the Passion week. Others alleged that his intention was flight. The populace immediately collected and stopped the horses. Lafayette hastened to the spot, besought the King to remain in his carriage, assuring him that he would have a passage cleared for him. The King,

army and departments. He thus raised up a great number of creatures wholly devoted to his views. Money flowed from all sides into his hands, and was profusely squandered on his partisans. His violent measures led to the September massacres. The invasion of Champagne by the Prussians spread consternation through Paris; and Danton alone preserved his courage. He assumed the administration of the state; prepared measures of defence; called on all Frenchmen capable of bearing arms to march against the enemy; and prevented the removal of the Assembly beyond the Loire. From this time forward he was hated by Robespierre, who could never pardon the superiority which Danton had shown on this occasion. On the occasion of the Festival of Reason, in which the Hebertists acted a conspicuous part, Danton declared himself against the attack on the ministers of religion, and subsequently united with Robespierre to bring Hebert and his partisans to the scaffold. But their connexion was not of long duration. Danton wished to overthrow the despotism of Robespierre, who, in his turn, was anxious to get rid of a dangerous rival. Danton was accordingly denounced to the committee of safety by St. Just, and imprisoned with his adherents in the Luxembourg. When he was transferred thence to the Conciergerie, he appeared deeply mortified at having been duped by Robespierre. On his trial, he said, composedly, 'I am Danton, sufficiently well known in the Revolution; I shall soon pass to nothingness; but my name will live in the Pantheon of history.' He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice in a conspiracy for the restoration of monarchy, and his large property was confiscated. He mounted the car with courage; his head was elevated, his look commanding and full of pride. On ascending the scaffold, he was for a moment softened. 'Oh, my wife, my dear wife, shall I never see you again?' he said, but checked himself hastily, and exclaimed, 'Courage, Danton! no weakness.' He was thirty-five years old at the time of his death."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

"During the short period that elapsed before his execution, Danton's mind, in a distracted state, reverted to the innocence of his earlier years. He spoke incessantly about trees, flowers, and the country. Then giving way to unavailing regret, he exclaimed, 'It was just a year ago that I was the means of instituting the revolutionary tribunal; may God and man forgive me for what I then did; but it was not that it might become the scourge of humanity.' When his sentence was read to him in his cell, 'We are sacrificed,' said Danton, 'to a few dastardly brigands, but I drag Robespierre after me in my fall.' "—*Alison.* E.

"Danton had sold himself to the court, on condition that they would purchase from him, for 100,000 livres, his place of advocate, which, after the suppression, was only worth 10,000 livres. Lafayette met Danton at M. de Montmorin's the same evening that the bargain was concluded. He was a man ready to sell himself to all parties. While he was making incendiary motions in the Jacobins, he was their spy at court, where he regularly reported whatever occurred. On the Friday previous to the 10th of August, 50,000 crowns were given him, and Madame Elizabeth exclaimed, 'We are tranquil, for we may depend on Danton.' Lafayette was apprized of the first payment, but not of the ensuing ones. Danton spoke of it himself at the Hôtel de Ville, and, endeavouring to justify himself, said, 'General, I am a greater monarchist than you are yourself.' He was, nevertheless, one of the leaders of the 10th of August."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

"Danton was sometimes denominated the Mirabeau, sometimes the Alcibiades of the rabble. He may be said to have resembled both (with the differences only of the patrician order and the populace) in his tempestuous passions, popular eloquence, dissipation, and debts, like the one; his ambition, his daring and inventive genius, like the other. He exerted his faculties, and indulged his voluptuary indolence alternately, and by starts. His conceptions were isolated, but complete in themselves, and of terrific efficacy as practical agents in revolutions. Danton's ambition was not personal. He would freely sacrifice himself for the republic or his party. He was inhuman, not so much from instinctive cruelty, as from a careless prodigality of blood. He viewed the Revolution as a great game, in which men played for their lives. He took those he won as freely as he would have paid those he lost."—*British and Foreign Review.* E.

nevertheless, alighted, and would not permit any attempt to be made. It was his old policy not to appear to be free. By the advice of his ministers, he repaired to the Assembly to complain of the insult which he had just received. The Assembly greeted him with its ordinary warmth, promising to do everything that depended on it to insure his liberty. Louis XVI. withdrew, applauded by all sides excepting the right side.

On the 23d of April, agreeably to the advice given to him, he ordered a letter to be written to the foreign ambassadors by M. de Montmorin in which he contradicted the intentions imputed to him of leaving the country, declaring to the powers that he had taken an oath to the constitution which he was determined to keep, and proclaiming as his enemies all who should insinuate the contrary. The expressions of this letter were voluntarily exaggerated, that it might appear to have been extorted by violence. This the King himself acknowledged to the envoy of the Emperor Leopold. That prince was then travelling in Italy, and was at this moment in Mantua. Calonne was in negotiation with him. An envoy, M. Alexandre de Durfort, came from Mantua to the King and Queen to learn their real disposition. He first questioned them concerning the letter addressed to the ambassadors, and they replied that he might see from the language that it was wrung from them. He then inquired what were their hopes, and they answered that they had none since the death of Mirabeau; lastly, he wished to know their disposition towards the Count d'Artois, and they assured him that it could not be more favourable.

In order to comprehend the motive of these questions, it should be known that the Baron de Breteuil was the declared enemy of Calonne: that his enmity had not ceased at the time of the emigration; and that, charged with the full powers of Louis XVI.* to the court of Vienna, he crossed all the proceedings of the princes. He assured Leopold that the King would not consent to be saved by the emigrants, because he dreaded their rapacity, and that the Queen personally had quarrelled with Count d'Artois. He always proposed for the welfare of the throne the very contrary to what Calonne proposed, and he neglected nothing to destroy the effect of this new negotiation. The Count de Durfort returned to Mantua, and on the 20th of May, 1791, Leopold promised to set in motion thirty-five thousand men in Flanders, and fifteen thousand in Alsace. He declared that a like number of Swiss should march upon Lyons, as many Piedmontese upon Dauphiné, and that Spain should assemble twenty thousand men. The Emperor promised the co-operation of the King of Prussia and the neutrality of England. A protest was to be drawn up in the name of the house of Bourbon, and signed by the King of Naples, the King of Spain, the Infant of Parma, and the expatriated princes. Until then the utmost secrecy was to be observed. It was recommended to Louis XVI. not to think of withdrawing, though he had expressed a desire to do so. Breteuil, on the contrary, advised the King to set out. It is possible that this advice was well meant on both sides. Still it must be remarked that it was given with an eye to the interest of each. Breteuil, with a view to counteract Calonne's negotiation at Mantua, recommended departure; and Calonne, whose rule would have been at an end if Louis XVI. had removed beyond the frontiers, caused it to be intimated to him that he ought to remain. Be this as it may, the King resolved to set out, and he frequently said with displeasure, "It is Breteuil who insists on it."† Accordingly he wrote to Bouillé that he was determined to wait no longer. It was not his intention to leave the kingdom, but to retire to Montmedy, where he might, in case of need, be supported by Luxemburg, and receive foreign aid. The Chalons road, by Clermont and Varennes, was preferred, contrary to the advice of Bouillé. All the preparations were made for starting on the 20th of June. The general assembled the troops on which he could place most reliance, prepared a camp at Montmedy, collected forage, and alleged movements which he perceived on the frontiers as a pretext for all these dispositions. The Queen took upon herself all

* See Bertrand de Molleville on this subject. † Idem.

the preparations from Paris to Chalons, and Bouillé from Chalons to Montmedy. Small detachments of cavalry, upon pretext of escorting money, were to proceed to different points and receive the King on his passage. Bouillé himself purposed to advance to some distance from Montmedy. The Queen had secured a private door for quitting the palace. The royal family was to travel by a foreign name, and with a fictitious passport. Everything was arranged for the 20th, but some alarm caused the journey to be deferred until the 21st, a delay which proved fatal to this unfortunate family. M. de Lafayette knew nothing whatever of the plan, nay, even M. de Montmorin, though possessing the confidence of the court, was entirely ignorant of it: the secret was entrusted to those persons only who were indispensable for its execution. Rumours of flight had been circulated, either because the scheme had transpired, or because it was one of those alarms which are so frequently raised. At any rate, the committee of research had been apprized of it, and the vigilance of the national guard had been in consequence increased.

In the evening of the 21st of June, the King, the Queen, Madame Elizabeth,* and Madame de Tourzel, governess of the royal children, disguised themselves, and successively quitted the palace. Madame de Tourzel proceeded with the children to the Petit Carrousel, and got into a carriage driven by M. de Fersen, a young foreign gentleman, disguised as a coachman. The King soon joined them. But the Queen who had gone away with a life-guardsman, occasioned them all the utmost anxiety. Neither herself nor her guide was acquainted with the streets of Paris; she lost her way, and it was an hour before she found the Petit Carrousel. On her way thither she met the carriage of M. de Lafayette, whose attendants walked by it with torches. She concealed herself beneath the wickets of the Louvre, and, having escaped this danger, reached the carriage where she was awaited with extreme impatience. The whole family, being now together, lost no time in setting out. They arrived, after a long ride, at the Porte St. Martin, and mounted a berline with six horses stationed there to wait for them. Madame de Tourzel, by the name of Madame de Korff, was to pass for a mother travelling with her children; and the King for her valet-de-chambre. Three of the life-guards, in disguise, were to precede the carriage as couriers or to follow it as servants. At length they started, attended by the good wishes of M. de Fersen, who returned to Paris, with the intention of setting out for Brussels. Meanwhile Monsieur proceeded with his consort towards Flanders, travelling a different road to prevent suspicions, and lest there should be a want of horses at the different stations.

They travelled all night, during which Paris knew nothing of the matter. M. de Fersen hastened to the municipality to ascertain what was known there. At eight o'clock people were still unacquainted with the circumstance. But the report soon got abroad and spread with rapidity.† Lafayette sent for his aides-de-camp and ordered them to set out immediately, saying that though there was little hope of their overtaking the fugitives, still they must try what they could do. He

* "Madame Elizabeth was an angel of goodness. How often have I witnessed her kindness to those in distress! Her heart was the abode of all the virtues. She was indulgent, modest, sensible, devout, and during the Revolution displayed heroic courage."—*Madame Lebrun's Memoirs.* E.

† "A group in the Palais Royal were discussing, in great alarm, the consequence of the King's flight, when a man, dressed in a threadbare great-coat, leaped on a chair, and addressed them thus: 'Citizens, listen to a tale which shall not be a long one. A certain well-meaning Neapolitan was once on a time startled in his evening walk by the astounding intelligence that the Pope was dead. He had not recovered his astonishment, when, behold! he was informed of a new disaster—the King of Naples was also no more. Surely, said the worthy Neapolitan, the sun must vanish from heaven at such a combination of fatalities! But they did not cease here. The Archbishop of Palermo, he was informed, had also died suddenly. Overcome by this last shock, he retired to bed, but not to sleep. In the morning he was disturbed in his melancholy reverie by a rumbling noise, which he recognised at once to be the motion of the wooden instrument which makes maccaroni. Aha! says the good man, starting up, can I trust my ears? The Pope is dead—the King of Naples is dead—the Bishop of Palermo is dead—yet my neighbour the baker still makes maccaroni. Come, the lives of these great men are not then so indispensable to the world after all.' The man in the great-coat jumped down and disappeared. 'I have caught his meaning,' said a woman among the listeners. 'He has told us a tale, and it begins like all tales—*There was* ONCE *a King and a Queen.*'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

issued this order on his own responsibility, and in drawing it up he expressed his presumption that the royal family had been carried off by enemies of the public welfare. This respectful supposition was admitted by the Assembly, and invariably adopted by all the authorities. At this moment the people, in commotion, reproached Lafayette with having favoured the King's escape. The aristocratic party, on the contrary, has since accused him of having winked at his flight, with the intention of stopping him afterwards, and thus ruining him by this vain attempt. If, however, Lafayette had chosen to wink at the King's flight, would he have sent two aides-de-camp in pursuit of him, before any order was issued by the Assembly? And if, as the aristocrats have surmised, he had permitted his flight merely with a view to retake him, would he have allowed the carriage a whole night's start? The populace was soon convinced of its mistake, and Lafayette reinstated in its good opinion.

The Assembly met at nine in the morning. Its attitude was as majestic as it had been in the first days of the Revolution. The supposition adopted was that Louis XVI. had been carried off. The utmost calmness and harmony prevailed during the whole of this sitting. The measures spontaneously taken by Lafayette were approved of. The people had stopped his aides-de-camp at the barriers. The Assembly, universally obeyed, ordered the gates to be opened to them. One of them, young Romeuf, was the bearer of the decree confirming the orders already issued by the general, and enjoining the public functionaries *to stop*, by all the means in their power, *the progress of the said abduction, and to prevent the continuance of the journey*. At the suggestion of the people, and upon the information furnished by them, Romeuf took the road to Chalons, which was the right one, as the appearance upon it of a carriage and six sufficiently indicated. The Assembly then summoned the ministers, and passed a decree that they should receive orders from it alone. At his departure Louis XVI. had commanded the minister of justice to send him the seal of state. The Assembly directed that the seal should be retained for the purpose of being affixed to its decrees: it decided at the same time that the frontiers should be put in a state of defence, and that the ministers for foreign affairs should be charged to assure the powers that the dispositions of the French nation in regard to them remained unchanged.

M. de la Porte, intendant of the civil list, was then heard. He had received several messages from the King; among others, a note, which he begged the Assembly not to open, and a memorial stating the reasons for departure. The Assembly, ready to pay due regard to all rights, returned, unopened, the note which M. de la Porte was unwilling to make public, and ordered the memorial to be read. It was listened to with the utmost calmness. It produced scarcely any impression. The King complained of his loss of power without sufficient dignity, and he seemed as much mortified at the reduction of the civil list to thirty millions as at the loss of all his other prerogatives. The Assembly listened to the complaints of the monarch, pitied his weakness, and proceeded to the consideration of other matters.

At this moment very few persons wished for the apprehension of Louis XVI. The aristocrats beheld in his flight the realization of the oldest of their wishes, and flattered themselves with the prospect of a speedy civil war. The most vehement members of the popular party, who already began to be tired of the King, found in his absence an occasion to dispense with him, and indulged the idea and the hope of a republic. The whole moderate party, which at this moment governed the Assembly, wished that the King might arrive safely at Montmedy; and, relying upon his equity, it flattered itself that an accommodation between the throne and the nation would be thereby facilitated. Few persons, at this time, were apprehensive, as formerly, of seeing the monarch threatening the constitution from amidst an army. The populace alone, into whom this apprehension had been studiously instilled, continued to retain it when it was no longer felt by the Assembly, and ardently wished for the recapture of the royal family. Such was the state of things at Paris.*

* "The National Assembly never committed so great an error as in bringing back the King from Varennes. A fugitive and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and in a few hours

The carriage which set out in the night between the 21st and 22d, had performed great part of the journey, and arrived without impediment at Chalons about five o'clock the next afternoon. There the King, who had been imprudent enough to put his head frequently out at the window, was recognised. The person who made this discovery would at once have divulged the secret, but he was prevented by the mayor, who was a stanch royalist. On reaching Pont de Sommeville, the royal family did not find the detachments which ought to have received it there; those detachments had been waiting for several hours; but the excitement of the people, alarmed at this movement of troops, had obliged them to retire.

The King, meanwhile, arrived at St. Menehould. There, still showing himself at the window, he was perceived by Drouet, the postmaster's son, a violent revolutionist. This young man, not having time to cause the carriage to be detained at St. Menehould, posted off to Varennes. A worthy quartermaster, who had observed his haste, and suspected his motives, flew after to stop him, but could not overtake him. Drouet used such speed that he arrived at Verennes before the unfortunate family. He immediately gave information to the municipality, and caused all the necessary measures for apprehending the fugitives to be taken forthwith. Varennes is situated on the bank of a narrow but deep river. A detachment of hussars was on the watch there, but the officer not seeing the treasure arrive which he had been directed to wait for, had left his men in their quarters. The carriage at length drove up and crossed the bridge. No sooner was it beneath an archway through which it was obliged to pass, than Drouet, assisted by another person, stopped the horses. "Your passport!" he exclaimed, and with a musket he threatened the travellers if they persisted in proceeding. The order was complied with, and the passport handed to him. Drouet took it, and said that it must be examined by the solicitor of the commune. The royal family was then conducted to the house of this solicitor, named Sausse. The latter, after examining the passport, and pretending to find it quite right, very politely begged the King to wait; he accordingly waited a considerable time. When Sausse had at length ascertained that a sufficient number of the national guards had assembled, he threw off all disguise, and informed the prince that he was recognised and apprehended. An altercation ensued. Louis declared that he was not what he was taken to be, and the dispute growing too warm, "Since you acknowledge him to be your King," exclaimed the Queen, angrily, "speak to him with the respect that you owe him."

The King, seeing that further denial was useless, took no more trouble to disguise himself. The little room was full of people. He spoke and expressed himself with a warmth that was unusual with him. He protested his good intentions, asserted that he was going to Montmedy, merely that he might listen more freely to the wishes of his people, by withdrawing from the tyranny of Paris; lastly, he insisted on continuing his journey, and being conducted to the end of it. The unfortunate prince, with deep emotion, embraced Sausse, and implored him to save his wife and his children. The Queen joined him, and, taking the dauphin in her arms, besought Sausse to release them. Sausse was affected, but withstood their entreaties, and advised them to return to Paris, to prevent a civil war. The King, on the contrary, having a dread of returning, persisted in proceeding to Montmedy.

At this moment Messrs. de Damas and de Goquelas arrived with the detachments which had been stationed at different points. The royal family considered itself as saved; but the hussars were not to be relied on. The officers assembled them, informed them that the King and his family were apprehended, and that they must release them. The men replied that they were for the nation. At the same instant

would have been out of the French territory. What should they have done in these circumstances? Clearly have facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by his desertion. They would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and attained their great object of republican institutions. Instead of which, by bringing him back, they encumbered themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting quit of the royal family without an act of cruelty."—*Napoleon's Memoirs.* E.

the national guards, called together from all the environs, arrived and filled Varennes. The whole night was passed in this state. At six in the morning, young Romeuf arrived with the decree of the Assembly. He found the carriage with six horses harnessed to it, and turned towards Paris. He went up stairs and delivered the decree with pain. A general outcry burst from the whole family against M. de Lafayette, who caused them to be apprehended. The Queen even expressed her astonishment that he had not been put to death by the people. Romeuf replied that his general and himself had only done their duty in pursuing them, but that they had hoped not to overtake them. The Queen took up the decree, threw it on the bed of her children, then snatched it up again, saying that it would pollute them. "Madame," said Romeuf, who was attached to her, "would you rather have any one but me to witness these passions?" The Queen then came to herself, and resumed all her dignity. At the same moment the arrival of different corps, stationed in the environs by Bouillé, was announced. The municipality then gave orders for starting. The royal family was of course obliged to enter the carriage, and to take the road to Paris, that fatal and deeply dreaded course!

Bouillé, roused in the middle of the night, had mounted a regiment of horse, and set out with shouts of "*Long live the King!*" This brave general, urged by anxiety, marched with all speed, and proceeded nine leagues in four hours. He arrived at Varennes, where he found several corps already collected. But the King had been gone an hour and a half; Varennes was barricaded, and judicious arrangements had been made for its defence; the bridge was broken down, and the river was not fordable. Thus, after a first combat to carry the barricades, it would have been necessary to seek the means of crossing the river, and, after such a loss of time, to overtake the carriage, which had got the start by an hour and a half. These obstacles rendered any attempt at rescue impossible; and it required nothing short of such an impossibility to deter a man so loyal and so enterprising as Bouillé. He retired, therefore, overwhelmed with grief and mortification.

When news of the King's apprehension arrived in Paris, he was believed to be beyond reach. The people manifested extraordinary joy. The Assembly deputed three commissioners, selected from the three sections of the left side, to accompany the monarch, and to conduct him back to Paris. These commissioners were Barnave, Latour-Maubourg, and Petion. They repaired to Chalons, and, from the moment that they joined the court, all orders emanated from them alone. Madame de Tourzel removed into a second carriage with Latour-Maubourg; Barnave and Petion entered that of the royal family. Latour-Maubourg, a person of distinction, was a friend of Lafayette, and, like him, was as strongly attached to the King as to the constitution. In yielding to his two colleagues the honour of being with the royal family, it was his intention to interest them in behalf of fallen greatness. Barnave sat at the back, between the King and Queen; Petion in front, between Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale; the young dauphin on the lap, first of one and then of another. Such had been the rapid course of events! A young advocate of some twenty years, remarkable only for his abilities, and another, distinguished by his talents, but, above all, by the sternness of his principles, were seated beside a prince lately the most absolute in Europe, and commanded all his movements. The journey was slow, because the carriage followed the pace of the national guards. It took eight days to return from Varennes to Paris. The heat was excessive; and a scorching dust, raised by the multitude, half suffocated the travellers. At first a deep silence prevailed. The Queen could not conceal her vexation. The King at length entered into conversation with Barnave. It turned upon all sorts of subjects, and lastly upon the flight to Montmedy. Both were surprised to find the others what they were. The Queen was astonished at the superior understanding and the delicate politeness of young Barnave.* She soon

* "Ant. Pierre Jos. Marie Barnave was a barrister, and deputy to the States-general. The son of a very rich attorney of Grenoble, he warmly espoused the revolutionary party, and was named by the *tiers-état* deputy of that town to the States-general. He there showed himself from the beginning one of the most implacable enemies of the court. He warmly supported the Tennis-court oath, and declared loudly in favour of the assertion of the rights of man. In 1790 he voted the abolition

threw up her veil and took part in the conversation. Barnave was touched by the good-nature of the King and the graceful dignity of the Queen. Petion displayed more rudeness ; he showed and received less respect. By the time they reached Paris, Barnave was strongly attached to the unfortunate family, and the Queen, charmed with the merits and the good sense of the young tribune, had granted him all her esteem. Hence it was that, in all the intercourse which she afterwards had with the constitutional deputies, it was in him that she placed the greatest confidence. Parties would forgive, if they could see and hear one another.*

of religious orders. At the meeting of the 22d of May he was one of those who were decidedly of opinion that the King should be deprived of the right of making war and peace, and opposed Mirabeau on many great questions of policy. At the sitting of the 19th of June he demanded that the Assembly should, before it rose, decree the suppression of all feudal titles and rights. In August he fought a duel with M. de Cazalès, and wounded him with a pistol-shot. Barnave had before fought with the Viscount de Noailles ; he had fired first, and missed his adversary, who discharged his pistol in the air; the difference was then adjusted by their friends. At the time of Louis XVI.'s flight, Barnave showed great presence of mind in the midst of the stupefaction of the greatest part of the Assembly. On the news arriving of the King's arrest, Barnave was appointed, together with Petion and Latour-Maubourg, to bring the royal family back to Paris. He returned in the same carriage with them ; showed them great respect, and, by so doing, lost much of his popularity. In giving an account of his mission, he spoke about the inviolability of the King's person, for which he was hooted by the Assembly. At the end of the session Barnave was appointed mayor of Grenoble, where he married the only daughter of a lawyer, who brought him a fortune of 700,000 livres. After the events of the 10th of August, 1792, certain documents having established the connivance of Barnave with the court, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, and condemned to death on the 29th of November, 1793. Barnave was a small, but well-looking man, and professed protestantism. Few orators of his day possessed so much grace of diction and sagacity of analysis. Mirabeau himself was astonished that a young man should speak so long, so rapidly, and so eloquently, and said of Barnave, 'It is a young tree, which, however, will mount high, if it be let to grow."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

* The following particulars of the return from Varennes were communicated to Madame Campan by the Queen herself:

"On the very day of my arrival, the Queen took me into her cabinet, to tell me that she had great need of my assistance for a correspondence which she had established with Messrs. Barnave, Duport, and Alexandre Lameth. She informed me that M. de J *** was her agent with these relics of the constitutional party, who had good intentions, but unfortunately too late ; and she added that Barnave was a man worthy to inspire esteem. I was surprised to hear the name of Barnave uttered with such kindness. When I had quitted Paris a great number of persons never mentioned it but with horror. I made this remark to her ; she was not astonished at it, but told me that he was very much changed : that this young man, full of intelligence and noble sentiments, was of the class who are distinguished by education, and merely mislead by the ambition arising from real merit. 'A feeling of pride, which I cannot blame too much in a young man of the *tiers-état*,' said the Queen with reference to Barnave, 'has caused him to applaud all that tends to smooth the way to honours and glory for the class in which he was born. If power should ever fall again into our hands, the pardon of Barnave is written beforehand in our hearts.' The Queen added that the same sentiments were not felt for the nobles who had thrown themselves into the revolutionary party, they who obtained all favours, and frequently to the detriment of persons of an inferior order, among whom were to be found the most splendid talents ; lastly, that the nobles, born to be the rampart of the monarchy, were too culpable in having betrayed its cause to deserve pardon. The Queen astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favourable opinion that she had formed of Barnave. She then told me that his conduct during the journey had been excellent, whilst the republican rudeness of Petion had been insulting ; that he ate and drank in the King's carriage with little regard to delicacy, throwing fowls' bones out at the window, at the risk of hitting the King in the face, lifting up his glass, when Madame Elizabeth was helping him to wine, without saying a word to signify that he had had enough ; that this offensive tone was wilfully assumed, since he was a man of education ; and that Barnave had been shocked at it. Being pressed by the Queen to take something ; 'Madame,' replied Barnave, 'the deputies of the National Assembly, under circumstances so solemn, ought to trouble your majesty solely with their mission and by no means with their wants.' In short, his respectful behaviour, his delicate attentions, and all that he said, had won not only her good-will, but also that of Madame Elizabeth.

"The King had begun to speak to Petion on the situation of France and on the motives of his conduct, which were grounded on the necessity of giving to the executive power a force requisite for its action for the welfare of the constitutional act itself, since France could not be a republic . . . 'Not yet, to be sure,' replied Petion, 'because the French are not yet ripe enough for that.' This audacious and cruel reply imposed silence on the King, who maintained it till his arrival at Paris. Petion had the little dauphin on his knees ; he amused himself with rolling the fair hair of the

In Paris, the reception to be given to the royal family had been decided upon. A public notice was distributed and posted everywhere: *Whoever applauds the King shall be flogged; whoever insults him shall be hanged.* The order was punctually obeyed. Neither applauses nor insults were heard. The carriage made a circuit, that it might not be obliged to traverse Paris. It entered by the Champs Elysées, which led directly to the palace. An immense crowd received it in silence, and with hats on. Lafayette, followed by a numerous guard, had taken all possible precautions. The three life-guardsmen who had assisted the King's flight were on the box, exposed to the gaze and the wrath of the people; they nevertheless experienced no violence.* The moment the carriage arrived at the palace, it was surrounded. The royal family hastily alighted, and passed between a double file of national guards, drawn up for its protection. The Queen, who was the last to alight, was almost borne along in the arms of Messrs. de Noailles and d'Aiguillon, enemies of the court, but generous friends of misfortune. On observing them approach, she had at first some doubts respecting their intentions; but she resigned herself to them, and arrived safe and unharmed at the palace.

Such was that journey, the fatal issue of which cannot fairly be attributed to any of those by whom it was planned. An accident thwarted it. An accident might have crowned it with success. If, for instance, Drouet had been overtaken and

interesting boy upon his fingers; and, in the warmth of talking, he pulled his locks with such force as to make him cry. . . . 'Give me my child,' said the Queen, 'he is accustomed to kindness, to respect, which unfit him for such familiarities.'

"The Chevalier de Dampierre had been killed near the King's carriage, as it left Varennes. A poor village *curé*, a few leagues from the place where this crime was committed, had the imprudence to approach for the purpose of speaking to the King: the savages who surrounded the carriage rushed upon him. 'Tigers,' cried Barnave, 'have you ceased to be French? From a nation of brave men, are you changed into a nation of murderers?' Nothing but these words saved the *curé*, who was already struck to the ground, from certain death. Barnave, as he uttered them, had almost thrown himself out at the door, and Madame Elizabeth, touched by this noble warmth, held him back by his coat. In speaking of this circumstance, the Queen said that in the most critical moments she was always struck by odd contrasts; and that, on this occasion, the pious Elizabeth, holding Barnave by the skirt of his coat, had appeared to her a most surprising thing. That deputy had experienced a different kind of astonishment. The remarks of Madame Elizabeth on the state of France, her mild and persuasive eloquence, the noble simplicity with which she conversed with Barnave, without abating an iota of her dignity, all appeared to him celestial in that divine princess, and his heart, disposed undoubtedly to noble sentiments, if he had not pursued the way of error, was subdued by the most touching admiration. The conduct of the two deputies showed the Queen the total separation between the republican party and the constitutional party. At the inns where she alighted, she had some private conversations with Barnave. The latter talked much of the blunders of the royalists in the Revolution, and said that he had found the interests of the court so feebly, so injudiciously, defended, that he had several times been tempted to make it an offer of a bold champion, acquainted with the spirit of the age and that of the nation. The Queen asked what were the means that he should have advised resorting to. 'Popularity, madam.'—'And how could I have any?' replied her majesty. 'It had been taken from me.'—'Ah, madam! it was much easier for you to conquer it than for me to obtain it.' This assertion would furnish matter for comment: my task is merely to record this curious conversation."—*Mémoires de Madame de Campan*, tome ii., p. 150, *et seq.* E.

* "Lafayette went forward to meet the procession. During his absence an immense crowd had been allowed to approach the Tuileries; and endeavoured, as the royal family were alighting, to maltreat the two gardes-du-corps who had served as couriers during the escape, and were then seated on the box of the King's carriage. The Queen, anxious for their safety, no sooner saw the commander-in-chief, than she exclaimed, 'Save the gardes-du-corps;' on which Lafayette placed them himself in security in one of the halls of the palace. The royal family alighted without having experienced any insults. The King was apparently calm; Lafayette then, with a feeling of mingled respect and emotion, presented himself at the King's apartment, and said to him, 'Has your majesty any orders to give me?'—'It appears to me,' replied the King, with a smile, 'that I am more under your orders than you are under mine.' Lafayette then respectfully announced to him the decree of the Assembly, at which the King testified no displeasure. The Queen, however, betrayed some irritability, and wished to force Lafayette to receive the keys of the desks, which had remained in the carriage. He replied, that no person thought, or would think, of opening those desks. The Queen then placed the keys on his hat. Lafayette requested her to pardon the trouble he gave her of taking back those keys, and declared that he would not touch them. 'Well,' said the Queen, impatiently, 'I shall find persons less scrupulous than you are.'"—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

stopped by his pursuer, the carriage would have escaped. Perhaps too, the King was deficient in energy when he was recognised. Be that as it may, this journey cannot be matter of reproach to any one, either to those who advised, or to those who executed it. It was the result of that fatality which pursues weakness amidst revolutionary crises.

The journey to Varennes had the effect of destroying all respect for the King, of habituating men's minds to do without him, and of exciting a wish for a republic. On the very morning of his arrival, the Assembly had provided for everything by a decree. Louis XVI. was suspended from his functions; a guard was placed over his person, and that of the Queen and the dauphin. That guard was made responsible for their safe custody. Three deputies, d'André, Tronchet, and Duport, were commissioned to take the declarations of the King and Queen. The utmost delicacy was observed in the expressions; for never was this Assembly deficient in decorum; but the result was evident, and the King was for the time being dethroned.

The responsibility imposed on the national guard rendered it strict and frequently annoying in its duty about the royal persons. Sentinels were constantly stationed at their door, and never lost sight of them. The King, wishing one day to ascertain if he was really a prisoner, went up to a door: the sentinel opposed his passage. "Do you know me?" said Louis XVI. "Yes, sire," replied the sentinel. All the liberty the King had left to him was to walk in the Tuileries in the morning, before the garden was opened to the public.

Barnave and the Lameths then did what they had so severely reproached Mirabeau for doing—they lent their aid to the throne and reconciled themselves with the court. It is true that they received no money: but it was not so much the price of the alliance, as the alliance itself, that they had flung in the teeth of Mirabeau; and, after having formerly been so severe, they now followed the custom of all popular chiefs, which is, to ally themselves successively with power, as soon as they arrive at it. However, nothing could be more praiseworthy in the state of affairs at that moment, than the service rendered to the King by Barnave and the Lameths; and never did they display more address, energy, and talent. Barnave dictated the answer of the King to the commissioners appointed by the Assembly. In this answer, Louis XVI. assigned as the motive for his flight a desire to make himself better acquainted with the state of public opinion; he declared that he had learned much on that head during his journey, and proved by a variety of facts that it had not been his intention to leave France. As for the protestations contained in his memorial transmitted to the Assembly, he justly alleged that they bore not upon the fundamental principles of the constitution, but upon the means of execution that were left him. Now, he added, that the general will was clearly manifested to him, he did not hesitate to submit to it, and to make all the sacrifices requisite for the public welfare.*

* Here is the answer itself, the composition of Barnave, and a model of reasoning, address, and dignity:

"I see, gentlemen," said Louis XVI. to the commissioners, "I see by the object of the mission which is given to you, that here is no question of an examination; I will therefore answer the inquiries of the Assembly. I shall never be afraid of making public the motives of my conduct. It was the insults and menaces offered to my family and myself on the 18th of April that were the cause of my departure from Paris. Several publications have endeavoured to provoke acts of violence against my person and against my family. I deemed that there would not be safety, or even decency, for me to remain longer in this city. Never was it my intention to leave the kingdom; I had had no concert on this subject, either with foreign powers or with my relatives, or with any of the French emigrants. I can state in proof of my intentions, that apartments were provided at Montmedy for my reception. I had selected this place, because, being fortified, my family would be safer there; because, being near the frontiers, I should have been better able to oppose every kind of invasion of France, had a disposition been shown to attempt any. One of the principal motives for quitting Paris was to set at rest the argument of my non-freedom, which was likely to furnish occasion for disturbances. If I had harboured an intention of leaving the kingdom, I should not have published my memorial on the very day of my departure; I should have waited till I was beyond the frontiers; but I always entertained the wish to return to Paris. It is in this sense that the last sentence in my memorial must be taken, where it is said, 'Frenchmen, and, above all,

Bouillé, in order to draw upon himself the indignation of the Assembly, addressed to it a letter, which might be called mad, but for the generous motive which dictated it. He avowed himself the sole author of the King's journey, though, on the contrary, he had opposed it. He declared, in the name of the sovereigns, that Paris should be responsible for the safety of the royal family, and that the slightest injury offered to them should be signally avenged. He added, what he knew to be otherwise, that the military means of France were nearly null; that he was well acquainted with the points where an invading force might enter, and that he would himself lead the hostile armies into the heart of the country. The Assembly winked at this generous bravado, and threw the whole blame on Bouillé, who had nothing to fear, for he was already abroad.

The court of Spain, apprehending that the slightest movement might produce irritation and expose the royal family to still greater dangers, prevented an attempt that was about to be made on the southern frontier, in which the Knights of Malta were to assist with two frigates. It then declared to the French government that its good disposition towards it remained unchanged. The north behaved with much less moderation. On that side, the powers, instigated by the emigrants, began to threaten. Envoys were despatched by the King to Brussels and Coblentz, to come to an understanding with the emigrants in those places, to acquaint them with the favourable disposition of the Assembly, and the hopes entertained of an advantageous arrangement. But, no sooner had they arrived than they were treated with indignity, and immediately returned to Paris. The emigrants raised troops in the name of the King, and thus obliged him to give them a formal contradiction. They pretended that Monsieur, who had by this time joined them, was regent of the kingdom; that the King, being a prisoner, had no will of his own, and that which he expressed was only the will of his oppressors. The peace concluded by Catherine with the Turks in the month of August heightened their senseless joy, and they fancied that they had all the powers of Europe at their disposal. Considering the disarming of the fortresses, and the disorganization of the army, which all the officers were leaving, they could not suppose the result of the invasion to be doubtful or the fitting time for it far distant. They had nevertheless been out of France nearly two years, and, though daily flattering themselves with the prospect, they had not yet returned victorious. The powers seemed to promise much, but Pitt hung back; Leopold, exhausted by the war, and displeased with the emigrants, wished for peace; the King of Prussia promised a great deal, but had no interest in keeping his word; Gustavus was anxious to command an expedition against France, but he was at a great distance; and Catherine, who was to second him, had scarcely got rid of the Turks, and still had Poland to reduce. Besides, in order to effect this coalition, it would be necessary to reconcile so many

Parisians, what pleasure shall I feel in finding myself again in your midst!" . . . . . I had in my carriage but three thousand louis in gold, and fifty-six thousand livres in assignats. I did not warn Monsieur of my departure till a very short time before. Monsieur has gone into another country only because he had agreed with me that we should not both take the same route: he was to come back into France to me. The passport was requisite to facilitate my journey; it purported to be for a foreign country merely because the office for foreign affairs gives none for the interior of the kingdom. The road to Frankfort was not even taken. I have made no protest but in the memorial which I left before my departure. That protest does not bear, as the tenor of it attests, upon the groundwork of the principles of the constitution, but on the form of sanctions; that is to say, on the little liberty that I appeared to enjoy, and on the circumstance that, as the decrees had not been laid before me *en masse*, I could not judge of the constitution as a whole. The chief reproach contained in the memorial relates to the difficulties in the means of administration and execution. I have ascertained during my journey that public opinion was decided in favour of the constitution; I did not conceive that I could judge fully of this public opinion in Paris; but, from the observations which I have personally made during my journey, I am convinced how necessary it is for the support of the constitution to give strength to the powers established for the maintenance of public order. As soon as I had ascertained the general will, I hesitated not, as I never have hesitated, to make a sacrifice of everything that is personal to me. The happiness of the people has always been the object of my wishes. I will gladly forget all the crosses that I have experienced, if I can but insure the peace and the felicity of the nation."

conflicting interests, that it was scarcely possible to entertain any hope of success.

The declaration of Pilnitz ought more especially to have enlightened the emigrants respecting the zeal of the sovereigns. This declaration, issued jointly by the King of Prussia and the Emperor Leopold, purported that the situation of the King of France was a subject of general interest to all the sovereigns, and that they would undoubtedly unite to furnish Louis XVI. with the means of establishing a government suitable to the interests of the throne and of the people; that, in this case, the King of Prussia and the emperor would join the other princes, to attain the same end. Meanwhile their troops should be put into a condition for active service. It was afterwards known that this declaration contained secret articles. They purported that Austria would not oppose any obstacle to the claims of Prussia to part of Poland. It required this concession to induce Prussia to neglect her more ancient interests by connecting herself with Austria against France. What could be expected from a zeal that it was necessary to excite by such means? And if it was so reserved in its expressions, what was it likely to be in its acts? France, it is true, was in a disarmed state; but a whole nation aroused is soon armed; and, as the celebrated Carnot observed at a later period, what is impossible to twenty-five millions of men? It is true that the officers were retiring, but, being generally young and owing their appointment to favour, they were inexperienced and disliked by the army. Besides, the impetus given to all the resources of war was on the point of speedily producing officers and generals. Still, it must be confessed that, even without the presumption of Coblentz, one might fairly have doubted the resistance which France opposed somewhat later to her invaders.

Meanwhile, the Assembly sent commissioners to the frontiers and ordered great preparations. All the national guards offered to march. Several generals tendered their services, and among others Dumouriez,* who subsequently saved France in the defiles of Argonne.

The Assembly, while attending to the external safety of the state, hastened to complete its constitutional labours, to restore to the King his functions, and if possible some of his prerogatives.

All the subdivisions of the left side, excepting the men who had just assumed the new name of republicans, had rallied around one and the same system of moderation. Barnave and Malouet went hand in hand and laboured in concert. Petion, Robespierre, Buzot, and some others had adopted the republic; but their number was small. The right side persisted in its imprudent conduct, and protested, instead of joining the moderate majority. This majority, however, governed the Assembly. Its enemies, who would have accused it, if it had dethroned the King, nevertheless reproached it for having brought him back to Paris and replaced him on a tottering throne. But what could it do? To supersede the King by a republic would have been too hazardous. To change the dynasty would have been useless; for if they meant to give themselves a King, they might as well keep the one they had. Besides, the Duke of Orleans did not deserve to be preferred to Louis XVI. In either case, to dispossess the reigning King would have been to

* "Dumouriez, born at Cambray, and descended from a Provençal family engaged in the law, was forty-seven years of age at the commencement of the Revolution. Up to that time he had lived amidst intrigues, which he was but too fond of engaging in. The first part of his political life was spent in discovering those by whose help he might rise; and the second, in discovering those who were able to support his elevation. A courtier before 1789; a constitutional under the first Assembly; a Girondin under the second; and a Jacobin under the republic, he was eminently the creature of the time. But he had all the resources of great men; an enterprising disposition, indefatigable activity, and prompt, accurate, and extended views; extraordinary impetuosity in action, and unbounded confidence in success. He was, besides, frank, ingenious, clever, bold, equally fitted for the council and the field; full of expedients, and knowing how to submit to the misfortune of a difficult position until he could change it. It must be admitted, however, that these fine qualities were injured by several defects. Dumouriez was rash, thoughtless, and extremely capricious, in consequence of his continual thirst for action. But his great fault was, want of all political principle."—*Mignet.* E.

infringe acknowledged rights, and to send to the emigrants a chief of inestimable value to them, since he would have brought them titles which they did not possess. On the contrary, to give back to Louis XVI. his authority, to restore to him as many of his prerogatives as they could, would be fulfilling their constitutional task, and taking away all pretext for civil war. In a word, it would be doing their duty; for the duty of the Assembly, according to all the engagements by which it had bound itself, was to establish a free, but a monarchical, government.

The Assembly did not hesitate, but it had great obstacles to surmount. The new term republic had piqued minds already somewhat tired of those of monarchy and constitution. The absence and the suspension of the King had, as we have seen, taught them to do without him. The journals and the clubs instantly threw off the respect which had hitherto been paid to his person. His departure, which, according to the terms of the decree relative to the residence of public functionaries, rendered deposition imminent, caused it to be asserted that he was deposed. Nevertheless, according to the same decree, before he could incur the penalty of dethronement, he must have left the kingdom and resisted the summons of the legislative body. But these conditions were of little consequence to overheated minds, and they declared the King guilty and dethroned. The Jacobins and the Cordeliers were violently agitated, and could not conceive how it was that, after people had got rid of the King, they could burden themselves with him again, and that of their own accord. If the Duke of Orleans had ever entertained hopes, it was now that they might have been awakened. But he must have seen how little influence his name possessed, and above all how ill a new sovereign, however popular he might be, would harmonize with the state of people's minds. Some pamphleteers devoted to his interests, endeavoured, perhaps without his knowledge, to place the crown on his head, as Antony did by Cæsar: they proposed to give him the regency, but he found himself obliged to decline the offer in a declaration, which was thought as lightly of as himself. "*No King!*" was the general cry at the Jacobins, at the Cordeliers, in the streets, and in the public papers.

Numberless addresses were published. One of these was posted on all the walls of Paris, and even on those of the Assembly. It was signed with the name of Achille Duchâtelet, a young colonel. He addressed himself to the French: he reminded them of the tranquillity which had prevailed during the journey of the King, and thence concluded that his absence was more beneficial than his presence: he added that his flight was an abdication; that the nation and Louis XVI. were released from all engagements towards one another; finally, that history was full of the crimes of Kings, and that the people ought to renounce all intention of giving themselves another.

This address, attributed to young Duchâtelet, was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, and a principal actor in the American Revolution.* It was denounced

* "Thomas Paine was born in 1737, at Thetford, in Norfolk, where his father, a Quaker, was a staymaker. He received his education at a grammar-school in his native place. In early life he followed his father's business, and afterwards became a grocer and exciseman at Lewes, but was dismissed for keeping a tobacconist's shop, which was incompatible with his duties. In 1774 he went to America, and became editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine. Hostilities having commenced between England and the United States, he composed his celebrated pamphlet, 'Common Sense,' which was written with great vigour, and for which the legislature of Pennsylvania voted him five hundred pounds. He was soon afterwards appointed clerk to the committee for foreign affairs; when he published a series of political appeals, which he entitled the 'Crisis.' In 1787 he embarked for France, and, after visiting Paris, went to England. On the appearance of 'Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution,' he wrote his well known 'Rights of Man,' for which he was prosecuted; but, while the trial was pending, he was chosen member of the National Convention for the department of Calais, and, making his escape, he set out for France. On the trial of Louis XVI. he voted against the sentence of death, which offended the Jacobins, who in 1793 ordered him to be committed to the Luxembourg. Just previous to his confinement he had finished his 'Age of Reason,' which, when published, lost him the greater part of his American connexions. On the fall of Robespierre he was released, and remained in France till 1802, when he embarked again for America. His subsequent life was by no means happy; for, though possessed of a decent competence, yet his attacks on religion, and his habitual intemperance, had greatly narrowed the circle of his friends. He died in 1809, in his seventy-third year."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

to the Assembly, which, after a warm debate, deemed it right to pass to the order of the day, and to reply by indifference to advice and to abuse, as it had hitherto invariably done.

At length, the commissioners charged to make their report on the affair of Varennes presented it on the 16th of July. In the journey, they said, there was nothing culpable; and even if there were, the King was inviolable. Dethronement could not result from it, since the King had not staid away long enough, and had not resisted the summons of the legislative body.

Robespierre, Buzot, and Petion, repeated all the well-known arguments against the inviolability. Duport, Barnave, and Salles, answered them, and it was at length resolved that the King could not be brought to trial on account of his flight. Two articles were merely added to the decree of inviolability. No sooner was this resolution passed, than Robespierre rose, and protested strongly against it, in the name of humanity.

On the evening preceding this decision, a great tumult had taken place at the Jacobins. A petition to the Assembly was there drawn up, praying it to declare that the King was deposed as a pefidious traitor to his oaths, and that it would seek to supply his place by all the constitutional means. It was resolved that this petition should be carried on the following day to the Champ de Mars, where every one might sign it on the altar of the country. Next day, it was accordingly carried to the place agreed upon, and the crowd of the seditious was reinforced by that of the curious, who wished to be spectators of the event. At this moment the decree was passed, so that it was now too late to petition. Lafayette arrived, broke down the barricades already erected, was threatened and even fired at, but, though almost close to the muzzle of the weapon, he escaped without injury. The municipal officers having joined him, at length prevailed on the populace to retire. National guards were posted to watch their retreat, and for a moment it was hoped that they would disperse. But the tumult was soon renewed. Two invalids, who happened to be, nobody knows for what purpose, under the altar of the country, were murdered, and then the uproar became unbounded. The Assembly sent for the municipality, and charged it to preserve public order. Bailly repaired to the Champ de Mars, ordered the red flag to be unfurled, and, by virtue of martial law, summoned the seditious to retire. This summons, whatever has been said of it, was just. People either agreed or did not agree to the new laws. If they agreed to them, it was requisite that they should be executed, that there should be something fixed, that insurrection should not be perpetual, and that the will of the Assembly should not be modified by the decisions of the mob. It was Bailly's duty, therefore, to carry the law into execution. He advanced, with that unshrinking courage which he had always displayed, was fired at several times without being hit, and at length read the customary summons. Lafayette at first ordered a few shots to be fired in the air: the crowd quitted the altar of the country, but soon rallied. Thus driven to extremity, he gave the word, *Fire!* The first discharge killed some of the rioters. Their number has been exaggerated. Some have reduced it to thirty, others have raised it to four hundred, and others to several thousand. The last statement was believed at the moment, and the consternation became general. This severe example quieted the agitators for a short time. As usual, all the parties were accused of having excited the commotion, and it is probable that several of them had a hand in it, for to several tumult was desirable. The King, the majority of the Assembly, the national guard, the municipal and departmental authorities, were then unanimous for the establishment of constitutional order; but they had to combat the democracy at home, and the aristocracy abroad. The Assembly and the national guard composed that middle class, wealthy, intelligent, and prudent, which wished well to order and the laws; and they could not at the moment but naturally ally themselves with the King, who, for his part, seemed to resign himself to a limited power. But, if it suited them to stop at the point at which they had arrived, it did not suit either the aristocracy, which desired a convulsion, or the people, who sought to gain and to raise themselves still more. Barnave was, as Mirabeau had been before him, the mouthpiece

of this wise and moderate middle class; and Lafayette was its military chief. Danton and Camille Desmoulins* were the spokesmen, and Santerre the general, of the rabble, that wished to reign in its turn. A few ardent or fanatic spirits represented this rabble either in the Assembly or in the new administrations, and hastened its rule by their declamations.

Lafayette and Bailly were vehemently reproached for the proceedings in the Champ de Mars; but both of them, considering it their duty to observe the law, and to risk popularity and life in its execution, felt neither regret, nor fear, for what they had done.† The factions were overawed by the energy which they displayed. The most conspicuous began already to think of recoiling from the blows which they conceived to be aimed at them. Robespierre, whom we have hitherto seen supporting the most extravagant propositions, trembled in his obscure habitation; and, notwithstanding his inviolability as a deputy, applied to all his friends for an asylum. Thus the example had the desired effect, and for a moment all the turbulent spirits were quieted by fear.

About this time the Assembly came to a determination which has since been censured, but the result of which did not prove so mischievous as it has been supposed. It decreed that none of its members should be re-elected. Robespierre was the proposer of this resolution, and it was attributed to the envy which he felt against his colleagues, among whom he had not shown. It was at least natural that he should bear them a grudge, having always been opposed by them; and in his sentiments there might have been at once conviction, envy, and hatred. The Assembly, which was accused of a design to perpetuate its powers, and which, moreover, displeased the rabble by its moderation, was anxious to reply to all censures by a disinterestedness that was perhaps exaggerated; and it decreed that its members should be excluded from the next legislature. The new Assembly was thus deprived of men whose enthusiasm was somewhat abated, and whose legislative science was matured by an experience of three years. However, when we see by and by the cause of the subsequent revolutions, we shall be able to judge what was the importance of that measure which has been so frequently condemned,

This was the moment for completing the constitutional labours of the Assembly, and for bringing its stormy career to a calm conclusion. The members of the left side intended, by means of an agreement among themselves, to amend certain parts of the constitution. It had been resolved that it should be read throughout, in

* "B. Camille Desmoulins, a lawyer, born at Guise, in Picardy, in 1762, was the son of the lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Guise. His appearance was vulgar, his complexion swarthy, and his looks unprepossessing. He made his first appearance at the bar to plead against his own father, whom he wanted to make him a greater allowance than he could afford. At the very commencement of the Revolution he formed an intimate acquaintance with Robespierre. In July, 1789, he harangued a large mob in the Palais Royal with a brace of pistols in his hand, and assumed the appellation of attorney-general of the lamp-post. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to Danton, and organized with him the September massacres. He asserted frequently that society consisted of two classes of men—gentlemen and sans-culottes; and that, in order to save the republic, it was necessary to take the purses of the one, and put arms into the hands of the other. His connexion with Danton was his ruin; and his sentence of death, the word 'clemency,' which he recommended in his journal of the 'Old Cordelier.' He was arrested in 1794, and, during his imprisonment, he gave himself up alternately to rage and despair. His favourite studies were the works of Young and Hervey. When led to execution, at the age of thirty-three, he made the most violent efforts to avoid getting into the cart. His shirt was in tatters, and his shoulders bare; his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth, crying out, while he ascended the scaffold, 'This, then, is the reward reserved for the first apostle of liberty! The monsters who assassinate me will not survive me long.' His wife, whom he adored, and by whom he was as warmly beloved, beautiful, courageous, and sensible, begged to share his fate, and, ten days afterwards, Robespierre sent her to the scaffold, where she exhibited much more firmness than her husband."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Bailly did not seek the Revolution, but it sought him, by making him play a political part against his will; but from the moment that he conceived he might be useful to his country, he would not refuse to serve it. He devoted to it moments most valuable for science; and when we deplored the suspension of his labours, he said to us, 'I am a Frenchman, and if I can co-operate in the enactment of a good law, that is preferable to a hundred astronomical calculations.'"—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.* E.

order to judge of the whole together, and to have an opportunity of making its different parts harmonize. This was called the revision, which was afterwards, in the days of the republican fervour, considered as most calamitous. Barnave and the Lameths had agreed with Malouet to modify certain articles, which trenched upon the royal prerogative and what was termed the stability of the throne. It was even said that the plan was to re-establish the two chambers. It was arranged that, the moment the reading was finished, Malouet should make his attack; that Barnave should then reply with vehemence, in order the better to disguise his intentions; but that, in defending most of the articles, he should give up some as evidently dangerous, and condemned by known experience.

Such were the conditions agreed upon when the ridiculous and dangerous protests of the right side, which had resolved to vote no more, transpired. Accommodation then became impossible. The left side would hear no more, and, when the concerted attempt was made, the cries which burst from all quarters, prevented Malouet and his partisans from proceeding.* The constitution was therefore com-

* Bouillé had an intimate friend in Count de Gouvernet; and, though they differed widely in their opinions, each entertained a high esteem for the other. Bouillé, who does not spare the constitutionalists, expresses himself in the most honourable manner towards M. de Gouvernet, and seems to place the utmost confidence in him. To give in his Memoirs an idea of what was passing in the Assembly at this period, he quotes the following letter, addressed to him by Count de Gouvernet on the 26th of August, 1791:

"I have held out hopes to you which I no longer entertain. That fatal constitution, which was to be revised and amended, will not be touched. It will remain what it is—a code of anarchy, a source of calamities; and, owing to our unlucky star, at the moment when the democrats themselves begin to be sensible of some of their errors, it is the aristocrats, who, by refusing their support, oppose their reparation. In order to enlighten you and to justify myself for having perhaps imparted to you a false hope, I must go back a little in my account of things, and tell you all that has passed, since I have to-day a safe opportunity of writing to you.

"On the day of the King's departure, and the following day, the two sides of the Assembly were closely watching each other's movements. The popular party was in great consternation; the royalist party extremely uneasy. The least indiscretion would have been liable to awaken the fury of the people. All the members of the right side were silent, and those of the other left their leaders to propose measures, which they called measures of *safety*, and which were not opposed by any one. On the second day after the King's departure, the Jacobins became menacing, and the constitutionalists moderate. They were then and they still are much more numerous than the Jacobins. They talked of accommodation, of a deputation to the King. Two of them proposed to M. Malouet conferences which were to be opened the following day; but news arrived of the King's apprehension, and then no further mention was made of them. Their opinions, however, having been manifested, they found themselves, from that very circumstance, separated more than ever from the furious. The return of Barnave, the respect which he had paid to the King and Queen, while the ferocious Petion insulted their misfortunes, and the gratitude which their majesties testified to Barnave, have in some measure changed the heart of that young man, which till then knew no pity. He is, as you know, the ablest and one of the most influential of his party. He had, therefore, rallied around him four-fifths of the left side, not only to save the King from the fury of the Jacobins, but to restore to him part of his authority, and to furnish him also with the means of defending himself in future, by keeping in the constitutional line. In regard to the latter part of Barnave's plan, nobody was in the secret but Lameth and Duport; for the constitutional crowd still gave them so much uneasiness that they could not reckon upon a majority of the Assembly, without including the right side; and they conceive that they might rely upon it, when, in revising their constitution, they should give greater latitude to the royal authority.

"Such was the state of things when I wrote to you. But convinced as I was of the awkwardness of the aristocrats and their continual blunders, I was not aware how far they could go.

"When the news of the King's apprehension at Varennes arrived, the right side, in the secret committees, determined to vote no more, and to take no further part in the deliberations or the discussions of the Assembly. Malouet disapproved this course. He represented to them that, whilst the session lasted and they attended it, they were bound to make an active opposition to measures injurious to public order and to the fundamental principles of the monarchy. All his remonstrances were useless; they persisted in their resolution, and secretly drew up a protest against all that was doing. Malouet declared that he would continue to protest in the tribune, and to make ostensibly all possible efforts to prevent the evil. He told me that he had not been able to bring over to his opinion more than thirty-five or forty members of the right side, and that he much feared that this false step of the most zealous royalists would be productive of mischievous consequences.

"The general dispositions of the Assembly were then so favourable to the King, that, while he

pleted with some haste, and submitted to the King for his acceptance. From that moment his freedom was restored to him ; or, if that expression be objected to, the strict watch kept over the palace ceased, and he had liberty to retire whithersoever he pleased, to examine the constitutional act and to accept it freely. What was Louis XVI. to do in this case? To reject the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of a republic. The safest way, even according to his own system, was to accept it, and to expect from time those restitutions of power which he considered as due to him. Accordingly, after a certain number of days, he declared that he accepted the constitution. An extraordinary joy burst forth at this intelligence, as if in fact some obstacle had been anticipated on the part of the King, and his assent had been an unhoped-for concession. He repaired to the Assembly, where he was received as in the most brilliant times. Lafayette, who never forgot to repair the inevitable evils of political troubles, proposed a general amnesty for all acts connected with the Revolution, which was proclaimed amidst shouts of joy, and the prisons were instantly thrown open. At length, on the 30th of September, Thouret, the last president, declared that the Constituent Assembly had terminated its sittings.

was coming back to Paris, Thouret, having ascended the tribune to determine the manner in which the King should be guarded (I was at the sitting), the utmost silence prevailed in the hall and in the galleries. Almost all the deputies, even of the left side, looked confounded, during the reading of that fatal decree, but no one spoke. The president was going to put it to the vote, when Malouet abruptly rose, and with indignant look, exclaimed, 'What are you about, gentlemen? After apprehending the King, it is proposed that you should constitute him prisoner by a decree. Whither will this step lead you? Have you considered that? Would you order the King to be imprisoned?'—'No! No!' cried several members of the left side, rising tumultuously; 'we mean not that the King should be a prisoner;' and the decree was on the point of being rejected almost unanimously, when Thouret hastily added;—'The last speaker has not justly comprehended the terms and the object of the decree. We have no intention, any more than he, to imprison the King; it is for his safety and that of the royal family that we propose these measures.' And it was not till after this explanation that the decree passed, though the imprisonment became an absolute reality, and is continued to this day without shame.

"At the end of July, the constitutionalists, who suspected the protest of the right side, without having any certainty of it, proceeded leisurely with their plan of revision. They dreaded the Jacobins and the aristocrats more than ever. Malouet went to their committee of revision. He at first addressed them as men who had nothing to learn respecting the dangers and the faults of their constitution; but he found them less disposed in favour of great reforms. They were afraid of losing their popularity. Target and Duport opposed his arguments, and defended their work. Next day he met Chapelier and Barnave, who at first disdainfully refused to answer his provocations, and at length agreed to the plan of attack, all the risks of which he was ready to incur. He proposed to discuss, in the sitting of the 8th, all the principal points of the constitutional act and to point out all its vices. 'You, gentlemen,' said he, 'answer me. Overwhelm me unanimously with your indignation. Defend your work with advantage on the least dangerous articles, even on the plurality of the points, against which my censure will be levelled; and as for those which I shall characterize as anti-monarchical, as preventing the action of the government, say that neither the Assembly nor the committee needed my remarks on that head; that you intend to propose their reform; and forthwith propose it. Be assured that it is our only resource for upholding the monarchy, and for returning in time to give all the support that is necessary for it.' This was accordingly agreed upon: but, the protest of the right side having become known, and its perseverance in not voting having deprived the constitutionalists of all hope of succeeding in their plan of revision, which the Jacobins opposed with all their might, they gave it up. Malouet, who had no regular communications with them, nevertheless made his attack. He solemnly rejected the constitutional act as anti-monarchical, and as impracticable of execution in several points. The development of his motives had begun to produce a considerable impression, when Chapelier, who had no further hope from the execution of the agreement, broke it, crying blasphemy, interrupting the speaker, and requiring that he should be ordered to leave the tribune: which was accordingly done. Next day he acknowledged that he was in the wrong; but he said that he and his partisans had lost all hope, from the moment when they had no further aid to expect from the right side.

"I was obliged to relate to you this long history lest you should lose all confidence in my prognostics. They are gloomy, now: the evil is extreme; and to repair it, I perceive, either within or without, but one remedy, which is the union of force with reason."—*Mémoires de Bouillé*, p. 288, *et seq.*

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Constituent Assembly had now terminated its long and laborious career; and, notwithstanding its noble courage, its perfect equity, and its immense toils, it was hated as revolutionary at Coblentz, and as aristocratic at Paris. In order to form a proper judgment of this memorable Assembly, which combined talents so great and so diversified, the resolutions of which were so bold and so persevering, and in which were seen, perhaps for the first time, all the enlightened men of a nation assembled with the will and the power to realize the wishes of philosophy, we must consider the state in which it had found France, and that in which it left her.

In 1789 the French nation knew and felt all the evils it suffered under, but it did not conceive the possibility of curing them. All at once, on the unforeseen demand of the parliaments, the States-general were convoked, the Constituent Assembly was formed and came into the presence of the throne, proud of its ancient power, and disposed at most to put up with a few complaints. Thoroughly impressed with its rights, it then declared itself to be the nation, and dared to declare this to the astonished government. Threatened by the aristocracy, by the court, and by an army, not yet foreseeing the popular commotions, it declared itself inviolable, and forbade power to touch it. Convinced of its rights, it addressed itself to enemies who were not convinced of theirs, and, by the mere expression of its determination, gained the ascendancy over a power of several centuries, and an army of thirty thousand men. Such was the Revolution. Such was its first and noblest act. It was just—it was heroic; for never did nation act with greater propriety, or amid greater dangers.

Power being vanquished, it became necessary to reconstitute it in a just and suitable manner. But, at the sight of that social ladder, on the summit of which there is a superabundance of everything—power, honours, wealth; whilst at the bottom everything is wanting, even to the bread that is indispensable for life—the Constituent Assembly experienced a violent reaction in its ideas, and was for reducing all to one level. It decided, therefore, that the mass of the citizens, placed on a complete equality, should express their will, and that the King should be charged only with its execution.

Its error here consists, not in having reduced royalty to a mere magistracy, for the King had still sufficient power to uphold the laws, and more than magistrates possess in republics, but in having imagined that a King, with the recollection of what he had been, could resign himself to be what he was; and that a nation, scarcely awakened, which had recovered part of the popular power, would not determine to conquer it entirely.

History proves, in fact, that it is necessary to divide magistracies to infinity, or that, if a single chief be appointed, he must be so well endowed as to have no temptation to usurp.

When nations, engrossed by their private interests, find it necessary to transfer the cares of government to a chief, they do right to give themselves one; but, in this case, that chief must, like the kings of England, possess in reality the greatest part of the sovereignty, and the power of convoking and dissolving the national assemblies, without being compelled to obey their mandates, sanctioning them only

when he thinks fit, and being prevented only from doing what is mischievous. The dignity of man can still be preserved under such a government, when the law is strictly observed, when every citizen feels his own value, and knows that powers so extensive left to the prince have only been granted as a concession to human weakness.

But it is not at the moment when a nation suddenly bethinks itself of its rights that it can renounce all its prerogatives, submit to take a secondary part, and yield the supreme power to a chief, lest he should feel an inclination to usurp it. The Constituent Assembly was equally incapable with the nation itself of consenting to such an abdication. It reduced the King, therefore, to a mere hereditary magistrate, hoping that the nation would leave him that, and that he would himself be content with this magistracy, still resplendent with honours, wealth, and power.

But, whether the Assembly hoped this or not, could it in such a state of uncertainty, evade the question? Could it abolish royalty, or could it confer on it all the power that England grants to her monarchs?

It could not, on the one hand, depose Louis XVI.; for, if it is always necessary to introduce a spirit of justice into a government, it is not so to change its form, when that spirit exists in it, and suddenly to convert a monarchy into a republic. Moreover, possession carries with it authority, and if the Assembly had despoiled the reigning dynasty, what would not its enemies have said, who accused it of violating property because it attacked feudal rights?

On the other hand, it could not confer on the King the absolute *veto*, the appointment of the judges, and other similar prerogatives, because public opinion was adverse to such concessions; and, as this opinion constituted its only strength, the Assembly was obliged to defer to it.

With regard to the establishment of a single chamber, its error was, perhaps, more real, but just as inevitable. If it was dangerous to leave nothing but the remembrance of power to a king who had possessed it entire, while legislating for a people desirous of wresting from him the last remnant of it; much more false was it in principle not to recognise social inequalities and gradations, when they are admitted by republics themselves, and when in all of them there is a senate either hereditary or elective. But we must not require of men and minds more than they are capable of at the time. How can the necessity of ranks be recognised at the moment of a revolt against their injustice? How is it possible to constitute an aristocracy at the moment when war is proclaimed against aristocracy? To constitute royalty would have been an easier task, because, placed apart from the people, it would have been less oppressive, and because it moreover performs functions which seem more necessary.

But, I repeat it, if these errors had not existed in the Assembly, they existed in the nation; and the course of events will prove that, if the Assembly had left the King and the aristocracy all the powers which it did not leave them, the Revolution would, nevertheless, have taken place, even to its greatest excesses.

To be convinced of this, we must make a distinction between the revolutions which have taken place among nations long in a state of subjection, and those which have taken place among free people, that is to say, people in possession of a certain political activity. At Rome, at Athens, and elsewhere, we see the people and their chiefs disputing for the greater or less share of authority. Among modern nations entirely stripped of it, the course is different. Completely subjected, their slumber is long. The more enlightened classes are the first to awake. These rouse themselves and recover a portion of power. The awakening is progressive. Ambition is progressive too, and keeps spreading to the lowest classes, till the whole mass is in motion. Presently, satisfied with what they have obtained, the enlightened classes wish to stop; but they can no longer do so, and are incessantly pushed forward by those behind them. Those who stop, were they in the very last rank but one, if they pretend to oppose the last, are to it an aristocracy, and are stigmatized with the name. The mere tradesman is called aristocrat by the artisan, and hated as such.

The Constituent Assembly represented that class which first awakes and cries out against power while yet all-powerful. Sagacious enough to perceive what was

due to those who had everything and to those who had nothing, it wished to leave the former part of what they possessed, because they had always possessed it, and to procure for the latter, above all things, knowledge, and the rights which it confers. But regret sways the one, ambition the other. Regret wishes to recover all, ambition to conquer all, and a war of extermination commences. The constituents then, are those first good men, who, shaking off slavery, attempt to establish a just system, try it without apprehension, nay, accomplish this immense task, but fail in endeavouring to persuade the one to yield something, the other not to grasp at everything.

The Constituent Assembly, in its equitable allotments, had shown forbearance towards the former possessors of power. Louis XVI., with the title of King of the French, an income of thirty millions, the command of the armies, and the right of suspending the national decrees, still possessed extensive prerogatives. The recollection of absolute power alone can excuse him for not having been content with so brilliant a remnant of absolute power.

The clergy, stripped of the immense possessions which had formerly been given to it, on condition of relieving the poor whom it did not relieve, and of performing that divine worship which it left to be performed by poor curates, was no longer a political order. But its ecclesiastical dignities were preserved, its dogmas respected, its scandalous wealth changed into a sufficient, nay, we may say, an abundant revenue, for it still possessed considerable episcopal luxury. The nobility was no longer an order; it no longer possessed the exclusive right of killing game and the like; it was no longer exempt from taxes; but could it make these things a subject of reasonable regret? Its immense possessions were left to it. Instead of the favour of the court, it had a certainty of the distinctions conferred on merit. It had the privilege of being elected by the people, and of representing it in the state, if it could but show the slightest good-will and resignation. The robe and the sword were insured to its talents: why then was it not all at once inspired with a generous emulation? What an avowal of incapacity did it not make in regretting the favours of former times!

The old pensioners had been spared; the ecclesiastics had received indemnities; every one had been treated with indulgence: was then the lot which the Constituent Assembly had assigned to all so intolerable?

The constitution being completed, the King had no hope left of recovering, by means of the legislation, the prerogatives which he regretted. He had but one course to pursue, to be resigned and to uphold the constitution, unless he reckoned upon the foreign powers. But he hoped very little from their zeal, and distrusted the emigrants. He decided, therefore, in favour of the former line of conduct, and what proves his sincerity is, that he meant frankly to point out to the Assembly the defects which he found in the constitution. But he was dissuaded from doing so, and he resolved to trust to time for those restitutions of power which he deemed his due. The Queen was not less resigned. "Courage!" said she to Bertrand the minister, who waited upon her, "all is not yet lost. The King is determined to adhere to the constitution: that course is certainly the best." And there is every reason to believe that, if she had had other thoughts to utter, she would not have hesitated to express them before Bertrand de Molleville.*

* This minister has given such an account of the dispositions of the King and Queen, at the commencement of the first legislature, as leaves but little doubt of their sincerity. He relates his first interview with these august personages as follows:

"After replying to some general observations which I had made on the difficulty of circumstances and on the numberless faults which I was liable to commit in a department with which I was unacquainted, the King said to me, 'Well, have you still any objection?'—'No, sire; the wish to please and to obey your majesty is the only sentiment that I feel; but, to know if I can flatter myself with the prospect of serving you usefully, it would be necessary that you should let me know what is your plan relative to the constitution, and what the line of conduct which you wish your ministers to pursue.'—'Very true,' replied the King, 'I consider that constitution as by no means a masterpiece; in my opinion it has very great defects, and if I had been at liberty to address some observations to the Assembly, very beneficial reforms might have resulted from them; but now it is too late, and I have accepted it such as it is. I have sworn to cause it to be executed,

The old Assembly had broken up. Its members had returned to the bosom of their families, or were scattered throughout Paris. Some of the most conspicuous, such as Lameth, Duport, Barnave, communicated with the court, and gave it their advice. But the King, resolved as he was to observe the constitution, could not make up his mind to follow the advice that he received; for not only was it recommended to him not to violate that constitution, but by all his acts to induce the belief that he was sincerely attached to it. These members of the late Assembly, joined by Lafayette since the revision, were the chiefs of that first revolutionary generation, which had laid down the first rules of liberty, and desired that they should be adhered to. They were supported by the national guard, whom long service under Lafayette had strongly attached to him and to his principles. The constituents then fell into an error—that of disdaining the new Assembly, and frequently irritating it by their contempt. A sort of aristocratic vanity had already seized these first legislators; and it seemed as though all legislative science had disappeared along with them.

The new Assembly was composed of different classes of men. It included enlightened partisans of the first Revolution: Ramond, Girardin, Vaublanc, Dumas, and others, who called themselves constitutionalists, and occupied the right side, where not one of the late privileged class was to be found. Thus, by the natural and progressive march of the Revolution, the left side of the first Assembly was destined to become the right of the second. Next to the constitutionalists came many distinguished men, whose heads were heated, and whose expectations were exaggerated by the Revolution. Witnesses of the labours of the Constituent Assembly, and impatient as lookers-on, they were of opinion that enough had not yet been done. They durst not avow themselves republicans, because, on all sides, people mutually exhorted one another to be faithful to the constitution; but the experiment of a republic which had been made during the journey of Louis XVI., and the suspicious intentions of the court, were incessantly leading their minds back to that idea; and they could not but attach themselves to it more and more from their continual hostilities with the government.

Among this new generation of talents, the most remarkable were the deputies

and I ought and will be strictly faithful to my oath; and the more so, as I believe the most rigorous execution of the constitution to be the surest means of making the nation acquainted with it, and rendering it sensible of the changes that it would be well to introduce in it. I have not, neither can I have, any other plan than this; I will assuredly not deviate from it, and it is my wish that the ministers should conform to it.'—'This plan, sire, appears to me infinitely prudent: I feel myself capable of following it, and I engage to do so. I have not sufficiently studied the new constitution either as a whole, or in its details, to have a decided opinion upon it, and I will abstain from adopting one, be it what it may, before its execution has enabled the nation to appreciate it by its effects. But, may I be permitted to ask your majesty if the Queen's opinion on this point agrees with the King's?'—'Yes, precisely; she will tell you so herself.'

"I went down stairs to the Queen, who, after declaring with extreme kindness that she felt under as much obligation to me as the King for having accepted the ministry under such critical circumstances, added these words: 'The King has acquainted you with his intentions relative to the constitution; do you not think that the only plan he has to follow is to adhere to his oath?'—'Most certainly, madam.'—'Well, be assured that nothing shall induce us to change. Come, M. Bertrand, courage! I hope that, with patience, firmness, and perseverance, all is not yet lost.'"—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi., p. 22.

The testimony of M. Bertrand is corroborated by that of Madame Campan, which, though sometimes suspicious, has on this occasion very much the air of truth.

"The constitution had been, as I have said, presented to the King on the 3d of September; I recur to this presentation, because it furnished a very important subject of deliberation. All the ministers, excepting M. de Montmorin, insisted on the necessity of accepting the constitutional act in its entire state. Such, too, was the opinion of the Prince de Kaunitz. Malouet wished that the King would frankly point out the vices and dangers which he discovered in the constitution. But Duport and Barnave, alarmed at the spirit which prevailed in the association of the Jacobins, and even in the Assembly, where Robespierre had already denounced them as traitors to the country, and apprehensive of great calamities, agreed in opinion with the majority of the ministers and M. de Kaunitz. Those who sincerely wished to uphold the constitution, advised that it should not be accepted purely and simply: of this number were, as I have mentioned, Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet. The King appeared to like their advice; and this is one of the strongest proofs of the sincerity of the unfortunate monarch."—*Mémoires de Madame Compan*, tome ii., p. 161.

of La Gironde, from whom the whole party, though composed of men from all the departments, derived the name of Girondins. Condorcet,* a writer celebrated for the comprehensiveness of his ideas, and for an extreme austerity of mind and character, was its writer; and Vergniaud,† a pure and persuasive extempore speaker, was its orator. This party, increased continually by all who despaired of the court, did not want such a republic as fell to it in 1793. It dreamt of one with all its fascinations, with its severe virtues and manners. Enthusiasm and vehemence were of course its principal characteristics.

Such a party could not but have its extremes. There were Bazire, Merlin de Thionville, and others; who, though its inferiors in talent, were its superiors in boldness. They became the party of the Mountain, when, after the overthrow of the throne, they separated from the Girondins. This second Assembly had also, like the first, a middle mass, which, without being bound to any party, voted first with the one and then with the other. Under the Constituent Assembly, when real liberty still prevailed, this mass had remained independent; but, as it was not so from energy but from indifference, in the subsequent Assemblies, and during the reign of violence, it became cowardly and contemptible, and received the trivial and ignominious name of *belly* (*ventre*).

The clubs gained at this period a very different kind of importance. Agitators under the Constituent, they became rulers under the Legislative, Assembly. The National Assembly could not contain all the ambitious; they betook themselves therefore to the clubs, where they found a theatre for their declamation and passions. Thither resorted all who longed to speak, to take an active part, to agitate themselves, that is to say, almost the whole nation. The people ran to this new sight: they filled the tribunes of all the Assemblies, and there found, from this time forward, a lucrative employment, for they began to be paid for their applause. Bertrand, the minister, confesses that he paid them himself.

* "Marie Jean Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, was born in 1743. His was one of the oldest families in Dauphiné. He was educated in the college of Navarre, at Paris, and from early youth devoted himself to the study of the exact sciences. The Duke of Rochefoucault was his patron; and introduced him into the world at the age of nineteen. With astonishing facility Condorcet treated the most difficult problems in mathematics, and gained such celebrity as a man of science, that, in 1777, he was made secretary to the Academy of Sciences. He contributed several articles to the 'Encyclopædia,' and was intimate with most of the writers of that great work. Under a cold exterior, Condorcet concealed the most violent passions. D'Alembert compared him to a volcano covered with snow. On the intelligence of the King's flight, he defined the royal dignity as an anti-social institution. In 1792 he was appointed President of the Assembly, and composed the proclamation addressed to the French and to Europe, which announced the abolition of royalty. On the trial of Louis he voted for the severest sentence not capital; at the same time he voted for the abolition of capital punishments, except in crimes against the state. In 1793 he was accused of being an accomplice with Brissot, and, to save his life, concealed himself in the house of Madame Verney, where he remained eight months, during which period, though in constant fear of discovery, he wrote one of his best philosophical treatises. Having at length learned that death was denounced against all who harboured a proscribed individual, he left his generous hostess, and fled in disguise from Paris. He wandered about for some time, until, driven by hunger, he entered a small inn at Clamar, where he was arrested as a suspicious person, and thrown into prison. On the following morning, March 28, 1794, he was found dead on the floor of his room, having apparently swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which nothing but his love for his wife and daughter prevented him using before."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† "Vergniaud was the most eloquent speaker of the Gironde, but he had not the vigour requisite for the leader of a party in troubled times. Passion, in general, had little influence over his mind. He was humane, gentle, and benevolent; difficult to rouse to exertion, and still more to be convinced of the wickedness, either of his adversaries or a large part of his supporters. But when great occasions arose, he poured forth his generous thoughts in streams of eloquence which never have been equalled in the French Assembly. It was not like that of Mirabeau, broken and emphatic, but uniformly elegant, sonorous, and flowing, swelling at times into the highest strains of impassioned oratory. Gaudet was more animated than Vergniaud; but Gensonne, with inferior talents for speaking, was nevertheless looked up to as a leader of his party, from his firmness and resolution of character. Barbaroux, a native of the south of France, brought to the strife of faction the ardent temperament of his sunny climate. He was resolute, sagacious, and daring, and early divined the bloody designs of the Jacobins."—*Alison.* E.

The oldest of the clubs, that of the Jacobins, had acquired extraordinary importance. A church was scarcely sufficient to hold the crowd of its members and auditors. An immense amphitheatre rose in the form of a circus and occupied the whole great nave of the church of the Jacobins. A desk was placed in the centre, at which sat the president and the secretaries. Here the votes were collected, and here reports of the deliberations were entered in a register. An active correspondence kept up the zeal of the societies which were scattered over the entire surface of France, and were called affiliated societies. This club, from its seniority and persevering violence, had constantly maintained an ascendancy over all those that had desired to show themselves more moderate or even more vehement. After the journey to Varennes, the Lameths, with all its most distinguished members, left it and joined the Feuillans. In this latter were blended all the attempts at moderate clubs, attempts which had never succeeded, because they ran counter to the feeling which caused people to frequent the clubs—the desire of agitation. It was at the Feuillans that the constitutionalists, or partisans of the first Revolution, now met. Hence the name of Feuillant became a ground of proscription, when that of moderate was unpopular.

Another club, that of the Cordeliers, endeavoured to rival in violence that of the Jacobins. Camille Desmoulins was its secretary, and Danton its president. The latter, who had not been successful at the bar, had gained the adoration of the multitude which he powerfully excited, by his athletic figure, his sonorous voice, and his popular passions. The Cordeliers however were not able, even with the aid of exaggeration, to eclipse their rivals, to whom habit brought a concourse of auditors. But almost all of them belonged to the Jacobin club, and when occasion required, they repaired thither in the train of Danton, to swell the majority in his favour.

Robespierre, whom we have seen, in the time of the Constituent Assembly, distinguishing himself by the severity of his principles, was excluded from the Legislative Assembly by the decree of non-re-election, to the passing of which he had himself contributed. He had intrenched himself at the Jacobins, where he ruled without partner, by the dogmatism of his opinions and by a reputation for integrity which had gained him the epithet of incorruptible. Panic struck, as we have seen, at the moment of the revision, he had since taken courage, and continued the work of his popularity. Robespierre had found two rivals whom he began to hate—Brissot* and Louvet.† Brissot, mixed up with all the men of the first

* "The principal leader of the Gironde was Brissot, who had been a member of the municipality of Paris during the preceding session, and now belonged to the Assembly. The opinions of Brissot, who wished for a complete reform; his great activity of mind, which exerted itself by turns in the journal called the 'Patriot,' in the rostrum of the Assembly, and at the club of the Jacobins; and his accurate and extensive acquaintance with the situations of foreign powers, combined to give him great influence at a moment when France was distracted with the strife of parties."—*Mignet.*

"Brissot de Warville was born in 1754, at a village near Chartres. His father kept a cook's shop, which occasioned the saying that the son had all the heat of his father's stoves. After passing four years in an attorney's office, he turned author, and, at twenty years of age, had already published several works, one of which occasioned his imprisonment in the Bastille in 1784. He married a person attached to the household of Madame d'Orleans, and afterwards went to England. He lived there on pay as a spy from the lieutenant of police at Paris. At the same time he employed himself in literature, and endeavoured to form an academy in London; but, this speculation proving unsuccessful, he returned to France, and distinguished himself greatly during the Revolution. At the time of the trial of Louis XVI. he strove to bring the subject of his condemnation before the people, and afterwards voted for his death, though he was anxious to obtain a reprieve. Being denounced, together with the rest of the Girondins, by the Jacobins, he was guillotined in 1793. Brissot was thirty-nine years of age, of middle stature, slightly formed, and pale. He was so passionate an admirer of the Americans, that he adopted the appearance of a Quaker, and was pleased to be mistaken for one."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Jean Baptiste Louvet de Couvray was an advocate, and distinguished actor in the Revolution. He attached himself to the Girondins, and was included in an order of arrest issued in 1794 against that party. He, however, managed to escape, and lay concealed in Paris until after the fall of Robespierre. He subsequently published an account of his adventures during the time of his proscription—a work written in a romantic style, and which has been translated into many languages. Louvet died at Paris in 1797. He is chiefly known in literature as the author of that licentious novel, *The Chevalier Faublas.*"—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

Assembly, a friend of Mirabeau and Lafayette, known to be a republican, and one of the most distinguished members of the legislature, was fickle in character, but remarkable for certain qualities of mind. Louvet, with an ardent spirit, an excellent understanding, and great boldness, was one of those, who, having outstripped the Constituent Assembly, dreamt of a republic. Hence they naturally approximated to the Girondins. His contests with Robespierre soon attached him still more to them. This party of the Gironde, formed by degrees, without design, by men possessing too much merit to ally themselves to the populace, and distinction enough to be envied by it and its leaders, and who were united rather by their situation than by any concert, was destined to be brilliant but weak, and to fall before the more resolute factions which sprang up around it.

Such then was the state of France. The lately privileged persons had retired beyond the Rhine. The partisans of the constitution comprehended the right of the Assembly, the national guard, and the club of the Feuillans. The Girondins had the majority in the Assembly, but not in the clubs where low violence had greater sway. Lastly, the hot-headed democrats of this new epoch, seated on the highest benches of the Assembly, and thence denominated *the Mountain*, were all-powerful in the clubs and among the populace.

Lafayette had resigned all military rank and had been accompanied to his country-seat by the homage and regret of his companions in arms. The command had not been conferred on a new general, but six chiefs of legions commanded by turns the whole national guard. Bailly, the faithful ally of Lafayette during those three arduous years, likewise resigned the mayoralty. The voices of the electors were divided between Lafayette and Petion; but the court, which would not at any rate have Lafayette, who was nevertheless favourably disposed towards it, preferred Petion, though a republican. It hoped more from his coldness, which it mistook for stupidity, but which was quite the reverse, and it incurred considerable expense in order to secure him a majority. He was accordingly appointed mayor. Petion, with an enlightened understanding, a cold but settled conviction, and considerable address, constantly served the republicans against the court, and found himself allied to the Gironde by conformity of views, and by the envy which his new dignity excited among the Jacobins.

If, however, notwithstanding these dispositions of the parties, the King could have been relied upon, it is possible that the distrust of the Girondins might have worn off, and that, the pretext for disturbances no longer existing, the agitators would thenceforward have found no pretexts for urging the populace to commotion.

The intentions of the King were formed; but he was so weak that they were never irrevocable. It was requisite that he should prove them before they could gain belief; and till he could afford proof, he was liable to more than one outrage. His disposition, though good, was not without a certain tendency to ill-humour. His resolutions were in consequence easily shaken by the first faults of the Assembly. This Assembly having been constituted, took the oath with pomp on the book of the constitution. Its first decree relative to the ceremonial, abolished the titles of *sire* and *majesty*, usually given to the King. It ordered moreover that, whenever he appeared in the Assembly, he should sit in an arm-chair exactly similar to that of the president.

Such were the first results of the republican spirit, and the pride of Louis XVI. was cruelly wounded by them. To spare himself what he regarded as an humiliation, he resolved not to attend the Assembly, but to send his ministers to open the legislative session. The Assembly, repenting this first hostility, revoked its decree on the following day, and thus gave a rare example of recantation. The King then went and was warmly received. Unluckily, it had been decreed that, if the King continued sitting, the members should likewise keep their seats. They did so, and Louis XVI. considered this as a fresh insult. The applause with which he was greeted could not heal the wound. He returned home pale and with agitated looks. No sooner was he alone with the Queen than he threw himself into a chair, sobbing. "Ah! madam," he exclaimed, "you witnessed this humiliation! What! come to France to see . . . ."—The Queen strove to comfort him; but his heart

was too deeply lacerated, and his good intentions must have been shaken by this treatment.*

If, however, he henceforth thought only of having recourse to foreigners, the dispositions of the powers were not such as to give him much hope. The declaration of Pilnitz had remained inoperative, either from want of zeal on the part of the sovereigns, or perhaps on account of the danger which Louis XVI. would have incurred, having been ever since his return from Varennes the prisoner of the Constituent Assembly. The acceptance of the constitution was an additional motive for the sovereigns to await the results of experience before they proceeded to action. This was the opinion of Leopold and of Kaunitz the minister. Accordingly, when Louis XVI. had notified to all the courts that he had accepted the constitution, and that it was his intention to observe it faithfully, Austria returned a most pacific answer. Prussia and England did the same, and protested their amicable intentions. It is to be observed that the neighbouring powers acted with more reserve than the remote powers, such as Sweden and Russia, because they were more immediately compromised by a war. Gustavus, who dreamt of some brilliant expedition against France, replied to the notification that he did not consider the King as free. Russia deferred the explanation of her sentiments. Holland, the Italian principalities, and Switzerland in particular, gave satisfactory answers. The electors of Treves and Mentz, in whose territories the emigrants resided, used evasive expressions. Spain also, importuned by the emigrants of Coblentz, abstained from speaking out; alleging that she wished for time to insure the liberty of the King. She nevertheless declared that she had no intention of disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Such answers, not one of which was hostile, the assured neutrality of England, the hesitation of Frederick William, the pacific and well-known disposition of Leopold, all seemed to promise peace. It is impossible to tell what passed in the vacillating mind of Louis XVI.; but his evident interest, and the very fears with which the war subsequently filled him, must induce a belief that he too was desirous of the maintenance of peace. Amidst this general concert, the emigrants alone continued to be obstinately bent on war, and to prepare for it.

They still kept thronging to Coblentz; where, with great activity, they armed themselves, prepared magazines, contracted for accoutrements, and formed skeletons of regiments, which however were not filled up, for none of them would become soldiers. Moreover, they instituted ranks which were sold; and, if they attempted nothing really dangerous, they nevertheless made great preparations, which they themselves deemed formidable, and by which they expected to strike terror into the imagination of the French people.†

The grand point was to ascertain whether Louis XVI. were favourable to them or not; and it was difficult to suppose that he could be otherwise than well-disposed towards kinsmen and servants who were taking up arms to restore to him his former powers. It would have required nothing less than the utmost sincerity and continual demonstrations to produce a contrary conviction. The letters of the King to the emigrants contained invitations, nay, even orders, to return; but he kept up, it was said,‡ a secret correspondence, which contradicted his public correspondence,

* See *Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 129.

† "The continued and increasing emigration of the landholders contributed in the greatest degree to unhinge the public mind, and proved, perhaps, in the end, the greatest cause of the subsequent miseries of the Revolution. Their number was by this time, with their families, nearly one hundred thousand of the most wealthy and influential body in France. Coblentz became the centre of this anti-revolutionary party. In thus deserting their country at the most critical period of its history, the French nobility betrayed equal baseness and imprudence."—*Alison*. E.

‡ It is Madame Campan, who takes it upon her to inform us that the King kept up a secret correspondence with Coblentz.

"While the courtiers were conveying the confidential letters of the King to the princes, his brothers, and to the foreign princes, the Assembly requested the King to write to the princes and to exhort them to return to France. The King directed the Abbé de Montesquiou to draw up for him the letter which he purposed sending. This letter, admirably written, in a touching and simple style, suitable to the character of Louis XVI., and full of very strong arguments on the

and destroyed its effect. That secret communications took place with Coblentz cannot indeed be denied, but I cannot believe that Louis XVI. made use of them to contradict the injunctions which he had publicly addressed to the emigrants. His most evident interest was that they should return. Their presence at Coblentz could not be serviceable so long as they entertained the design of fighting: and Louis XVI. dreaded civil war above all things.

Not desiring then that the emigrants should employ their swords on the Rhine, it was better that he should have them about him, that he might employ them as occasion required, and combine their efforts with those of the constitutionalists for the protection of his person and his throne. Moreover, their presence at Coblentz provoked severe laws, which he would not sanction—a refusal which compromised him with the Assembly; and we shall see that it was the use which he now made of the *veto* that completely stripped him of popularity, and caused him to be considered as an accomplice of the emigrants. It would be strange if he had not perceived the cogency of these reasons, which was felt by all his ministers, who were unanimously of opinion that the emigrants ought to return and to keep near the person of the King, in order to defend him, to put an end to alarms, and to deprive agitators of every pretext. This was the opinion of Bertrand de Molleville himself, whose principles were anything but constitutional. "It was necessary," says he, "to use all possible means to increase the popularity of the King. The most efficacious and the most useful of all, at this moment, was to recall the emigrants. Their return, generally desired, would have revived in France the royalist party, which the emigration had completely disorganized. This party, strengthened by the unpopularity of the Assembly, and recruited by numerous deserters from the constitutional party, and by all the discontented, would soon have become powerful enough to render decisive in favour of the King the explosion, more or less speedy, which there was every reason to expect."*

Louis XVI., conformably with this advice of his ministers, addressed exhortations to the principal officers of the army and navy, to recall them to their duty, and to keep them at their posts. His exhortations, however, were useless, and the desertion continued without intermission. The minister at war reported that nineteen hundred officers had deserted. The Assembly could not moderate its wrath, and resolved to take vigorous measures. The Constituent Assembly had gone no further than to decree that public functionaries who were out of the kingdom should be superseded, and that the property of emigrants should be burdened with a triple contribution, to indemnify the state for the services of which they deprived it by their absence. The new Assembly proposed more severe penalties.

Several plans were presented. Brissot distinguisaed three classes of emigrants: the leaders of the desertion, the public functionaries who abandoned their duties, and lastly, those who out of fear had fled from their country. They ought, he said, to deal severely with the former, to despise and pity the others.

It is certain that the liberty of man does not allow him to be chained down to the soil, but when a certainty is obtained, from a multitude of circumstances, that the citizens who forsake it are going to assemble abroad for the purpose of declaring war against it, then, indeed, it is justifiable to take precautions against such dangerous projects.

advantage of rallying round the principles of the constitution, was put into my hands by the King for the purpose of making a copy of it.

"At this period, M. Mor . . . . one of the intendants of Monsieur's household, obtained from the Assembly a passport to go to the prince, on account of some work that was absolutely necessary to be done to his house. The Queen selected him to carry this letter: she determined to deliver it to him herself, and acquainted him with her motive for doing so. The choice of this courier surprised me: the Queen assured me that there could not be a fitter, that she even reckoned upon his indiscretion, and that it was merely essential that the public should know of the King's letter to his brothers. *The princes were no doubt forewarned by the private correspondence.* Monsieur, nevertheless, showed some surprise, and the messenger returned more afflicted than pleased by such a mark of confidence which had well-nigh cost him his life during the years of terror."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 172.

* Tome vi., p. 42.

The debate was long and warm. The constitutionalists condemned all the measures proposed, and asserted that they ought to despise useless attempts, as their predecessors had invariably done. The opposite party, however, carried their point; and a first decree was passed, enjoining Monsieur, the King's brother, to return within two months, in default of which he should lose his eventual right to the regency. A second and more severe decree was levelled against the emigrants in general: it declared that the French assembled beyond the frontiers of the kingdom were suspected of conspiring against France; that, if on the 1st of January next they still continued assembled, they should be declared guilty of conspiracy, prosecuted as such, and punished with death; and that the revenues of those who refused to comply should be levied during their lives for the benefit of the nation, without prejudice to the rights of wives, children, and lawful creditors.

The act of emigration not being in itself reprehensible, it is difficult to characterize the case in which it becomes so. All that the law could do was to apprize people that they would become culpable in such and such cases; and all who wished not to be so, had only to obey. Those who, when apprized of the term beyond which absence from the kingdom became a crime, should not return, would consent by this very circumstance to pass for criminals. It was incumbent on those who, without any hostile or political motive, were out of the kingdom, to hasten their return: in fact, it is a very trifling sacrifice to the safety of a state to abridge a journey of pleasure or profit.

Louis XVI., in order to satisfy the Assembly and public opinion, assented to the decree requiring Monsieur to return upon pain of losing his right to the regency; but he affixed his *veto* to the law against the emigrants. The ministers were directed to go in a body to the Assembly, for the purpose of communicating the pleasure of the King. They first read several decrees to which the sanction was given. When they came to that relative to the emigrants, profound silence pervaded the Assembly; and when the keeper of the seals pronounced the official formula, *The King will examine it*, great discontent was expressed on all sides. He would have entered into a development of the forms of the *veto*, but a great number of voices were raised, and told the minister that the constitution granted to the King the right of opposing, but not that of assigning motives for opposition. The minister was therefore obliged to withdraw, leaving behind him a deep irritation. This first resistance of the King to the Assembly was a definitive rupture; and though he had sanctioned the decree which deprived his brother of the regency, yet people could not help discovering in his rejection of the second decree an affection for the insurgents at Coblentz. They considered that he was their kinsman, their friend, and in some degree their co-partner; and thence concluded that it was impossible for him not to make common cause with them against the nation.

The very next day, Louis XVI. published a proclamation to the emigrants, and two separate letters to his two brothers. The reasons which he stated to both were excellent, and appeared to be sincerely urged. He exhorted them to put an end by their return to the distrust which evil disposed persons took delight in spreading. He besought them not to compel him to employ severe measures against them; and, as to his want of liberty, which was made a pretext for not obeying him, he adduced as an evidence of the contrary the *veto* which he had just affixed in their favour.* Be this as it might, those reasons produced neither at Coblentz nor at

* *Letter from the King to Louis Stanislas Xavier, French Prince, the King's Brother.*

Paris, November 11, 1791.

I wrote to you, my brother, on the 16th of October last, and you ought not to have had any doubt of my real sentiments. I am surprised that my letter has not produced the effect which I had a right to expect from it. In order to recall you to your duty, I have used all the arguments that ought to touch you most. Your absence is a pretext for all the evil-disposed, a sort of excuse for all the deluded French, who imagine that they are serving me by keeping all France in an alarm and an agitation which are the torment of my life. The Revolution is finished; the constitution is completed; France wills it, I will maintain it; upon its consolidation now depends the welfare of the monarchy. The constitution has conferred rights upon you; it has attached to them one condition which you ought to lose no time in fulfilling. Believe me, brother, and repel the

Paris the effect which they were, or appeared to be, intended to produce. The emigrants did not return; and in the Assembly the tone of the proclamation was deemed too mild; nay, the power of the executive to issue one was called in question. That body was in fact too much irritated to be content with a proclamation, and above all to suffer the King to substitute a useless measure for the vigorous resolutions which had just been adopted.

A similar trial was at the same moment imposed upon the King, and produced an equally unfortunate result. The first religious disturbances had broken out in the West; the Constituent Assembly had sent thither two commissioners, one of whom was Gensonné, afterwards so celebrated in the party of the Gironde. Their report had been made to the Legislative Assembly, and, though very moderate, this report had filled it with indignation. It will be recollected that the Constituent

doubts which pains are taken to excite in you respecting my liberty. I am going to prove to you by a most solemn act, and in a circumstance which interests you, that I can act freely. Prove to me that you are my brother and a Frenchman, by complying with my entreaties. Your proper place is by my side; your interest, your sentiments alike urge you to come and resume it; I invite you, and, if I may, I order you, to do so.

(Signed) Louis.

Answer of Monsieur to the King.

Coblentz, December 3, 1791.

Sire, my brother and lord,

The Count de Vergennes has delivered to me in the name of your majesty, a letter, the address of which, notwithstanding my baptismal names which it contains, is so unlike mine that I had some thoughts of returning it unopened. However, upon his positive assertion that it was for me, I opene l it, and the name of brother which I found in it having left me no further doubt, I read it with the respect which I owe to the handwriting and the signature of your majesty. The order which it contains to return and resume my place by your majesty's person is not the free expression of your will; and my honour, my duty, nay, even my affection, alike forbid me to obey. If your majesty wishes to be acquainted with all these motives more in detail, I beg you to refer to my letter of the 10th of September last. I also entreat you to receive with kindness the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c., &c., &c.

Letter from the King to Charles Philippe, French Prince, the King's Brother.

Paris, November 11, 1791.

You must certainly be aware of the decree which the National Assembly has passed relative to the French who have left their country. I have not thought it right to give my consent to it, fondly believing that mild means will more effectually accomplish the end which is proposed, and which the interest of the state demands. The various communications which I have made to you cannot leave you in any doubt respecting my intentions or my wishes. The public tranquillity and my personal peace are interested in your return. You could not persist in a conduct which disturbs France and which grieves me, without disregarding your most essential duties. Spare me the regret of recurring to severe measures against you; consult your true interest; suffer yourself to be guided by the attachment which you owe to your country, and yield, in short, to the wish of the French and to that of your King. This step, on your part, will be a proof of your sentiments for me, and will insure to you the continuance of those which I always entertained for you.

(Signed) Louis.

Answer of the Count d'Artois to the King.

Coblentz, December 3, 1791.

Sire, my brother and lord,

Count de Vergennes delivered to me yesterday a letter, which, he assured me, had been addressed to me by your majesty. The superscription, which gives me a title that I cannot admit, led me to suppose that this letter was not destined for me; however, having recognised the seal of your majesty, I opened it, and paid respect to the handwriting and the signature of my King; but the total omission of the name of brother, and, above all, the decisions referred to in this letter, have furnished me with a fresh proof of the moral and physical captivity in which our enemies dare to hold your majesty. After this declaration, your majesty will think it natural that, faithful to my duty and the laws of honour, I should not obey orders evidently wrung from you by violence.

Besides, the letter which I had the honour to write to your majesty, conjointly with Monsieur, on the 10th of September last, contains the sentiments, the principles, and the resolutions, from which I shall never swerve; I refer to it, therefore, absolutely; it shall be the basis of my conduct, and I here renew my oath to that effect. I entreat your majesty to receive the homage of the sentiments equally tender and respectful, with which I am, &c., &c., &c.

Assembly, in depriving the nonjuring priests of their functions, had nevertheless left them a pension, and liberty to perform religious service apart. They had ever since endeavoured to excite the people against their colleagues who had taken the oath, and inveighed against them as impious wretches, whose ministry was null and dangerous. They drew the peasants after them to great distances for the purpose of saying mass to them. The latter were irritated to see their churches occupied by a worship which they were taught to consider as bad, and to be obliged to go so far in quest of that which they looked upon as good. Civil war was imminent.* Fresh information communicated to the Assembly proved that the

* The Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné is indisputably the best historical authority concerning the commencement of the disturbances in La Vendée. The origin of those disturbances is the most interesting part of it, because it makes us acquainted with their causes. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to subjoin this Report. It seems to me to throw light on one of the most curious portions of that melancholy history.

Report of Messrs. Gallois and Gensonné, Civil Commissioners sent into the Departments of La Vendée and Deux-Sévres, by virtue of Decrees of the Constituent Assembly, made to the Legislative Assembly, October 9, 1791.

Gentlemen, the National Assembly decreed, on the 16th of July last, on the report of its committee of research, that civil commissioners should be sent to the department of La Vendée, to collect all the information they could obtain respecting the causes of the recent disturbances in that country, and to concur with the administrative bodies in the restoration of the public tranquillity.

On the 23d of July we were charged with this mission, and we set out two days afterwards for Fontenay-le-Comte, the chief town of that department.

After conferring for some days with the administrators of the directory upon the state of things and the disposition of people's minds; after concerting with the three administrative bodies some preliminary measures for the maintenance of public order: we determined to visit the different districts composing this department, in order to examine how much was true or false, real or exaggerated, in the complaints which had already reached us—to ascertain, in short, with all possible accuracy, the state of this department.

We have travelled over almost every part of it, sometimes for the purpose of obtaining information that we needed, at others, to maintain peace, to obviate public disturbances, or to prevent the violence with which some of the citizens believed themselves to be threatened.

We have examined in several district directories all the municipalities of which each of them is composed; we have listened with the greatest attention to all the citizens who had either facts to communicate or suggestions to propose to us; we have carefully collected and compared together all the particulars that have come to our knowledge; but, as these details are more numerous than diversified, as the facts, complaints, and observations have been everywhere alike, we shall present to you in one general point of view, and in an abridged but accurate manner, the result of this multitude of particular facts.

We deem it unnecessary to submit to you the information which we obtained concerning anterior disturbances; they have not appeared to us to have any very direct influence on the present state of this department; besides, the law of amnesty having put a stop to the different prosecutions to which those disturbances gave occasion, we could present to you only vague conjectures and uncertain results concerning those matters.

The epoch of the taking of the ecclesiastical oath was the first epoch of the disturbances in the department of La Vendée: till then the people there had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity. Remote from the common centre of all action and all resistance, disposed by their natural character to the love of peace, to the sentiment of order, to respect for the law, they reaped the benefits of the Revolution without experiencing its storms.

In the country, the difficulty of the communications, the simplicity of a purely agricultural life, the lessons of childhood and of the religious emblems destined incessantly to engage our attention, had opened the soul to a multitude of superstitious impressions, which, in the present state of things, no kind of instruction can either destroy or moderate.

Their religion, that is to say, religion such as they conceive it, is become to them the strongest, and indeed we may say, the only moral habit of their lives; the most essential object which it holds forth to them is the worship of images; and the minister of this worship, he whom the country-people consider as the dispenser of the Divine favour, who can, by the fervour of his prayers, mitigate the inclemency of the seasons, and has at his peculiar disposal the happiness of a future life, soon secures to himself the softest as well as the strongest affections of their souls.

The constancy of the people of this department in the kind of their religious acts, and the unlimited confidence possessed by the priests to whom they are accustomed, are one of the principal elements of the disturbances which have agitated and are still likely to agitate them.

It is easy to conceive with what assiduity either misguided or factious priests have contrived to avail themselves of these dispositions of the people towards them. Nothing has been neglected to

danger had become still greater. It then determined to adopt measures against these new enemies of the constitution, similar to those which it had taken against

kindle their zeal, to alarm their consciences, to strengthen weak characters, to encourage decided characters: in some have been awakened uneasiness and remorse, in others hopes of happiness and salvation: and upon almost all the influence of seduction and fear has been tried with success.

Many of these ecclesiastics are upright and sincere; they appear to be deeply impressed both with the ideas which they desseminate and with the sentiments which they inspire: others are accused of cloaking with zeal for religion interests dearer to their hearts; these latter have a political activity, which increases or relaxes according to circumstances.

A powerful coalition has been formed between the late Bishop of Luçon, and part of the former clergy of his diocese: they have concerted a plan of opposition to the execution of the decrees which were to be carried into effect in all the parishes; pastoral charges and inflammatory papers sent from Paris have been addressed to all the *curés*, to fortify them in their resolution, or to engage them in a confederation which is presumed to be general. A circular letter written by M. Beauregard, grand-vicar of M. de Merci, late Bishop of Luçon, deposited in the office of the tribunal of Fontenay, and which that ecclesiastic avowed at the time of his examination, will fix your opinion, gentlemen, in an accurate manner, both respecting the secret of that coalition, and the skilfully combined proceedings of those who have formed it.

It is as follows:

Letter, dated Luçon, May 31, 1791, *under envelope, addressed to the Curé of La Réorthe.*

A decree of the National Assembly, sir, dated 7th May, grants to the ecclesiastics whom it has pretended to remove for refusing to take the oath, the use of the parish churches for saying mass there only. The same decree authorizes the Roman Catholics as well as all the nonconformists, to meet for the exercise of religious worship in any place which they shall have chosen for that purpose, on condition that in their public instructions nothing shall be said against the civil constitution of the clergy.

The liberty granted to the legitimate pastors by the first article of this decree ought to be considered as a snare so much the more dangerous, because true believers would not find in the churches of which the intruders have gained possession any other instructions but those of their false pastors; because they could not receive the sacraments there but from their hands; and thus they would have with these schismatic pastors a communication which the laws of the church interdict. To obviate so great an evil, gentlemen, the *curés* will feel the necessity of securing as soon as possible a place where they can, by virtue of the second article of this decree, exercise their functions and assemble their faithful parishioners, as soon as their pretended successors have taken possession of their churches. Without this precaution, the Catholics, fearful of being deprived of the mass and the divine offices, and called by the voice of false pastors, might soon be induced to communicate with them, and be exposed to the risk of an almost inevitable seduction.

In the parishes where there are few wealthy proprietors, it will no doubt be difficult to find a suitable building and to procure sacred vessels and ornaments: then a mere barn, a moveable altar, as surplice of muslin or any other common stuff and vessels of tin will suffice, in this case of necessity, for the celebration of the sacred mysteries and of divine service.

This simplicity, this poverty, by reminding us of the first ages of the Church and of the cradle of our holy religion, may be a powerful means of exciting the zeal of the ministers and the fervour of the faithful. The first Christians had no other temples but their houses; there the pastors and their flock met to celebrate the sacred mysteries, to hear the word of God, and to sing the praises of the Lord. In the persecutions with which the Church was afflicted, obliged to forsake their churches, they retired into caverns and even into tombs; and for the true believers these times of trial were periods of the greatest fervour. There are very few parishes where messieurs the *curés* could not procure a building and ornaments such as I have just mentioned, and till they can provide themselves with needful things, such of their neighbours as shall not be displaced will be able to assist them with what they can spare from their churches. We shall have it in our power immediately to supply with sacred stones those who want them, and at this moment we can cause the cups, or the vessels employed as substitutes for them, to be consecrated.

M. the Bishop of Luçon, in the particular instructions which he has transmitted to us, by way of supplement to those of M. the Bishop of Langres, and which will be circulated in like manner in the different dioceses, proposes to messieurs the *curés*;

1. To keep a double register, in which shall be entered the acts of baptism, marriage, and burial of the Catholics of the parish: one of these registers shall remain in their hands; the other shall be by them deposited every year in the hands of a confidential person.

2. Besides this register, messieurs the *curés* will keep another, likewise double, in which shall be entered the acts of dispensation concerning marriages, which they shall have granted by virtue of the powers which shall be given them by Article 18th of the Instructions. These acts shall be signed by two trusty and faithful witnesses, and, to give them greater authenticity, the registers destined to contain them shall be approved, numbered, and signed by M. the bishop, or in his absonce by one of his vicars-general. A duplicate of this register shall be delivered, as above mentioned, to a confidential person.

e3. Messieurs the *curés* will wait, if possible, before they retire from their church and their

the armed enemies beyond the Rhine, and to put the disposition of the King to a new test.

ministry, till their pretended successor has notified to them the act of his appointment and institution, and till they protest against all that may be done in consequence.

4. They shall draw up privately a report (*procès verbal*) of the intrusion of the pretended *curé* and of the invasion made by him upon the parish church and the living: in this report, the model of which I annex, they will formally protest against all the acts of jurisdiction which he may choose to exercise as *curé* of the parish: and to give to this act all possible authenticity, it shall be signed by the *curé*, his vicar, if he has one, and a neighbouring priest, and even by two or three pious and discreet laymen, taking nevertheless the utmost precaution not to betray the secret.

5. Such of meisseurs the *curés* whose parishes shall be declared suppressed without the intervention of the legitimate bishop, shall adopt the same means: they shall consider themselves as being still the only legitimate pastors of their parishes, and, if it be absolutely impossible for them to remain there, they shall endeavour to procure a lodging sufficiently near to be able to supply the spiritual wants of their parishioners, and they shall take great care to forewarn and to instruct them in their duties on that head.

6. If the civil power should oppose the faithful Catholics having one general cemetery, or if the relatives of deceased persons manifest too strong a repugnance to their being interred in a separate place, though specially consecrated, as it is said in Article 19 of the Instructions, after the legitimate pastor or one of his representatives shall have said at the house the prayers prescribed by the ritual, and shall have drawn up the certificate of death, which shall be signed by the relatives, the body of the deceased may be carried to the door of the church, and the relations shall be at liberty to accompany it; but they shall be warned to retire at the moment when the intruding *curé* and vicars come to have the body lifted up, that they may not participate in the ceremonies and prayers of these schismatic priests.

7. In the acts, when the displaced *curés* are denied their title of *curé*, they shall sign those acts with their christian and family name, without losing any quality.

I beg you, sir, and such of your colleagues to whom you may think it right to communicate my letter, to have the goodness to inform us of the moment of your removal, if it does take place, of the installation of your pretended successor, and of its most remarkable circumstances, of the dispositions of your parishioners on this head, of the means which you think it right to adopt for the service of your parish, and of your residence, if you are absolutely obliged to leave it. You cannot doubt that all these particulars will deeply interest us: your griefs are ours, and our most ardent wish is to be able, by sharing them, to mitigate their bitterness.

I have the honour to be, with a respectful and inviolable attachment, your most humble and most obedient servant.

These manœuvres were powerfully seconded by missionaries established in the village of St. Laurent, district of Montaigu; nay, it is to the activity of their zeal, to their underhand dealings, to their indefatigable and secret exhortations that, we are of opinion, the disposition of a very great part of the population in almost the whole of the department of La Vendée and in the district of Chatillon, department of the Deux-Sévres, is principally to be attributed. It is of essential importance to fix the attention of the National Assembly on the conduct of these missionaries and the spirit of their institution.

This establishment was founded, about sixty years ago, for a society of secular priests, living by alms and destined as missionaries to the duty of preaching. These missionaries, who have won the confidence of the people by artfully distributing rosaries, medals, and indulgences, and by setting up Calvaries of all forms upon the roads of all this part of France; these missionaries have since become numerous enough to form new establishments in other parts of the kingdom. They are to be found in the late provinces of Poitou, Anjou, Bretagne, and Aunis, labouring with the same activity for the success, and in some measure for the eternal duration, of this sort of religious practices, which have become, through their assiduous endeavours, the sole religion of the people. The village of St. Laurent is their head-quarters; they have recently built there a spacious and handsome monastic house, and acquired, it is said, other territorial property.

This congregation is connected by the nature and spirit of its institution with an establishment of gray nuns, founded in the same place, and known by the name of *filles de la sagesse* (nuns of wisdom). Devoted in this department and in several others to attendance on the poor, particularly in the hospitals, they are a very active medium of general correspondence for these missionaries throughout the kingdom. The house of St. Laurent has become their place of refuge, when the intolerant fervour of their zeal or other circumstances have obliged the managers of the hospitals which they attend to dispense with their services.

To determine your opinion respecting the conduct of these ardent missionaries and the religious morality which they profess, it will be sufficient, gentlemen, to lay before you a brief summary of the maxims contained in various manuscripts found upon them by the national guard of Angers and Cholet.

These manuscripts, drawn up in the form of instructions for the country-people, lay it down as

The Constituent Assembly had required all priests to take the civic oath. Those who refused to comply, though they lost the character of ministers of public

a rule that they must not apply to the constitutional priests, stigmatized as intruders, for the administration of the sacraments; that all those who partake therein, even by their mere presence, commit a deadly sin, for which nothing but ignorance or defect of understanding can be an excuse; that those who shall have the audacity to get married by intruders will not be really married, and that they will draw down the divine malediction upon themselves and their children; that things will be so arranged that the validity of the marriages performed by the late *curés* will not be disputed; but that, meanwhile, they must make up their minds to the worst; that if the children do not pass for legitimate, they will nevertheless be so; that, on the contrary, the children of those who shall have been married by the intruders will be really *bastards*, because God will not have ratified the union, and because it is better that a marriage should be invalid in the sight of men than in the sight of God; that they ought not to apply to the new *curés* in cases of burial; and that, if the former *curé* cannot officiate without risking his life and liberty, the relatives or friends of the deceased ought privately to perform the duty of interment.

On this subject it is observed that the late *curé* will take care to keep an accurate register for the registration of these different acts; that, in fact, it is impossible for the civil tribunals to pay any attention to this point, but that is a misfortune to which people must submit; that the civil registration is a great advantage, which must nevertheless be dispensed with, because it is better to be deprived of it than to turn apostate by applying to an intruder.

Lastly, all true believers are exhorted to have no communication with an intruder, and to take no part in his intrusion; it is declared that the municipal officers who shall install him will be apostates like himself, and that the very sextons, singers, and bell-ringers, ought that very moment to resign their places.

Such, gentlemen, is the absurd and pernicious doctrine which is contained in those manuscripts, and of which the public voice accuses the missionaries of St. Laurent of having been the most zealous propagators.

They were denounced at the time to the committee of research of the National Assembly, and the silence observed in regard to them, has served only to increase the activity of their efforts and to extend their baneful influence.

We have deemed it indispensably necessary to lay before you an abridged analysis of the principles contained in these writings, as displayed in an *arrêté* of the department of Maine and Loire, of the 5th June, 1791, because it is sufficient to compare them with the circular letter of the grand-vicar of the late Bishop of Luçon to be convinced that they belong to a general system of opposition to the decrees on the civil organization of the clergy; and the present state of the majority of the parishes of this department exhibits only the development of this system and the principles of this doctrine set almost everywhere in action.

The too tardy removal of the *curés* has greatly contributed to the success of this coalition: this delay has been occasioned, in the first place, by the refusal of M. Servant, who after having been appointed to the bishopric of the department, and accepted that office, declared, on the 10th of April, that he withdrew his acceptance. M. Rodrigue, the present bishop of the department, whose moderation and firmness are almost his sole support in a chair surrounded by storms and embarrassments—M. Rodrigue could not be nominated till the first days in the month of May. At that time the acts of resistance had been calculated and determined upon agreeably to a uniform plan; the opposition was commenced and in full activity; the grand-vicars and the *curés* had agreed and bound themselves closely together by the same bond; the jealousies, the rivalships, the quarrels, of the old ecclesiastical hierarchy had had time to subside, and all interests had been blended into one general interest.

The removal could only be in part effected: the very great majority of the old public ecclesiastical functionaries still remains in the parishes invested with its former functions; the last appointments have been almost wholly unsuccessful; and the persons lately elected, deterred by the prospect of the numberless contradictions and disagreements prepared for them by their nomination, reply to it by refusals alone.

This division of sworn and nonjuring priests has formed an absolute division between the people of their parishes: families too are divided: wives have been seen, and are daily seen, parting from their husbands, children leaving their parents: the state of citizens is in most cases certified only upon loose pieces of paper, and the individual who receives them, not being clothed with any public character, cannot give any legal authenticity to this kind of proof.

The municipalities have disorganized themselves, and the greater number of them that they might not concur in the removal of nonjuring *curés*.

A great portion of the citizens has renounced the service in the national guard, and that which remains could not be employed without danger in any operations having for their principle or object acts concerning religion, because the people would then view the national guards not as the unimpassioned instruments of the law, but as the agents of a party hostile to its own.

In several parts of the department, an administrator, a judge, a member of the electoral body,

worship paid by the state, retained their pensions as mere ecclesiastics and the liberty of exercising their ministry in private. Nothing could be milder or more

are objects of aversion to the people, because they concur in the execution of the law relative to the ecclesiastical functionaries.

This disposition of mind is the more deplorable, as the means of public instruction are daily becoming more difficult. The general laws of the state are confounded by the people with the particular regulations for the civil organization of the clergy, and this renders the reading and the publication of them useless.

The malcontents, the men who dislike the new system, and those who in the new system dislike the laws relative to the clergy, studiously keep up this aversion of the people, strengthen by all the means in their power the influence of the nonjuring priests, and weaken the influence of the others; the pauper obtains no relief, the artisan cannot hope to obtain any employment for his talents and industry, unless he promises not to attend mass said by a priest who has taken the oath; and it is by this concurrence of confidence in the former priests, on the one hand, and of threats and seductive arts on the other, that at this moment the churches where priests who have taken the oath officiate are deserted, and that people throng to those where, for want of candidates, the removals have not yet been carried into effect.

Nothing is more common than to see in parishes of five or six hundred persons ten or twelve only attending mass said by the sworn priest; the proportion is the same in all the places of the department. On Sundays and holidays may be seen whole villages and hamlets whose inhabitants leave their homes to go to the distance of a league, and sometimes ten leagues, to hear mass said by a nonjuring priest. These habitual desertions have appeared to us the most powerful cause of the ferment, sometimes secret, at others open, which exist in almost all the parishes served by priests who have taken the oath: it is easy to conceive that a multitude of persons who consider themselves obliged by their conscience to go to a distance to obtain the spiritual succours which they need, must see with aversion, when they return home exhausted with fatigue, the five or six individuals who find at hand the priest of their choice; they view with envy and treat with harshness, nay frequently even with violence, the men who seem to them to possess an exclusive privilege in matters of religion. The comparison which they make between the facility which they formerly had to find by their side priests who enjoyed their confidence, and the trouble, fatigue, and loss of time occasioned by these repeated journeys, greatly diminishes their attachment to the constitution, to which they attribute all the discomforts of their new situation.

It is to this general cause, more active perhaps at this moment than the secret provocation of the nonjuring priests, that in our opinion ought to be attributed more especially the state of internal discord in which we have found the greater number of the parishes of the department served by priests who have taken the oath.

Several of them have presented to us, as well as to the administrative bodies, petitions praying that they may be authorized to hire particular edifices for the use of their religious worship: but as these petitions, which we knew to be instigated with the greatest activity by persons who did not sign them, appeared to us to belong to a more general and more secret system, we have not deemed it right to take any measure tending to a religious separation, which we conceived at the time, considering the state of this department, to involve all the characters of a civil breach between the citizens. We have thought and publicly said that it was for you, gentlemen, to determine in a precise manner how, and by what concurrence of moral influences, laws, and means of execution, the exercise of the liberty of religious opinions ought on this point, and in the present circumstances, to ally itself to the maintenance of the public tranquillity.

It it certainly matter of surprise that the nonjuring priests who reside in their old parishes do not avail themselves of the liberty allowed by the law to say mass in the church where the new *curé* officiates, and are not eager to make use of that faculty, in order to spare their old parishioners, and those who have remained attached to them the loss of time and the inconveniences of these numerous and compulsory journeys. To explain this conduct, apparently so extraordinary, it is of importance to recollect that one of the things which had been most strongly recommended to the nonjuring priests, by the able men who have directed this grand religious enterprise, is to abstain from all communication with the priests whom they call intruders and usurpers, lest the people, who are struck only by sensible signs, should at length become accustomed to see no difference between the priests who should perform in the same church the exercises of the same worship.

Unfortunately, this religious division has produced a political breach between the citizens, and this breach is further widened by the appellation given to each of the two parties: the small number of persons who go to the church of the priests who have taken the oath call themselves and are called *patriots;* those who attend the church of the nonjuring priest are called and call themselves *aristocrats.* Thus, with the poor country-people, love or hatred of their country consists now-a-days not in obeying the laws, and in respecting the legitimate authorities, but in going or not going to mass said by a sworn priest. On this point ignorance and prejudice have struck such deep root, that we have had great difficulty to make them comprehend that the political constitution of the state was not the civil constitution of the clergy; that the law did not tyrannize over consciences; that every one was at perfect liberty to go to the mass that he liked best and to the priest in whom he had most confidence; that they were all equal in the sight of the law, and that on this point it imposed on them no other obligation than to live in peace, and to bear mutually with the difference

moderate than such a restriction. The Legislative Assembly required the oath to be taken anew, and deprived those who refused of any salary whatever. As they

of each others' religious opinions. We have done all in our power to banish this absurd denomination from the minds and from the language of the country-people, and we have endeavoured to do so the more assiduously, because it was easy for us to calculate at that period all the consequences of such a demarcation, in a department where these pretended *aristocrats* formed more than two-thirds of the population.

Such, gentlemen, is the result of the facts that have come to our knowledge in the department of La Vendée, and such are the reflections to which these facts have given rise.

We have taken on this subject all the the measures that were in our power, both to maintain the general tranquillity, and to prevent or suppress the violations of public order: organs of the law, we have everywhere spoken its language. At the same time that we established means of order and security, we took pains to explain or to elucidate, before the administrative bodies, the tribunals, or individuals, the difficulties incident either to the right understanding of the decrees or to their mode of execution; we exhorted the administrative bodies and the tribunals to redouble their vigilance and zeal in the execution of the laws which protect the safety of persons and property, to use, in short, with firmness, the authority which the law has conferred on them; we distributed part of the public force which was at our disposal in places where the danger was described to us as being more serious or more imminent; we repaired to every place on the first tidings of disturbance; we ascertained the state of things with more calmness and reflection; and after having either by the language of peace and consolation, or by the firm and just expression of the law, pacified this momentary tumult of individual passions, we were of opinion that the mere presence of the public force would be sufficient. It is to you, gentlemen, and to you alone, that it belongs to take truly efficacious measures respecting a matter which, from the relation into which it has been brought with the constitution of the state, exercises at this moment a much greater influence upon that constitution than the first and most simple notions of reason, apart from the experience of facts, could lead one to imagine.

In all our operations relative to the distribution of the public force, we have been seconded in the most active manner by a general officer well known for his patriotism and his intelligence. No sooner was M. Dumouriez apprized of our arrival in the department than he came to associate himself with us in our labours, and to concur with us in the maintenance of the public peace: we were on the point of being totally deprived of troops of the line at a moment when we had reason to believe that they were more necessary for us than ever; it was to the zeal and to the activity of M. Dumouriez that we were indebted for immediate succour, which, owing to the delay of the organization of the gendarmerie, was in some measure the sole guarantee of the tranquillity of the country.

We had just finished our mission in this department of La Vendée, gentlemen, when the decree of the National Assembly of the 8th of August, which, on the application of the administrators of the department of the Deux-Sévres, authorized us to proceed to the district of Chatillon, reached us as well as the directory of this department.

We had been informed, on our arrival at Fontenay-le-Comte that this district was in the same state of religious agitation as the department of La Vendée. Some days before the receipt of the decree for our commission, several citizens, electors and public functionaries of that district, came to make a written complaint to the directory of the department of the Deux-Sévres respecting disturbances which, as they alleged, existed in different parishes; they declared that an insurrection was on the point of breaking out: the remedy which to them appeared the most certain and the most prompt, and which they most earnestly proposed, was to compel all the *curés*, who had not taken the oath and been superseded, and all vicars who had not taken the oath, to quit the district within three days. The directory, after having long hesitated to adopt a measure which appeared to it to be contrary to the principles of strict justice, conceived at length that the public character of the complainants was sufficient to prove both the reality of the evil and the urgent necessity of the remedy. A resolution (*arrété*) was in consequence passed on the 5th of September, and the directory ordered all ecclesiastics to quit the district in three days, but at the same time invited them to repair within the same term to Niort, the chief town of the department, *assuring them that they should there find protection and safety for their persons.*

The resolution was already printed and about to be carried into execution, when the directory received a despatch containing the decree of commission which it had solicited: it immediately passed a fresh resolution, by which it suspended the execution of the first, and left to our prudence the faculty of confirming, modifying, or suppressing.

Two administrators of the directory were by the same resolution appointed commissioners to communicate to us what had passed, to repair to Chatillon, and there take in concert with us all the measures that we should deem necessary.

On our arrival at Chatillon we caused the fifty-six municipalities of which that district is composed to be called together; they were successively summoned into the hall of the directory. We consulted each of them on the state of its parish: all these municipalities expressed the same wish; those whose *curés* had been superseded solicited the restoration of those priests; those whose nonjuring *curés* were still in office desired to retain them. There is another point on which all

abused their liberty by exciting civil war, it ordered that, according to their conduct, they should be removed from one place to another, and even sentenced to imprison-

these country-people agreed: that is the liberty of religious opinions, which, they said, had been granted to them, and which they were anxious to enjoy. On the same and the following day, the neighbouring country sent numerous deputations of its inhabitants to reiterate the same petition. "We solicit no other favour," said they unanimously, "than to have priests in whom we have confidence." Several of them attached so high a value to this favour, that they even assured us that they would willingly pay double their imposts to obtain it.

The very great majority of the public ecclesiastical functionaries of this district have not taken the oath; and, whilst their churches are scarcely sufficient to hold the concourse of citizens, those of the priests who have taken the oath are almost deserted. In this respect, the state of this district has appeared to us to be the same as that of the department of La Vendée: there, as in others parts, we have found the denominations of *patriot* and *aristocrat* completely established among the people, in the same signification, and perhaps in a more general manner. The disposition of people's minds in favour of the nonjuring priests appeared to us more decided than in the department of La Vendée; the attachment felt for them, the confidence reposed in them, have all the characters of the warmest and deepest sentiment; in some of these parishes, priests who have taken the oath, or citizens attached to these priests, had been exposed to threats and insult: and although there, as elsewhere, these acts of violence have appeared to be sometimes exaggerated, yet we ascertained—and the mere report of the disposition of minds is sufficient to produce this conviction—that most of the complaints were founded on undeniable rights.

At the same time that we recommended the utmost vigilance on this point to the judges and to the administrators, we omitted nothing that could infuse into the people notions and feelings more conformable with respect for the law and with the right of individual liberty.

We ought to inform you, gentlemen, that these very men, who had been described to us as furious, as deaf to every sort of reason, left us with souls filled with peace and happiness, when we had given them to understand that respect for liberty of conscience was inherent in the principles of the new constitution; they were deeply penitent and grieved for the faults which some of them might have committed; they promised us with emotion to follow the advice which we gave them, to live in peace, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions, and to respect the public functionary established by the law. They were heard, as they went away, congratulating themselves on having seen us, repeating to one another all that we had said to them, and mutually encouraging each other in their resolutions of peace and good fellowship.

The same day messengers came to inform us that several of these country-people, on their return home, had posted up bills declaring that each of them had engaged to denounce and cause to be apprehended the first person who should injure another, and especially priests who had taken the oath.

We ought to remark that, in this same district, which has long been agitated by the difference of religious opinions, the arrears of taxes for 1789 and 1790, amounting to 700,000 livres, have been almost entirely paid up; proof of which was furnished us by the directory of the district.

After we had carefully observed the state of minds and of things, we were of opinion that the resolution of the directory ought not to be carried into execution, and the commissioners of the department, as well as the administrators of the directory of Chatillon, were of the same opinion.

Setting aside all the motives of determination which we were enabled to draw both from things and persons, we examined whether the measure adopted by the directory were in the first place just in its nature, and in the next whether it were efficacious in execution.

We conceived that the priests who have been superseded cannot be considered as in a state of rebellion against the law, because they continue to reside in the place of their former functions, especially since among these priests there are some, who, it is matter of public notoriety, lead charitable and peaceful lives, far from all public and private discussion. We conceived that, in the eye of the law, a man cannot be in a state of rebellion, unless by putting himself in that state by precise, certain, and authenticated acts; we conceived, lastly, that acts of provocation against the laws relative to the clergy and against all the laws of the kingdom, ought, like all other misdemeanors, to be punished by legal forms.

Examining afterwards the efficacy of this measure, we saw that, if faithful Catholics have no confidence in the priests who have taken the oath, it is not the way to inspire them with more to remove from them in this manner the priests of their choice. We saw that, in the districts where the very great majority of the nonjuring priests continue to exercise their functions, agreeably to the permission of the law, till they are superseded, it would certainly not be, in such a system of repression, diminishing the evil to remove so small a number of persons, when you would be obliged to leave in the same places a much greater number whose opinions are the same.

Such, gentlemen, are some of the ideas which have guided our conduct in this circumstance, independently of all the reasons of locality, which alone would have been strong enough to oblige us to follow this line: such, in fact, was the disposition of minds, that the execution of this resolution would have infallibly been the signal for a civil war in those parts.

The directory of the department of the Deux-Sévres, apprized at first by its commissioners, and

ment if they refused to obey. Lastly, it forbade them the free exercise of their private worship, and directed the administrative bodies to transmit to it a list, with notes, relative to the conduct of each of them.

This measure, as well as that which had just been taken against the emigrants, originated in the anxiety which seizes governments that are threatened to surround themselves with excessive precautions. It is not the ascertained fact which they punish, but the presumed attack against which they proceed, and their measures become as arbitrary and cruel as they are suspicious.

The bishops and the priests who had remained in Paris, and who had kept up a correspondence with the King, immediately sent to him a memorial against the decree. The King, who was already full of scruples, and had always reproached himself for having sanctioned the decree of the Constituent Assembly, needed no encouragement for this refusal. "As for this," said he, speaking of the new plan, "they shall take my life before they shall oblige me to sanction it." The ministers were nearly all of the same opinion. Barnave and Lameth, whom the King occasionally consulted, advised him to refuse his sanction: but to this counsel they added other recommendations, which the King could not make up his mind to follow. These were, that, in opposing the decree, he should not leave any doubt respecting his disposition, and that for this purpose he should remove from about his person all priests who refused to take the oath, and compose his chapel of none but constitutional ecclesiastics.

But of all the counsels which they gave him, the King adopted only such as harmonized with his weakness or his devotion. Duport-Dutertre, keeper of the seals, and the organ of the constitutionalists with the ministry, procured its approbation of their advice: and when the council had decided, to the great satisfaction of Louis XVI., that the *veto* should be affixed, he added, as his opinion, that it would be well to surround the person of the King with priests who were not liable to suspicion. To this proposal Louis XVI., usually so flexible, manifested invincible obstinacy, and said that the freedom of religious worship, decreed for everybody, ought to be allowed to him as well as to his subjects, and that he ought to have the liberty of appointing about him such priests as he approved. The ministers did not insist, and, without as yet communicating the circumstance to the Assembly, the *veto* was decided upon.

The constitutional party, to which the King seemed to consign himself at this moment, brought him a fresh reinforcement. This was the directory of the department, which was composed of the most esteemed members of the Constitutional Assembly. Among them were the Duke de Larochefoucault, the Bishop of Autun,

afterwards by us, of all that we had done on this head, has been pleased to present to us the expression of its thanks by a resolution of the 19th of last month.

We shall add, with respect to the measure for removing the nonjuring priests who have been superseded, that it was constantly proposed to us almost unanimously by those citizens of the department of La Vendée who are attached to the priests that have taken the oath—citizens who themselves form, as you have seen, the smallest portion of the inhabitants: in transmitting to you this petition we merely acquit ourselves of a commission with which we have been intrusted.

Neither can we suffer you to remain ignorant that some of the priests who have taken the oath, that we have seen, have been of a contrary opinion. One of them, in a letter which he addressed to us on the 12th of September, whilst assigning to us the same causes of the disturbances, whilst expatiating on the many vexations to which he is daily exposed, remarked that the only way of remedying all these evils (these are his own expressions) "is to be tender towards the opinion of the people, whose prejudices must be cured by gentleness and prudence; for," he adds, "all war on account of religion, whose wounds still bleed, must be prevented . . . . It is to be feared that the rigorous measures necessary, under present circumstances, against the disturbers of the public peace, may appear rather in the light of a persecution than of a punishment inflicted by the law . . . . . What prudence is it needful to employ! Mildness, instruction, are the weapons of truth."

Such, gentlemen, is the general result of the particulars which we have collected, and the observations which we have made, in the course of the mission with which we have been intrusted. The most pleasing reward of our labours would be to have facilitated for you the means of establishing, on solid foundations, the tranquillity of these departments, and having responded by the activity of our zeal to the confidence with which we have been honoured.

Baumets, Desmeuniers, Ansons, &c. It presented a petition to the King, not as an administrative body, but as a meeting of petitioners, and called for the affixing of the *veto* to the decree against the priests.

"The National Assembly," they said, "certainly meant well; we love to avenge it here on its guilty detractors; but so laudable a design has propelled it towards measures of which neither the constitution, justice, nor prudence can approve. It makes the payment of the pensions of all ecclesiastics not in office depend on the taking of the civic oath, whereas the constitution has expressly and literally classed those pensions with the public debts. Now, can the refusal to take any oath whatever destroy the title of an acknowledged credit? The Constituent Assembly has done what it could do on behalf of the nonjuring priests; they refused to take the prescribed oath, and it has deprived them of their functions; in dispossessing them, it has reduced them to a pension. The Legislative Assembly proposes that the ecclesiastics who have not taken the oath, or who have retracted it, may, during religious disturbances, be temporarily removed, and imprisoned if they fail to obey the order which shall be intimated to them. Is not this renewing the system of arbitrary orders, since it permits the punishing with exile, and soon afterwards with imprisonment, one who has not yet been convicted of having offended against any law? The National Assembly refuses all those who shall not take the civic oath the free exercise of their religious worship. Now, this liberty cannot be wrested from any person. It is guaranteed for ever in the declaration of rights."

These reasons were certainly excellent, but it is impossible to allay with arguments either the animosities or the fears of parties. How persuade an Assembly that it ought to permit refractory priests to excite disturbance and civil war? The directory was abused, and its petition to the King was combated by a multitude of others addressed to the legislative body. Camille Desmoulins presented a very bold petition at the head of a section; in which might be already perceived an increasing violence of language, and a renunciation of all the respect hitherto paid to the authorities and to the King. Desmoulins told the Assembly that a signal example was required; that the directory ought to be tried; that it was the leaders who ought to be prosecuted; that it ought to strike at the head, and launch thunderbolts at the conspirators; that the power of the royal *veto* had a limit, and that a *veto* would not prevent the taking of a Bastille.

Louis XVI., though determined to refuse his sanction, hesitated to acquaint the Assembly with his resolution. He wished first, by certain acts, to conciliate the public opinion. He selected his ministers from among the constitutional party. Montmorin,* weary of his laborious career under the Constituent Assembly, and of his arduous negotiations with all the parties, could not be induced to encounter the storms of a new legislature, and had retired in spite of the entreaties of the King. The ministry for foreign affairs, refused by several persons, was accepted by Delessart, who, in order to assume it, relinquished that of the interior. Delessart, an upright and enlightened man, was under the influence of the Constitutionalists, or Feuillans; but he was too weak to fix the will of the King, and to overawe foreign powers and domestic factions. Cahier de Gerville, a decided patriot, but rather rough than persuasive, was appointed to the interior, to gratify public opinion. Narbonne, a young man, full of activity and ardour, a zealous constitutionalist, and who understood the art of making himself popular, was placed at the head of the war department by the party which then composed the ministry. He might have had a beneficial influence upon the council, and reconciled the Assembly with the King, if he had not had an adversary in Bertrand de Molleville, a counter-revolutionary minister, who was preferred by the court to all the others.† Bertrand de

* "Of all the men who played an important part in the Revolution, M. de Montmorin is perhaps the person who is least known, and has been judged with the greatest severity. He was neither constitutionalist nor democrat, but a real royalist. The extreme weakness of his character prevented him from being useful to his majesty in circumstances that required much energy. This moral weakness had its source in a sickly constitution, and can no more be imputed to him as a crime, than his being of a low stature, and slender frame of body."—*Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

† "Two of the ministers were zealous patriots; two others were moderate, but honest; the fifth, Bertrand de Molleville, minister of the navy, was a decided aristocrat; the sixth, M. de Narbonne,

Molleville, detesting the constitution, artfully wrapped himself up in the letter for the purpose of attacking its spirit, and sincerely desired that the King would attempt to execute it, "merely," as he said, "to prove that it was not practicable." The King could not make up his mind to dismiss him, and with this mixed ministry he endeavoured to pursue his course. After he had endeavoured to gratify public opinion by these appointments, he tried other means for attaching it to him still more; and he appeared to accede to all the diplomatic and military measures proposed against the assemblages formed upon the Rhine.

The last repressive laws had been prevented by the *veto*, and yet every day fresh denunciations apprized the Assembly of the preparations and the threats of the emigrants. The reports (*procés-verbeaux*) of the municipalities and departments on the frontiers, and the accounts given by commercial men coming from beyond the Rhine, attested that the Viscount de Mirabeau, brother of the celebrated member of the Constituent Assembly, was at the head of six hundred men in the bishopric of Strasburg; that, in the territory of the Elector of Mentz, and near Worms, there were numerous corps of emigrants, under the command of the Prince of Condé; that the same was the case at Coblentz and throughout the whole electorate of Treves; that outrages and acts of violence had been committed upon Frenchmen; and lastly, that a proposal had been made to General Wimpfen to deliver up New Brisach.

These accounts, in addition to many other circumstances that were matter of public notoriety, drove the Assembly to the last degree of irritation. A decree was immediately proposed, to require of the electors the disarming of the emigrants. The decision was deferred for two days, that it might not appear to be too much hurried. After this delay the discussion commenced.

Isnard* was the first speaker. He insisted upon the necessity of insuring the tranquillity of the kingdom, not in a temporary, but in a durable manner; of overawing by prompt and vigorous measures, which should attest to all Europe the patriotic resolutions of France. "Fear not," said he, "to bring upon yourselves a war with the great powers. Interest has already decided their intentions. Your measures will not change them, but will oblige them to explain themselves. The conduct of the Frenchman ought to correspond with his new destiny. A slave under Louis XVI., he was nevertheless intrepid and great. Now that he is free, ought he to be weak and timid? They are mistaken, said Montesquieu, who imagine that a people in a state of revolution are disposed to be conquered. They are ready, on the contrary, to conquer others. (*Applause.*)

"Capitulations are proposed to you. It is proposed to increase the power of the King—of a man whose will can paralyze that of the whole nation, of a man who receives thirty millions, while thousands of citizens are perishing from want! (*Fresh applause.*) It is proposed to bring back the nobility. Were all the nobles on earth to attack us, the French, holding their gold in one hand and the sword in the other, would combat that haughty race, and force it to endure the punishment of equality.

a constitutionalist, full of ardour and activity. The latter had cause to be dissatisfied with M. Bertrand. Narbonne was displeasing to the court, from the frankness of his disposition, the patriotism of his conduct, and his attachment to Lafayette."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

* "M. Isnard, a wholesale perfumer at Draguignan, was deputed from Var to the legislature; and afterwards to the convention. His father, who was rich, had taken great pains with his education. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, observing, that 'were the lightnings of heaven in his hands, he would blast with them all those who should attack the sovereignty of the people.' Isnard was outlawed as a Girondin, on the fall of that party, but succeeded in making his escape, and, after the overthrow of the Mountaineers, resumed his seat in the Convention. Being then sent to the department of the Bouches du Rhone, he there declaimed vehemently against the Terrorists, who afterwards accused him of having encouraged the bloody reprisals made on them in the South, and of having addressed the people as follows: 'If you meet any Terrorists, strike them: if you have not arms, you have sticks; if you have not sticks, dig up your parents, and with their bones knock down the monsters!' In 1796, Isnard became a member of the Council of Five Hundred. In 1801 he published a work on the Immortality of the Soul."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Talk to the ministers, to the King, and to Europe, the language befitting the representatives of France. Tell the ministers that, so far, you are not satisfied with their conduct, and that by responsibility you mean death. (*Prolonged applause.*) Tell Europe that you will respect the constitutions of all other countries, but that, if a war of kings is raised against France, you will raise a war of people against kings." The applause was here renewed. "Say," he added, "that the battles which nations fight at the command of despots are like the blows which two friends, excited by a perfidious instigator, strike at each other in the dark. The moment a light appears they embrace, and take vengeance on him who deluded them. In like manner, if, at the moment when the hostile armies shall be engaged with ours, the light of philosophy bursts upon their sight, the nations will embrace one another before the face of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, and of delighted Heaven!"

The enthusiasm excited by these words was such that the members thronged around the speaker to embrace him. The decree which he supported was instantly adopted. M. de Vaublanc was directed to carry it to the King, at the head of a deputation of twenty-four members. By this decree the Assembly declared that it considered it indispensably necessary to require the electors of Treves and Mentz, and the other princes of the empire, to break up the assemblages formed on the frontiers. At the same time it prayed the King to accelerate the negotiations commenced respecting the indemnities due to the princes who had possessions in Alsace.

M. de Vaublanc accompanied this decree with a firm and respectful address, which was highly applauded by the Assembly. "Sire," said he, "if the French, driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had assembled in arms on the frontiers, and had been protected by German princes, we ask you, sire, what would have been the conduct of Louis XIV.? Would he have suffered these assemblages? What he would have done for the sake of his authority, your majesty cannot hesitate to do for the maintenance of the constitution."

Louis XVI., having determined, as we have said, to counteract the effect of the *veto* by acts which should gratify public opinion, resolved to go to the Assembly and personally reply to its message in a speech likely to give it satisfaction.

On the 14th of December, in the evening, the King accordingly went, after having announced his intention in the morning by a mere note. He said that the message of the Assembly deserved mature consideration, and that, in a circumstance in which French honour was involved, he deemed it right to come in person; that, sharing the intentions of the Assembly, but dreading the scourge of war, he had endeavoured to bring back the misled French; that, friendly remonstrances having proved ineffectual, he had anticipated the message of the representatives, and signified to the electors that, if before the 15th of January the assemblage of troops should not have ceased, they should be considered as enemies of France; that he had written to the emperor to claim his interference as head of the empire; and that, in case satisfaction were not obtained, he should propose war. He concluded with saying that it would be vain to attempt to surround the exercise of his authority with disgust; that he would faithfully guard the deposit of the constitution; and that he deeply felt how glorious it was to be King of a free people.

Applause succeeded the silence, and made the King amends for the reception which he had experienced on entering. The Assembly, having resolved in the morning that he should be answered by a message, could not immediately express its satisfaction, but gave orders that his speech should be sent to the eighty-three departments. Narbonne soon afterwards entered, to communicate the means which had been adopted to insure the effect of the intimations addressed to the empire. One hundred thousand men were to be assembled on the Rhine; and this, he added, was not impossible. Three generals were appointed to command them, Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette.* The last name was received with applause. Nar-

* "Luckner had been the most distinguished partisan of the seven years' war. After the peace of 1763, the Duke of Choiseul drew him into our service. He was much attached to the new

bonne added that he should set out immediately to inspect the frontiers, to ascertain the state of the fortresses, and to give the greatest activity to defensive operations; that no doubt the Assembly would grant the necessary funds, and not cheapen liberty. Cries of "No, no," burst from all sides. Lastly, he asked the Assembly if, though the legal number of marshals was complete, it would not permit the King to confer that rank on the two generals, Luckner and Rochambeau, who were charged to save liberty. Acclamations testified the consent of the Assembly and the satisfaction caused by the activity of the young minister. It was by persevering in such conduct that Louis XVI. might have succeeded in gaining popularity and reconciling the republicans, who wished for a republic solely because they believed the King to be incapable of loving and defending liberty.

Advantage was taken of the satisfaction produced by these measures to notify the *veto* affixed to the decree against the priests. Care was taken to publish in the journals of the same morning the dismissal of the former diplomatic agents accused of aristocracy, and the appointment of new ones. Owing to these precautions, the message was received without a murmur. The Assembly, indeed, expected it, and the sensation was not so unfavourable as might have been apprehended. We see how extremely cautious the King was obliged to be in making use of his prerogative, and what danger he incurred in employing it. Had the Constituent Assembly, which is accused of having ruined by stripping him of his authority, conferred on him the absolute *veto*, would he have been more powerful on that account? Had not the suspensive *veto* in this case all the effect of the absolute *veto?* Was it legal power that the King lacked, or the power of opinion? We see, from the effect itself, that it was not the want of sufficient prerogatives which ruined Louis XVI., but the indiscreet use of those which were left him.

The activity promised to the Assembly was not delayed. The propositions for the expenses of the war and for the nomination of the two marshals, Luckner and Rochambeau, followed without interruption. Lafayette, forced from the retirement which he had sought, in order to recruit himself after three years' fatigues, presented himself before the Assembly, where he was cordially received. Battalions of the national guard escorted him on leaving Paris, and everything proved to him that the name of Lafayette was not forgotten, but that he was still regarded as one of the founders of liberty.

Meanwhile Leopold, naturally peaceful, was not desirous of war, for he knew that it was not consistent with his interests; but he wished for a congress backed by an imposing force, in order to bring about an accommodation and some modifications in the constitution. The emigrants wished not to modify but to destroy it.* More prudent and better informed, the emperor knew that it was necessary to concede a great deal to the new opinions, and that the utmost that could be expected was to restore to the King certain prerogatives, and to modify the

constitution, but without pretending to understand it; and when the Jacobins wished to exalt his liberal opinions, he often embarrassed them by making the most absurd blunders. He had not the power of forming great combinations, but he had a quick eye, the habit of military tactics, and all the activity of youth. Rochambeau, who had made his fortune by arms, had been engaged in the war of Flanders, and distinguished himself also in the seven years' war. He never lost sight of the points most important to the soldier's trade. These two marshals had one fault in common—they were too distrustful of their new and inexperienced troops. Lafayette did not share this feeling. He augured better of the enthusiasm for liberty, having been an American general officer at the age of nineteen. With the exception of these three generals, there was not an officer in the French army who had ever fought at the head of two thousand men."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

* "The emigrants were unanimous in their desire for an invasion, and in their exertions at all foreign courts. M. de Calonne, the principal agent of the princes, had publicly said at Brussels, 'If the powers delay making war, we shall know how to make the French declare it.' The King and Queen hesitated between various parties. The Queen especially, who would have consented to owe her deliverance to Austrian or even Prussian arms, was withheld by her reluctance to lay herself under obligations to Monsieur, whom she never liked, and the Count d'Artois, whom she no longer liked. 'The Count d'Artois will then become a hero!' she exclaimed in a tone of bitterness."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

composition of the legislative body by the establishment of two chambers instead of one.*

* I have already had occasion to refer several times to the sentiments of Leopold, of Louis XVI., and of the emigrants: I shall now quote some extracts, which will leave no doubt respecting them. Bouillé, who was abroad, and whose reputation and talents had caused him to be courted by the sovereigns, had opportunities of learning better than any other person the sentiments of the different courts, and his testimony is above suspicion. In different parts of his Memoirs he thus expresses himself:

"It may be inferred from this letter that the King of Sweden was quite uncertain respecting the real plans of the emperor and his allies, which ought then to have been not to interfere any more in the affairs of France. The empress (of Russia) was no doubt informed of them, but she had not communicated them to him. I knew that at the moment she was exerting all her influence with the emperor and the King of Prussia to induce them to declare war against France. She had even written a very strong letter to the former of these sovereigns, in which she represented to him that the King of Prussia, for a mere incivility offered to his sister, had sent an army into Holland, whilst he (the emperor) patiently suffered the insults and affronts heaped upon the Queen of France, the degradation of her rank and dignity, and the overthrow of the throne of a King, who was his brother-in-law and ally. The empress acted with the like energy towards Spain, which had adopted pacific principles. Meanwhile the emperor, after the acceptance of the constitution by the King, had received the new ambassador of France, whom he had previously forbidden to appear at his court. He was even the first to admit the national flag into his ports. The courts of Madrid, Petersburg, and Stockholm, were the only ones which at this period withdrew their ambassadors from Paris. All these circumstances tend to prove that the views of Leopold were directed towards peace, and that they were the result of the influence of Louis XVI. and of the Queen."—*Mémoires de Bouillé*, p. 314.

In another place Bouillé says:

"Meanwhile several months elapsed without my perceiving any progress in the plans which the emperor had entertained for assembling armies on the frontiers, for forming a congress, and for opening a negotiation with the French government. I presumed that the King had hoped that his acceptance of the new constitution would restore to him his personal liberty, and re-establish tranquillity in the nation, which an armed negotiation might have disturbed; and that he had consequently prevailed upon the emperor and the other sovereigns, his allies, not to take any step liable to produce hostilities, which he had constantly studied to avoid. I was confirmed in this opinion by the unwillingness of the court of Spain to furnish the fifteen millions of livres, which she had engaged to give him towards the expenses of his expedition. This prince had prevailed on me to write on his behalf to the Spanish minister, from whom I received only vague replies. I then advised the King of Sweden to open a loan in Holland, or in the free maritime cities of the north, under the guarantee of Spain, whose dispositions, however, in regard to the affairs of France, appeared to me to be changed.

"I learned that the anarchy was daily increasing in France, and this was but too plainly proved by the multitude of emigrants of all classes who sought refuge on the foreign frontiers. They were armed and formed into regiments on the banks of the Rhine, and they composed a little army which threatened the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These measures awakened the fury of the people, and aided the destructive projects of the Jacobins and anarchists. The emigrants had even planned an attempt upon Strasburg, where they imagined that they had supporters who could be relied on, and partisans who would open the gates to them. The King, who was informed of the scheme, employed commands and even entreaties to stop them, and to prevent them from committing any act of hostility. To this end he sent to the princes, his brothers, the Baron de Viomenil, and the Chevalier de Cogny, who signified to them, in his name, his disapprobation of the arming of the French nobility, to which the emperor opposed all possible obstacles, but which was nevertheless continued."—*Ibid.*, p. 309.

Lastly, Bouillé gives, from the lips of Leopold himself, his plan of a congress:

"At length, on the 12th of September, the Emperor Leopold sent me word to call on him, and to bring with me the plan of the arrangements for which he had previously asked me. He desired me to step into his cabinet, and told me that he could not speak to me earlier on the subject concerning which he wished to see me, because he was waiting for answers from Russia, Spain, England, and the principal sovereigns of Italy; that he had received them, and they were conformable with his intentions and his plans; that he was assured of their assistance in the execution, and of their agreement; excepting, however, the cabinet of St. James's, which had declared its determination to preserve the strictest neutrality. He had taken the resolution to assemble a congress, to treat with the French government, not only concerning the redress of the grievances of the Germanic body, whose rights in Alsace and in other parts of the frontier provinces had been violated, but at the same time concerning the means of restoring order in the kingdom of France, the anarchy of which disturbed the tranquillity of all Europe. He added, that this negotiation should be supported by formidable armies, with which France would be encompassed; that he hoped this expedient would succeed and prevent a sanguinary war, the very last resource that he would employ. I took the liberty of asking the emperor if he was informed of the real intentions of the King. He was acquainted with them; he knew that this prince disliked the employment of violent means. He

This last measure was the most dreaded, and it was with the plan of it that the Feuillant or constitutional party was most frequently reproached. It is certain that, if this party had, in the early time of the Constituent Assembly, opposed the upper chamber, because it justly apprehended that the nobility would there intrench themselves, it had not now the same fears. On the contrary, it had just hopes of filling such a chamber almost of itself. Many constituents, reduced to mere ciphers, would there have found occasion to appear again on the political stage. If then this upper chamber did not accord with their views, still less did it accord with their interests. It is certain that the newspapers frequently adverted to it, and that this report was universally circulated. How rapid had been the progress of the Revolution! The right side at this time was composed of members of the former left side; and the plan so dreaded and condemned, was not a return to the old system but the establishment of an upper chamber. What a difference from 1789! How swiftly a foolish resistance had hurried on events!

Leopold perceived then no other possible amelioration for Louis XVI. Meanwhile, his object was to protract the negotiations, and, without breaking with France, to awe her by his firmness. But this aim he thwarted by his answer. This answer consisted in a notification of the resolutions of the diet of Ratisbon, which refused to accept any indemnity for the princes who had possessions in Alsace. Nothing could be more absurd than such a decision; for the whole territory subject to one and the same rule ought also to be subject to the same laws. If princes of the empire had estates in France, it was right that they should be comprehended in the abolition of feudal rights, and the Constituent Assembly had done a great deal in granting indemnities for them. Several of those princes having already treated on this point, the diet annulled their agreements, and forbade them to accept any composition. The empire thus pretended not to recognise the Revolution in as far as itself was concerned. With regard to the assemblages of emigrants, Leopold, without entering into explanation on the subject of their dispersion, answered Louis XVI. that, as the Elector of Treves might, according to the intimations of the French government, be exposed to speedy hostilities, he had ordered General Bender to give him prompt assistance.

Nothing could have been more injudicious than this answer. It obliged Louis XVI., in order that he might not compromise himself, to adopt vigorous measures and to propose war. Delessart was immediately sent to the Assembly to communicate this answer, and to express the astonishment which the King felt at the conduct of Leopold. The minister alleged that the emperor had probably been deceived, and that he had been falsely persuaded that the elector had performed all the duties of a friendly neighbour. Delessart communicated also the reply returned to Leopold. It was intimated to him that, notwithstanding his answer and the orders given to Marshal Bender, if the electors had not, by the time prescribed, namely, the 15th of January, complied with the requisition of France, arms would be employed against them.

"If," said Louis XVI., in his letter to the Assembly, "this declaration fails to produce the effect which I have reason to hope from it, if it is the destiny of France

told me that he was, moreover, informed that the charter of the new constitution was to be presented to him in a few days, and that it was his opinion that the King could not avoid accepting it without restriction, from the risks to which he would subject his life and the lives of his family, if he made the least difficulty, and if he hazarded the slightest observation; but that his sanction, forced at the time, was of no importance, as it was possible to rescind all that should have been done, and to give France a good government, which should satisfy the people, and leave to the royal authority a latitude of powers sufficient to maintain tranquillity at home and to insure peace abroad. He asked me for the plan of disposition of the armies, assuring me that he would examine it at leisure. He added, that I might return to Mentz, where Count de Brown, who was to command his troops, and who was then in the Netherlands, would send word to me, as well as to Prince Hohenlohe, who was going into Franconia, in order that we might confer together, when the time should arrive.

"I judged that the emperor had not adopted this pacific and extremely reasonable plan, since the conference of Pilnitz, till he had consulted Louis XVI., who had constantly wished for an arrangement, and to have recourse to negotiation rather than the violent expedient of arms."—*Ibid.*, p. 299.

to be obliged to fight her own children, and her allies, I will make known to Europe the justice of our cause: the French people will uphold it by their courage, and the nation will see that I have no other interest but its interests, and that I shall ever consider the maintenance of its dignity and safety as the most essential of my duties."

These words, in which the King seemed in the common danger to unite with the nation, were warmly applauded. The papers were delivered to the diplomatic committee, with directions to make a speedy report upon them to the Assembly.

The Queen was once more applauded at the Opera as in the days of her splendour and her power, and, quite overjoyed, she told her husband on her return that she had been received as formerly. But this was the last homage paid to her by a people which had once idolized her royal graces. That feeling of equality, which remains so long dormant in men, and which is so capricious when it does awake, began already to manifest itself on all sides. It was very near the conclusion of the year 1791; the Assembly abolished the ancient ceremonial of new year's day, and decided that the homage paid to the King on that solemn day should thenceforth cease. Just about the same time, a deputation complained that the folding-doors of the council-chamber had not been opened for it. The discussion was scandalous, and the Assembly, in writing to the King, suppressed the titles of *sire* and *majesty*. On another occasion, a deputy entered the King's apartment with his hat on, and in a very unsuitable dress. This conduct was frequently provoked by the rude reception given by the courtiers to the deputies; and in these reprisals the pride of both was determined not to be outdone.

Narbonne prosecuted his tour with extraordinary activity. Three armies were formed on the threatened frontier. Rochambeau, a veteran general, who had formerly displayed ability in war, but who was now ailing, ill-humoured, and discontented, commanded the army stationed in Flanders, and called the army of the North. Lafayette had the army of the centre, and was encamped near Metz. Luckner, an old warrior, an ordinary general, a brave soldier, and very popular in the army for his exclusively military manners, commanded the corps which occupied Alsace. These were all the generals that a long peace and a general desertion had left us.

Rochambeau, dissatisfied with the new system, and irritated with the want of discipline which prevailed in the army, was constantly complaining and held out no hope to the ministers. Lafayette, young, active, and anxious to distinguish himself forthwith in the defence of the country, re-established discipline among his troops, and overcame all the difficulties raised by the ill-will of the officers, who were the aristocrats of the army. He called them together, and, addressing them in the language of honour, he told them that they must quit the camp if they would not serve loyally; that, if any of them wished to retire, he would undertake to procure them either pensions in France, or passports for foreign countries; but that, if they persisted in serving, he expected from them zeal and fidelity. In this manner he contrived to introduce into his army better order than that which prevailed in any of the others. As for Luckner, having no political opinion, and being consequently indifferent to all systems, he promised the Assembly a great deal, and actually succeeded in gaining the attachment of the soldiers.

Narbonne travelled with the greatest expedition, and returned to give an account of his rapid journey to the Assembly. He reported that the repair of the fortresses was already considerably advanced; that the army, from Dunkirk to Besançon, presented a mass of two hundred and forty battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, with artillery requisite for two hundred thousand men, and supplies for six months. He bestowed the highest encomiums on the patriotism of the volunteer national guards, and declared that in a short time their equipment would be complete. The young minister no doubt gave way to the illusions of zeal, but his intentions were so noble, and his operations so prompt, that the Assembly loaded him with applause, held forth his report to the public gratitude, and sent it to all the departments—the usual way of expressing esteem for those with whom it was satisfied.

War then was the great question of the moment. For the Revolution it was a

question of existence itself. Its enemies being now abroad, it was there that it became necessary to seek and to conquer them. Would the King, as chief of the armies, act cordially against his relatives and his former courtiers? Such was the doubt which it was of importance to clear up to the satisfaction of the nation. This question of war was discussed at the Jacobins, which suffered none to pass without pronouncing a sovereign decision upon it. What will appear singular is, that the outrageous Jacobins, and Robespierre, their leader, were in favour of peace, and the moderate Jacobins, or Girondins, for war.* Brissot and Louvet were at their head. Brissot advocated war with his talents and influence. He thought with Louvet and all the Girondins that it was desirable for the nation, because it would put an end to a dangerous uncertainty, and unveil the real intentions of the King. These men, judging of the result by their own enthusiasm, could not believe that the nation would be conquered; and they thought that if, through the fault of the King, it experienced any transient check, it would instantly be enlightened and depose an unfaithful chief. How happened it that Robespierre and the other Jacobins opposed a determination which must produce so speedy and so decisive a *dénouement?* In answer to this question nothing but conjectures can be offered. Was the timid Robespierre afraid of war? Or did he oppose it only because Brissot, his rival at the Jacobins, supported it, and because young Louvet had defended it with ability? Be this as it may, he fought with extreme obstinacy for peace. The Cordeliers, who were Jacobins, attended the discussion, and supported Robespierre. They seemed more especially afraid lest war should give too many advantages to Lafayette, and soon procure for him the military dictatorship. This was the continual fear of Camille Desmoulins, who never ceased to figure him to himself at the head of a victorious army, as in the Champ de Mars, crushing Jacobins and Cordeliers. Louvet and the Girondins attributed a different motive to the Cordeliers, and supposed them to be hostile to Lafayette, because he was an enemy of the Duke of Orleans, with whom they were said to be secretly united.

The Duke of Orleans, now again brought before the public by the suspicions of his enemies rather than by the Revolution, was then nearly eclipsed. At the commencement, his name might have had some weight, and he himself might have conceived some hope of those to whom he lent it; but everything had since greatly changed. Feeling himself how much he was out of his place in the popular party, he had endeavoured to obtain the pardon of the court during the latter days of the Constituent Assembly, and had been repulsed. Under the Legislative, he had been retained in the list of admirals, and he had made fresh solicitations to the King. On this occasion he was admitted to his presence, had a long conversation with him, and was not unfavourably received. He was to return to the palace. He repaired thither. The Queen's dinner was served, and numerous courtiers were in attendance. No sooner was he perceived than the most insulting expressions were uttered. "Take care of the dishes!" was the general cry, as though they had been afraid that he would throw poison into them. They pushed him, trod on his toes, and obliged him to retire. As he went down stairs, he received fresh insults, and departed in deep indignation, conceiving that the King and Queen had prepared for him this humiliating scene. They, however, were totally ignorant of it, and were extremely shocked at the imprudence of the courtiers.† That prince

* "The Jacobins attached to Robespierre, were opposed to war, because they feared its being directed by their political rivals, and also because several of them, from pecuniary interests, like Danton, or from causes of which they themselves were ignorant, were under the guidance of that small party of the court who were engaged in secret negotiations. The Girondins, at that period, wished for war at any price, in the hope that it would facilitate their vague projects of ambition."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

† The following is Bertrand de Molleville's account of this circumstance:

"I made a report on the same day to the council of the visit paid me by the Duke of Orleans and of our conversation. The King determined to receive him, and on the next day he had a conversation with him of more than half an hour, with which his majesty appeared to us to be much pleased. 'I think, like you,' said the King, 'that he is perfectly sincere, and that he will

had a right to be more exasperated than ever, but he certainly became neither a more active nor a more able party-leader than before. His friends at the Jacobins and in the Assembly, no doubt, thought fit to make a little more noise; hence it was supposed that his faction was again raising its head, and it was thought that his pretensions and his hopes were renewed by the dangers of the throne.

The Girondins imagined that the extreme Cordeliers and Jacobins advocated peace with no other view than to deprive Lafayette, the rival of the Duke of Orleans, of the reputation which war might give him. Be this as it may, war, deprecated by the Jacobins, but supported by the Girondins, could not fail to be adopted by the Assembly, in which the latter had the ascendency. The Assembly began by putting under accusation, from the first of January, Monsieur, the King's brother, the Count d'Artois,* the Prince of Condé, Calonne, Mirabeau the younger,† and Lequeille, as charged with the commission of hostilities against France. As a decree of accusation was not submitted to the King for his sanction, no *veto* was in this case to be apprehended. The sequestration of the property of the emigrants, and the application of their revenues to the benefit of the state, enacted by the unsanctioned decree, were prescribed anew by another decree, to which the King made no opposition. The Assembly took possession of the revenues as indemnities for the war. Monsieur was deprived of the regency by virtue of the resolution previously adopted.

The report of the last despatch of the emperor was at length presented to the Assembly by Gensonné. He represented that France had always lavished her treasures and her troops for Austria without ever obtaining any return; that the treaty of alliance concluded in 1756 had been violated by the declaration of Pilnitz, and the subsequent declarations, the object of which was to raise up an armed coalition of sovereigns; that this had likewise been done by the arming of the emigrants, permitted and even seconded by the princes of the empire. Gensonné, moreover, insisted that, though orders had recently been given for the dispersion of such assemblages, those apparent orders had not been executed; that the white

do all that lies in his power to repair the mischief which he has done, and in which it is possible that he may not have taken so large a part as we have imagined.'

"On the following Sunday, he came to the King's levée, where he met with the most humiliating reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed, and from the royalists, who were in the habit of repairing to the palace in great numbers on that day, to pay their court to the royal family. They crowded around him, making believe to tread upon his toes and to thrust him towards the door, so as to prevent him from entering. He went down stairs to the Queen, whose table was already laid. The moment he appeared, a cry was raised on all sides of *Gentlemen, take case of the dishes!* as though they had been sure that his pockets were full of poison.

"The insulting murmurs which his presence everywhere excited forced him to retire without seeing the royal family. He was pursued to the Queen's staircase, where some one spat on his head and several times upon his coat. Rage and vexation were depicted in his face; and he left the palace convinced that the instigators of the outrages which he had received were the King and Queen, who knew nothing of the matter, and who indeed were extremely angry about it. He swore implacable hatred against them, and kept but too faithfully this horrible oath. I was at the palace that day and witnessed all the circumstances that I have here related."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome vi., p. 290. E.

* Monsieur, afterwards Louis the Eighteenth, who died in the year 1824. Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth, who died in exile at Gratz, in Styria, in the year 1836. E.

† "Vicomte de Boniface de Riquetti Mirabeau was brother of the famous Mirabeau, and served with distinction in America. His celebrated relative said of him one day, 'In any other family the Vicomte would be a good-for-nothing fellow and a genius: in ours, he is a blockhead and a worthy man.' In 1789 the younger Mirabeau was deputed to the States-general, and defended his order with an energy equal to that with which his brother attacked it. On one occasion, when he had kept possession of the tribune above an hour, the latter, after the sitting was concluded, went to his house, and gently reproached him with often drinking to excess, which led him into unpleasant embarrassments. 'What do you complain of?' answered the Viscount laughing; 'this is the only one of all the family vices that you have left me.' In 1790 the younger Mirabeau emigrated, levied a legion, and served under the Prince of Condé. His singular conformation had gained him the nickname of 'Hogshead;' and indeed he was almost as big as he was tall, but his countenance was full of intelligence. In the beginning of the Revolution he wrote a satire entitled the 'Magic Lantern,' and left behind him a collection of tales the versification of which is sprightly and graceful."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

cockade had not ceased to be worn beyond the Rhine, the national cockade to be insulted, and French travellers maltreated; that, in consequence, it behoved the Assembly to demand of the emperor a final explanation relative to the treaty of 1756. The report was ordered to be printed, and the consideration of it adjourned.

On the same day, January 14, 1792, Guadet ascended the tribune. "Of all the facts," said he, "communicated to the Assembly, that by which it has been most struck is the plan of a congress to be assembled for the purpose of obtaining the modification of the French constitution—a plan long suspected, and at length denounced as possible by the committees and the ministers. If it be true," added Guadet, "that this intrigue is conducted by men who fancy that they discover in it the means of emerging from that political non-entity into which they have just sunk; if it be true that some of the agents of the executive power are seconding with all the influence of their connexions this abominable plot; if it be true that they think to bring us by delay and discouragement to accept this ignominious mediation—ought the National Assembly to shut its eyes to such dangers? Let us swear," exclaimed the speaker, "to die, all of us, on this spot, rather . . . ." He was not allowed to finish: the whole Assembly rose, crying, "Yes, yes, we swear it;" and with enthusiasm it declared every Frenchman who should take part in a congress the object of which was to modify the constitution, infamous and a traitor to his country. It was more especially against the members of the late Constituent Assembly, and Delessart, the minister, that this decree was directed. It was Delessart who was accused of protracting the negotiations. On the 17th, the discussion on Gensonné's report was resumed, and it was resolved that the King should not treat further, unless in the name of the French nation, and that he should require of the emperor a definitive explanation before the 1st of March ensuing. The King replied that it was more than a fortnight since he had demanded positive explanations from Leopold.

During this interval, news arrived that the Elector of Treves, alarmed at the urgency of the French cabinet, had issued fresh orders for the dispersion of the assemblages of troops, for the sale of the magazines formed in his dominions, and for prohibiting recruiting and military exercises; and that these orders were, in fact, carried into execution. In the then prevailing disposition, this intelligence was coldly received. The Assembly would not regard these measures in any other light than as empty demonstrations without result: and persisted in demanding the definitive answer of Leopold.

Dissensions existed in the ministry between Bertrand de Molleville and Narbonne. Bertrand was jealous of the popularity of the minister at war, and found fault with his condescension to the Assembly. Narbonne complained of the conduct of Bertrand de Molleville and of his unconstitutional sentiments, and wished that the King would dismiss him from the ministry. Cahier de Gerville held the balance between them, but without success. It was alleged that the constitutional party was desirous of raising Narbonne to the dignity of prime minister; it would even appear that the King was imposed upon, that the popularity and the ambition of Narbonne were employed as bugbears to frighten him, and that he was represented to him as a presumptuous young man who wanted to govern the cabinet. The newspapers were informed of these dissensions. Brissot and the Gironde warmly defended the minister who was threatened with disgrace, and as warmly attacked his colleagues and the King. A letter, written by the three generals of the north to Narbonne, in which they expressed their apprehensions respecting his dismissal, which was said to be near at hand, was published. The King, irritated at this, immediately dismissed him; but, to counteract the effect of this dismissal, he declared his determination to remove Bertrand de Molleville also. The effect of the first, however, was not weakened by the latter step. It excited an extraordinary sensation, and the Assembly resolved to declare, agreeably to the form previously adopted in Necker's case, that Narbonne carried with him the confidence of the nation, and that the entire ministry had lost it. From that condemnation, however, it proposed to except Cahier de Gerville, who had always been hostile to Bertrand de Molleville, and who had even just had a violent quarrel with him.

After much agitation, Brissot offered to prove that Delessart had betrayed the confidence of the nation. This minister had communicated to the diplomatic committee his correspondence with Kaunitz. It was without dignity, and even gave Kaunitz a very unfavourable notion of the state of France, and seemed to have authorized the conduct and the language of Leopold. It should be observed that Delessart and his colleague, Dupont-Dutertre, were the two ministers who belonged more particularly to the Feuillans, and who were most disliked, because they were accused of favouring the plan of a congress.

In one of the most stormy sittings of the Assembly, the unfortunate Delessart was accused by Brissot of having compromised the dignity of the nation, of having neglected to apprize the Assembly of the concert of the powers and the declaration of Pilnitz; of having professed unconstitutional doctrines in his notes; of having given Kaunitz a false notion of the state of France; of having protracted the negotiation, and conducted it in a manner contrary to the interests of the country. Vergniaud joined Brissot, and added new grievances to those imputed to Delessart. He reproached him for having, when minister of the interior, kept too long in his portfolio the decree which incorporated the Comtat with France, and thus having caused the massacres at Avignon.* "From this tribune from which I address you," added Vergniaud, "may be seen the palace where perverse advisers mislead and deceive the King whom the constitution has given us. I see the windows of the palace where they are hatching counter-revolution, where they are combining the means of plunging us back into slavery. In ancient times terror has often stalked forth in the name of despotism from this famous palace; let us now return thither, in the name of the law; let it there seize every heart; let all those who dwell in it know that our constitution grants inviolability to the King alone."

The decree of accusation was immediately put to the vote and carried. Delessart was sent to the high national court, established at Orleans, which was empowered by the constitution to try crimes against the state. The King felt the greatest pain at his departure. He had given him his confidence, and been delighted with his moderate and pacific sentiments. Duport-Dutertre, minister of the constitutional party, was also threatened with an accusation, but he anticipated it, demanded permission to justify himself, was absolved by the order of the day, and immediately afterwards resigned. Cahier de Gerville also gave in his resignation, and thus the King found himself deprived of the only one of his ministers who had a reputation for patriotism with the Assembly.

Separated from the ministers whom the Feuillans had given him, and not knowing to whom to cling amidst this storm, Louis XVI., who had dismissed Narbonne because he was too popular, thought of connecting himself with the Gironde, which was republican. It is true that it was so only from distrust of the King; and it was possible that, when he had once committed himself to this party, it might attach itself to him. But it would have been requisite that he should give himself up sincerely; and that everlasting question of sincerity arose here as on all other occasions. No doubt Louis XVI. was sincere when he consigned himself to a party, but it was not without ill-humour and regret. Thus when this party imposed upon him a difficult but necessary condition, he rejected it. Distrust instantly sprang up, animosity followed, and very soon a rupture was the consequence of those unhappy alliances between hearts which were exclusively occupied by two opposite interests. Thus it was that Louis XVI., after admitting the Feuillant party to his presence, had, in a fit of ill-humour, dismissed Narbonne, who was its most conspicuous chief, and now found himself reduced to the necessity of giving himself

* "On Sunday, the 30th of October, 1791, the gates were closed, the walls guarded so as to render escape impossible, and a band of assassins, commanded by the barbarous Jourdan, sought out in their own houses the individuals destined for death. Sixty unhappy wretches were speedily thrust into prison, where, during the obscurity of the night, the murderers wreaked their vengeance with impunity. One young man put fourteen to death with his own hand, and only desisted from excess of fatigue! Twelve women perished, after having undergone tortures which my pen cannot describe. When vengeance had done its worst, the remains of the victims were torn and mutilated, and heaped up in a ditch, or thrown into the Rhone."—*Lacretelle*. E.

up to the Gironde, in order to allay the storm. The example of England, where the King frequently takes his ministers from the opposition, was one of the motives of Louis XVI. The court then conceived a hope—for people cannot help forming hopes, even in the most gloomy conjunctures—that Louis XVI., by taking incapable and ridiculous demagogues, would ruin the reputation of the party from which he should have selected them. This hope, however, was not realized; and the new ministry was not such as the malice of the courtiers would have desired.

Above a month before this time, Delessart and Narbonne had selected a man whose talents they held in high estimation, and placed him near them for the purpose of availing themselves of his abilities. This was Dumouriez, who, having successfully commanded in Normandy and in La Vendée, had everywhere displayed extraordinary firmness and intelligence. He had first offered himself to the court, and then to the Constituent Assembly, because all parties were the same to him, provided he had opportunities to exercise his activity and his superior talents. Dumouriez, kept down by the times in which he lived, had spent part of his life in diplomatic intrigues. With his bravery, and his military and political genius, he was still, at the age of fifty, and at the commencement of the Revolution, only a brilliant military adventurer.* He had nevertheless retained the fire and the hardihood of youth, and, as soon as there appeared a prospect of a war or a revolution, he formed plans and addressed them to all the parties, ready to act for any, provided he could but act. He was thus accustomed not to take any account of the nature of a cause; but, though too little swayed by conviction, he was generous, sensible, and capable of attachment, if not for principles, at least for persons. Yet, with such a graceful, prompt, and comprehensive mind, and courage alternately calm and impetuous, he was admirable for serving, but incapable of directing. He had neither the dignity of a profound conviction nor the pride of a despotic will, and he could command none but soldiers. If, with his genius, he had possessed the passions of a Mirabeau, or the resolution of a Cromwell, or merely the dogmatism of a Robespierre, he might have directed the course of the Revolution, and France.

No sooner was Dumouriez connected with Narbonne, than he formed a vast military plan. He was at once for offensive and defensive war. Wherever France extended to her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea, he proposed that she should confine herself to the defensive. But in the Netherlands, where our territory did not extend to the Rhine, and in Savoy, where it did not extend to the Alps, he proposed that we should attack immediately, and that, on reaching the natural limits, we should resume the defensive. This would have been reconciling at once our interests with our principles, as it would have been profiting by a war which we had not provoked, to return on the score of boundaries to the genuine laws of nature. Dumouriez proposed a fourth army, destined to occupy the South, and applied for the command of it, which was promised him.

Dumouriez had gained the good-will of Gensonné, one of the civil commissioners sent into La Vendée by the Constituent Assembly, afterwards a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and one of the most influential members of the Gironde. He had remarked, moreover, that the Jacobins were the predominating power. He had attended their club and read several memorials which had been highly applauded, but had nevertheless kept up his former intimacy with Delaporte, intendant of the civil list, and a devoted friend of Louis XVI. Connected thus with the different powers which were on the point of uniting, Dumouriez could not fail to carry all before him and to be called to the ministry. Louis XVI. offered him the portfolio of foreign affairs, which the decree of accusation against Delessart had

* "The following expressions paint Dumouriez completely. 'Honour to the patriots who took the Bastille!' he exclaims in his Memoirs; yet a few pages after, we find that 'being at Caen, in 1789, when an insurrection was feared in Paris, he composed a memorial on the best means of maintaining order, and defending the Bastille!' A sister of the famous emigrant Rivarol was Dumouriez's mistress. The son of a commissary of war, known by the poem of 'Richardet,' Dumouriez had been wounded during the seven years' war, and was much engaged in the *secret correspondence*, a sort of diplomatic system of *espionnage*, of which Louis XVI. had given the superintendence to the Count de Broglie."—*Lafayette's Memoirs*. E.

just rendered vacant; but, still attached to the accused minister, the King offered it only *ad interim*. Dumouriez, feeling that he was powerfully supported, and disliking to appear to keep the place for a Feuillant minister, refused the portfolio, and obtained it without an *ad interim* stipulation. He found only Cahier de Gerville and Degraves in the ministry. Cahier de Gerville, though he had given in his resignation, had not yet relinquished duties. Degraves had succeeded Narbonne. He was young, easy, and inexperienced. Dumouriez contrived to gain him, and thus he held in his hands the foreign relations and the military administration of the war. Nothing else would have satisfied his enterprising spirit.

No sooner had he attained the ministry than Dumouriez put on the red cap at the Jacobins—a new distinction borrowed from the Phrygians, and which had become the emblem of liberty. He promised to govern for them and by them. On being presented to Louis XVI., he pacified him respecting his conduct at the Jacobins. He removed the prejudices which that conduct had excited; he had the art to touch him by testimonies of attachment, and to dispel his gloomy melancholy by his wit. He persuaded him that if he sought popularity it was only for the benefit of the throne and for the purpose of strengthening it. But, notwithstanding all his deference, he took care to make the prince sensible that the constitution was inevitable, and endeavoured to console him by striving to prove that with it a King might still be very powerful. His first despatches to the powers, full of sound reason and firmness, changed the nature of the negotiations, and gave France quite a new attitude, but rendered war imminent. It was natural that Dumouriez should desire war, since he had a genius for it, and had meditated thirty-six years on that great art: but it must also be admitted that the conduct of the cabinet of Vienna, and the irritation of the Assembly, had rendered it inevitable.

Dumouriez, from his conduct at the Jacobins and his known connexion with the Gironde, could not, even without any hatred against the Feuillans, help embroiling himself with them. Besides, he had displaced them. He was, therefore, in continual opposition to all the chiefs of that party. Braving the sarcasms and the contempt which they levelled against the Jacobins and the Assembly, he determined to pursue his career with his accustomed assurance.

It was necessary to complete the ministry. Petion, Gensonné, and Brissot, were consulted respecting the persons to be selected. According to the law, the ministers could not be taken either from the present or from the last Assembly: the choice, therefore, was extremely limited. Dumouriez, proposed for the marine, Lacoste,* who had formerly been employed in that department, an industrious and experienced man, an obstinate patriot, who nevertheless was attached to the King, was esteemed by him, and remained about him longer than all the others. It was further proposed to give the ministry of justice to young Louvet, who had recently distinguished himself at the Jacobins, and who had won the favour of the Gironde, since he had so ably supported the opinion of Brissot in favour of war. The envious Robespierre† caused him to be immediately denounced. Louvet successfully justified himself; but, as it was not deemed right to take one whose popularity was contested, Duranthon,‡ an advocate of Bordeaux, an enlightened, upright, but weak man, was sent for. The ministry of the finances and of the interior yet remained to be filled up. The Gironde again proposed Clavières,§ who was known

* "Lacoste was a true jack-in-office of the old order of things, of which he had the insignificant and awkward look, cold manner, and dogmatic tone. He was deficient both in the extensive views and activity necessary for a minister."—*Memoirs of Madame Roland.* E.

† "I once conversed," says Madame de Staël, "with Robespierre at my father's house, in 1789. His features were mean, his complexion pale, his veins of a greenish hue." Speaking of the same demagogue, Dumont observes, "I had twice occasion to converse with Robespierre. He had a sinister expression of countenance, never looked you in the face, and had a continual and unpleasant winking of the eyes." E.

‡ "Duranthon was born at Massedon, in 1736. In December, 1793, he was dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, and guillotined."—"He was an honest man," says Madame Roland in her Memoirs, "but very indolent; his manner indicated vanity, and his timid disposition and pompous prattle made him always appear to me no better than an old woman." E.

§ "Clavières was born at Geneva, in 1735, where," says M. Dumont, "he became one of the popular leaders; shrewd and penetrating, he obtained the credit of being also cunning and artful;

by some highly-esteemed works on finance. The minister appointed to the interior was Roland,* formerly inspector of manufactories, who had distinguished himself by some excellent publications on industry and the mechanical arts. This man, with austere manners, inflexible opinions, and a cold, forbidding look, yielded, without being aware of it, to the superior ascendency of his wife. Madame Roland was young and beautiful. Bred in the depths of retirement, and imbued with philosophic and republican ideas, she had conceived notions superior to those of her sex, and had formed a severe religion out of the then prevailing principles. Living in the closest friendship with her husband, she lent him her pen, communicated to him a portion of her own vivacity, infused her own ardour not only into him but into all the Girondins, who, enthusiasts for liberty and philosophy, admired her beauty and intelligence, and were influenced by her opinions, which were in fact their own opinions.†

The new ministry comprehended abilities great enough for its prosperity: but it behoved it not to displease Louis XVI., and to keep up its alliance with the Gironde. It might then prove adequate to its task; but if blunders of individuals were to be added to the incompatibility of the parties which had united, all would be lost—and this was what could not fail to happen very speedily. Louis XVI., struck by the activity of his ministers, by their good intentions, and by their talent for business, was for a moment delighted, especially with their economical reforms; for he had always been fond of that kind of improvement which required no sacrifice either of power or of principle. If he could always have felt the confidence which he did then, and have separated himself from the hangers-on of the court, he might easily have reconciled himself to the constitution. This he repeated with sincerity to the

he was a man of superior intellect; deaf from his youth, and deprived by this infirmity of the pleasures of society, he had sought a compensation in study, and formed his education, by associating politics and moral philosophy with trade. Being denounced by Robespierre, to avoid the guillotine he stabbed himself in prison, June 9, 1793. His wife poisoned herself on the following day."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

* J. M. Roland de la Platiere, born at Villefranche, near Lyons, of a family distinguished in the law for its integrity, was the youngest of five brothers, left orphans and without fortune. In order to avoid entering into the church, like his elder brother, he left home at the age of nineteen; went to Rouen, engaged in the direction of the manufactories, distinguished himself by his love of study, and his taste for commercial subjects, and obtained the place of inspector-general, first at Amiens, and then at Lyons. He travelled through a great part of Europe, and during the Revolution sided with the Girondins. He made great efforts, but in vain, to stop the September massacres. In 1793 he signed the order for the King's execution, and was soon afterwards involved in the fall of his party. He however contrived to escape to Rouen, but, as soon as he heard of his wife's execution, he resolved not to survive her; and, having left his asylum in the evening, he went along the road to Paris, sat down against a tree, and stabbed himself with a sword that he had brought with him in a cane. He killed himself so quietly that he did not change his attitude; and the next day the people who passed by thought he was asleep. A paper was found about him couched in these terms: 'Whoever you may be that find me lying here, respect my remains; they are those of a man who devoted all his life to being useful, and who died as he lived, virtuous and honest. Not fear but indignation has made me quit my retreat; when I learned that my wife had been massacred, I would not remain any longer in a world stained with crimes.' Roland was of an irascible temper, and deeply versed in the ancient and most of the modern languages."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "M. J. Philipon Madame Roland, was born at Paris in 1754. She was the daughter of a distinguished engraver who had ruined his fortune by dissipation. At nine years old she made an analysis of Plutarch. In 1780, she married Roland, then inspector of the manufactories. In 1792, having appeared at the bar of the National Convention, to give information concerning a denunciation, she spoke with remarkable grace and dignity, and was admitted to the honours of the sitting. In 1793, she was condemned to death together with other of the Girondins. She went to execution with irony and disdain on her lips; and on reaching the Place de la Révolution, she bowed to the statue of liberty, exclaiming, 'O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!' She was thirty-nine years of age. Without being beautiful, she had a sweet and artless countenance, and elegant figure. Her large black eyes were full of expression; her voice was musical; and her conversation peculiarly attractive. Her mind was well stored with knowledge, but she was too much addicted to satire."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

Condorcet, alluding to Madame Roland's influence over her husband, used to say, "When I wish to see the minister of the interior, I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife."—*History of the Convention.* E.

ministers, and succeeded in convincing the two most difficult, Roland and Clavières. The persuasion was complete on both sides. The Gironde, which was republican solely from distrust of the King, ceased then to be so; and Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Guadet, entered into correspondence with Louis XVI., which was subsequently one of the charges in the accusation preferred against them. The inflexible wife of Roland was alone doubtful, and kept back her friends, who were too ready, as she said, to surrender themselves. The reason of her distrust is natural. She never saw the King. The ministers, on the other hand, had daily interviews with him, and honest men, when they meet, soon feel satisfied with one another. But this confidence could not last, because inevitable questions were on the point of displaying the wide difference of their opinions.

The court strove to throw ridicule on the somewhat republican simplicity of the new ministry, and on the unpolished rudeness of Roland, who appeared at the palace without buckles to his shoes.* Dumouriez returned these sarcasms, and, mingling mirth with the most serious business, pleased the King, charmed him by his wit, and perhaps, too, suited him better than the others from the flexibility of his opinions. The Queen, perceiving that he had more influence over the mind of the monarch than any of his colleagues, was desirous of seeing him. He has recorded in his memoirs this extraordinary interview, which shows the agitation of that princess, worthy of another reign, other friends, and another fate.

On being ushered into the Queen's apartment, he found her, he says, alone, her face much flushed, walking hastily to and fro, with an agitation which seemed to betoken a warm explanation. He was going to post himself at the corner of the fire-place, painfully affected at the state of this princess, and the terrible sensations from which she was suffering. She advanced towards him with a majestic air and angry look, and said, "Sir, you are all-powerful at this moment, but it is through the favour of the people, who soon break their idols in pieces. Your existence depends on your conduct. It is said that you possess great abilities. You must be aware that neither the King nor myself can endure all these innovations on the constitution. This I tell you frankly: choose your side."

"Madam," he replied, "I am deeply pained by the secret which your majesty has just imparted to me. I will not betray it; but I stand between the King and the nation, and I belong to my country. Permit me to represent to you that the welfare of the King, your own, and that of your august children, is linked with the constitution, as well as the re-establishment of legitimate authority. I should do you disservice and the King too, if I were to hold any other language. You are both surrounded by enemies who are sacrificing you to their private interest. The constitution, when once it shall be in vigour, so far from bringing misery upon the King, will constitute his happiness and his glory. It is absolutely necessary that he should concur in establishing it solidly and speedily." The unfortunate Queen, shocked at this contradiction of her opinions, raising her voice, angrily exclaimed, "That will not last. Take care of yourself!"

Dumouriez rejoined with modest firmness, "Madam, I am past fifty; my life has been crossed by many perils, and, in accepting the ministry, I was thoroughly sensible that responsibility is not the greatest of my dangers."—"Nothing more was wanting," she cried with deep chagrin, "but to calumniate me. You seem to think me capable of causing you to be murdered," and tears trickled from her eyes.

"God preserve me," said Dumouriez, as much agitated as herself, "from doing you so cruel an injury! The character of your majesty is great and noble; you have given heroic proofs of it, which I have admired, and which have attached me to you." At this moment she became more calm and drew nearer to him. He continued: "Believe me, madam, I have no interest in deceiving you. I abhor

* "The first time that Roland presented himself at the palace, he was dressed with strings in his shoes, and a round hat. The master of the ceremonies refused to admit him in such an unwonted costume, not knowing who he was: being afterwards informed, and in consequence obliged to do so, he turned to Dumouriez, and said with a sigh, 'Ah, sir, no buckles in his shoes!'—'All is lost!' replied the minister for foreign affairs with sarcastic irony."—*Alison.* E.

anarchy and crime as much as you do. This is not a transient popular movement, as you seem to think. It is an almost unanimous insurrection of a mighty nation against inveterate abuses. Great factions fan this flame. In all of them there are villains and madmen. In the Revolution I keep in view only the King and the entire nation; all that tends to part them leads to their mutual ruin; I strive as much as possible to unite them; it is for you to assist me. If I am an obstacle to your designs, if you persist in them, tell me so; I will instantly send my resignation to the King, and hide myself in some corner, to mourn over the fate of my country and over your's."

The concluding part of this conversation entirely restored the confidence of the Queen. They reviewed together the different factions; he pointed out to her the blunders and crimes of all; he proved to her that she was betrayed by those about her; and repeated the language held by persons in her most intimate confidence. The princess appeared in the end to be entirely convinced, and dismissed him with a serene and affable look. She was sincere; but those around her and the horrible excesses of the papers written by Marat* and the Jacobins soon drove her back to her baneful resolutions.

* "J. P. Marat, born in 1744, of Calvinist parents, was not five feet high; his face was hideous, and his head monstrous for his size. From nature he derived a daring mind, an ungovernable imagination, a vindictive temper, and a ferocious heart. He studied medicine before he settled in Paris, where he was long in indigence. At last he obtained the situation of veterinary surgeon to the Count d'Artois. At the period of the Revolution, his natural enthusiasm rose to delirium, and he set up a journal entitled 'The People's Friend,' in which he preached up revolt, murder and pillage. In 1790 Lafayette laid siege to his house, but he found an asylum in that of an actress who was induced by her husband to admit him. In the different searches made after him, the cellars of his partisans, and the vaults of the Cordeliers' church successively gave him shelter, and thence he continued to send forth his journal. In August Marat became a member of the municipality; was one of the chief instigators of the September massacres, and even proposed to Danton to set the prisons on fire. Several deputies pressed the Assembly to issue a warrant for his arrest, but they could not obtain it, for Danton and Robespierre were his supporters. On one occasion Marat said to the people, 'Massacre 270,000 partisans of the former order of things!' Soon afterwards he was made president of the Jacobin society. Marat was stabbed to the heart, while in the bath, by Charlotte Corday. He had some talent; wrote and spoke with facility, in a diffuse, incoherent, but bold and impassioned manner. After his death, honours almost divine were paid him; and in the Place du Carrousel a sort of pyramid was raised in celebration of him, within which were placed his bust, his bathing-tub, his writing-desk, and lamp; and a sentinel was posted there, who one night died either of cold or horror. Eventually, however, France indignantly broke his bust, tore his remains from the Pantheon, and dragged them through the mud."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

The following description of Marat is full of graphic energy: "Marat's political exhortations began and ended like the howl of a bloodhound for murder. If a wolf could have written a journal, the gaunt and famished wretch could not have ravened more eagerly for slaughter. It was blood which was Marat's constant demand; not in drops from the breast of an individual, not in puny streams from the slaughter of families; but blood in the profusion of an ocean. We are inclined to believe that there was a touch of insanity in this unnatural ferocity; and the wild and squalid features of the wretch appear to have intimated a degree of alienation of mind. Danton murdered to glut his rage; Robespierre, to avenge his injured vanity, or to remove a rival whom he hated; Marat, from the same instinctive love of blood which induces a wolf to continue his ravages of the flocks long after his hunger is appeased."—*Sir Walter Scott.* E.

"None exercised a more fatal influence upon the period in which he lived than Marat. He depraved the morals of the existing parties, already sufficiently lax; and to him were owing the two ideas which the committee of public safety realized at a later period—the extermination of multitudes, and the dictatorship."—*Mignet.* E.

"A woman of Toulouse, who was desirous of obtaining the liberty of a relation, resolved on soliciting Marat. On going to his house, she was informed that he was absent, but he heard the voice of a female, and came out himself. He wore boots, but no stockings, a pair of old leather breeches, white silk waistcoat, and a dirty shirt, the bosom of which was open, and showed his yellow chest. Long dirty nails, skinny fingers, and a hideous face, suited exactly this whimsical dress. He took the lady's hand, and, leading her into a very plesant room, furnished with blue and white damask, decorated with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, and adorned with china vases full of natural flowers, which were then scarce and dear, Marat sat down beside her on a luxurious couch, heard the recital she had to make him, became interested in her, kissed her hand, and promised to set her cousin free. In consequence he was liberated from prison within twenty-four hours."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

"Give me," said Marat, "two hundred Neapolitans, the knife in their right hand, in their left a

On another occasion she said to Dumouriez, in the presence of the King, "You see me very sad. I dare not approach the window which looks into the garden. Yesterday evening, I went to the window towards the court just to take a little air, a gunner of the guard addressed me in terms of vulgar abuse, adding, 'How I should like to see your head on the point of my bayonet!' In this horrid garden you see on one side a man mounted on a chair, reading aloud the most abominable calumnies against us; on the other, a military man or an abbé, dragged through one of the basins, overwhelmed with abuse, and beaten; whilst others are playing at ball or quietly walking about. What an abode! What a people!"*

Thus, by a kind of fatality, the supposed intentions of the palace excited the distrust and the fury of the people, and the uproar of the people increased the anxiety and the imprudence of the palace. Despair therefore reigned within and without. But why, it may be asked, did not a candid explanation put an end to so many evils? Why did not the palace comprehend the fears of the people? Why did not the people comprehend the afflictions of the palace? But, why are men men? At this last question we must pause, submissively resign ourselves to human nature, and pursue our melancholy story.

Leopold II. was dead. The pacific dispositions of that prince were to be regretted for the tranquillity of Europe, and the same moderation could not be hoped for from his successor and nephew, the King of Bohemia and Hungary. Gustavus, King of Sweden, had just been assassinated during an entertainment.† The enemies of the Jacobins attributed this murder to them; but it was fully proved to be the crime of the nobility, humbled by Gustavus in the last Swedish Revolution. Thus the nobility, who in France cried out against the revolutionary fury of the people, gave in the north an example of what it had formerly been itself, and of what it still was in countries where civilization was least advanced. What an example for Louis XVI., and what a lesson, if at the moment he could have comprehended it! The death of Gustavus thwarted the enterprise which he had meditated against France—an enterprise for which Catherine was to furnish soldiers and Spain subsidies. It is doubtful, however, if the perfidious Catherine would have performed her promise, and the death of Gustavus, from which most important consequences were anticipated, was in reality a very insignificant event.‡

muff, to serve for a target, and with these I will traverse France and complete the Revolution. He also made an exact calculation, showing in what manner 260,000 men might be put to death in one day."—*Barbaroux's Memoirs.* E.

* *Dumouriez's Memoirs*, book iii., chap. 6.

Madame Campan gives a different account of the conversation with Dumouriez:

"All the parties," says she, "were bestirring themselves either to ruin the King or to save him. One day, I found the Queen in extreme agitation; she told me that she knew not what to do; that the leaders of the Jacobins had offered themselves to her through Dumouriez, or that Dumouriez, forsaking the party of the Jacobins, had come and offered himself to her; that she had given him an audience; that, being alone with her, he had thrown himself at her feet, and told her that he had put on the red cap, and even pulled it down over his ears, but that he neither was, nor ever could be, a Jacobin; that the Revolution had been suffered to roll on to that mob of disorganizers, who, aspiring only to pillage, were capable of everything, and had it in their power to furnish the Assembly with a formidable army, ready to sap the remains of a throne already too much shaken. While speaking with extreme warmth, he had taken hold of the Queen's hand, and kissed it with transport, saying, 'Allow yourself to be saved.' The Queen told me that it was impossible to believe the protestations of a traitor; that all his conduct was so well known, that the wisest plan indisputably was not to trust him; and, besides, the princes earnestly recommended that no confidence should be placed in any proposal from the interior."—Tome ii., p. 202.

The account of that conversation here differs, as the reader may perceive, in some respects: yet the groundwork is the same. In passing through the lips of the Queen and those of Madame Campan, it could not fail to acquire a colouring rather unfavourable to Dumouriez. The narrative of Dumouriez describes, in a much more probable manner, the agitations of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and, as it contains nothing injurious to that princess, or that does not correspond with her character, I have preferred it. It is possible, however, that the presumption of Dumouriez may have caused him to record in preference the particulars most flattering to himself.

† "Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was born in 1746, and assassinated by Ankarstrom at a masked ball at Stockholm on the night of March 15, 1792."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

‡ Bouillé, whose Memoirs I have already quoted, and whose situation enabled him to form a

Delessart had been impeached on account of the feeble tone of his despatches. It was not consonant either with the disposition or the interest of Dumouriez to treat feebly with the powers. The last despatches appeared to satisfy Louis XVI. on account of their aptness and their firmness. M. de Noailles, ambassador at Vienna, and by no means a sincere servant, sent his resignation to Dumouriez, saying that he had no hope of making the head of the empire listen to the language that had just been dictated to him. Dumouriez lost no time in communicating the circumstance to the Assembly, which, indignant at this resignation, immediately passed a decree of accusation against M. de Noailles. A new ambassador was instantly sent with fresh despatches. Two days afterwards, Noailles recalled his resignation, and sent the categorical answer which he had required from the court of Vienna.

Among all the faults committed by the powers, this note of M. de Cobentzel's is one of the most impolitic. M. de Cobentzel insisted, in the name of his court, on the re-establishment of the French monarchy on the basis fixed by the royal declaration of the 23d of June, 1789. This was equivalent to requiring the re-establishment of the three orders, the restitution of the property of the clergy, and that of the Comtat-Venaissin to the Pope. The Austrian minister moreover demanded the restoration of the domains in Alsace, with all their feudal rights, to the princes of the empire. In order to propose such conditions, a man must have known nothing of France unless through the medium of the passions of Coblentz. It was demanding at once the destruction of a constitution sworn to by the King and the nation, and the repeal of a decisive determination in regard to Avignon. Lastly, it was imposing the necessity of bankruptcy by the restitution of the possessions of the clergy already sold. Besides, what right had the emperor to claim such a submission? What right had he to interfere in our affairs? What complaint had he to make for the princes of Alsace, since their domains were enclosed by the French territory, and must of course submit to the same laws as that?

The first movement of the King and Dumouriez was to hasten to the Assembly and to communicate to it this note. The Assembly was indignant, and justly so. The cry for war was universal. But Dumouriez did not inform the Assembly that Austria, which he had threatened with a fresh revolution at Liege, had sent an agent to treat with him on that subject; that the language of this agent was totally different from that held at this moment by the Austrian ministry; and that this note was evidently the effect of a sudden and suggested revolution. The Assembly annulled the decree of accusation passed against Noailles, and demanded a speedy report. The King could no longer recede. That fatal war was at length on the point of being declared. In no case could it be favourable to his interests. If victorious, the French would become more urgent and more inexorable relative to the observance of the new law. If vanquished, they would find fault with the government and accuse it of having feebly carried on the war.

Louis XVI. was perfectly aware of this double danger, and this resolution was one of those which were most painful to him.* Dumouriez drew up his report

correct judgment of the real intentions of the powers, utterly disbelieved both the zeal and the sincerity of Catherine. On this subject he expresses himself as follows:

"It is obvious that this prince (Gustavus) relied much on the dispositions of the Empress of Russia, and on the active part which she was to take in the confederacy, and which was confined to demonstrations. The King of Sweden was deceived; and I doubt whether Catherine would ever have entrusted him with the eighteen thousand Russians she had promised. I am persuaded, moreover, that the Emperor and the King of Prussia had not communicated to him either their views or their plans. They had both of them personally more than a dislike for him, and they were desirous that he should not take any active part in the affairs of France."—*Bouillé*, p. 319.

* Madam Campan acquaints us, in one and the same passage with the construction of the iron chest and the existence of a secret protest made by the King against the declaration of war. This apprehension of the King for the war was extraordinary, and he strove in all possible ways to throw it upon the popular party.

"The King had a prodigious quantity of papers, and unluckily conceived the idea of having a closet made very secretly in an inner corridor of his apartments, by a locksmith whom he had kept at work about him for more than ten years. But for the denunciation of this man, that closet might have long remained unknown. The wall, just at the place where it was made, was painted

with his usual celerity, and carried it to the King, who kept it three days. It became a question whether the King, obliged to take the initiative with the Assembly, would urge it to declare war, or whether he would content himself with consulting it on this subject, in announcing that, agreeably to the injunctions given, France was in a state of war. The ministers Roland and Clavières were in favour of the former procedure. The orators of the Gironde likewise supported it, and were for dictating the speech from the throne. Louis XVI. felt repugnance to declare war, and preferred declaring the country in a state of war. The difference was unimportant, yet to his mind the one was preferable to the other. Dumouriez, whose mind was more easily made up, listened to none of the ministers; and, supported by Degraves, Lacoste, and Duranthon, caused the King's opinion to be adopted. This was his first quarrel with the Gironde. The King composed his speech himself, and repaired in person to the Assembly, followed by all his ministers. A considerable concourse of spectators added to the effect of this sitting, which was about to decide the fate of France and of Europe. The King's features appeared careworn and indicated deep thought. Dumouriez read a detailed report of the negotiations of France with the Empire; he showed that the treaty of 1756 was *de facto* broken, and that, according to the last ultimatum, France *was in a state of war*. He added that the King, having no other legal medium for consulting the Assembly but the *formal proposal of war*, submitted to consult it in that manner. Louis XVI. then spoke with dignity but with a faltering voice.* "Gentlemen," said he, "you have just heard the result of the negotiations in which I have been engaged with the court of Vienna. The conclusions of the report have been unanimously approved by my council: I have myself adopted them. They are conformable with the wish which the National Assembly had several times expressed, and with the sentiments communicated to me by a great number of citizens in different parts of the kingdom: all would rather have war than see the dignity of the French people any longer insulted, and the national security threatened.

"Having previously, as it was my duty, employed all possible means to maintain peace, I now come, agreeably to the terms of the constitution, to propose to the National Assembly war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

to look like large stones, and the opening was completely masked in the brown grooves formed by the shaded part of these painted stones. But, before this locksmith had denounced to the Assembly what has since been called the Iron Chest, the Queen knew that he had talked of it to some of her friends, and that this man, in whom the King, from habit, placed too great confidence, was a Jacobin. She apprized the King of this, and prevailed upon him to fill a very large portfolio with such papers as he was most anxious to preserve and to commit it to my care. She begged him in my presence not to leave anything in that closet; and the King, to quiet her, replied that he had left nothing there. I would have taken up the portfolio for the purpose of carrying it to my apartments; it was too heavy for me to lift. The King told me that he would carry it himself: I went before to open the doors for him. When he had laid down this portfolio in my inner cabinet, he merely said, 'The Queen will tell you what that contains.' On returning to the Queen, I asked, supposing from the intimation of the King, that it was necessary for me to know. 'They are papers,' replied the Queen, 'which would be most fatal to the King, if they were to go so far as to bring him to trial. But what he certainly means me to tell you is, that in this portfolio there is the report of a council of state, in which the King gave his opinion against the war. He made all the ministers sign it, and in case of a trial, he calculates that this paper would be extremely serviceable to him.' I asked the Queen to whose care she thought I ought to commit this portfolio? 'Put it in the care of any one you please,' replied she; 'you alone are responsible for it. Do not leave the palace, even in your months of rest: there are circumstances under which it may be of the utmost importance to be able to find it at the very moment when it is wanted."—*Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 222.

* "I was present at the sitting in which Louis was forced to a measure which was necessarily painful to him for many reasons. His features were not expressive of his thoughts, but it was not from dissimulation that he concealed them; a mixture of resignation and dignity repressed in him every outward sign of his sentiments. On entering the Assembly, he looked to the right and left, with that kind of vacant curiosity which is not unusual with persons who are so shortsighted that their eyes seem to be of no use to them. He proposed war in the same tone of voice as he might have used in requiring the most indifferent decree possible."—*Madame de Staël's Memoirs*. E.

This proposal was most warmly received: shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" resounded on all sides. The Assembly answered that it would deliberate, and that the King should be apprized by a message of the result of the deliberation. A most stormy discussion immediately commenced, and continued till the night was far advanced. The reasons already given *pro* and *con* were here repeated; the decree was at length passed, and war resolved upon by a great majority.

"Considering," said the Assembly, "that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has not ceased to grant open protection to French rebels; that it has provoked and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and the safety of the French nation;

"That Francis I., King of Hungary and Bohemia,* has, by his notes of the 18th of March and the 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert;

"That, notwithstanding the proposal made to him by the note of the 11th of March, 1792, to reduce the troops upon the frontiers, on both sides, to the peace establishment, he has continued and augmented his hostile preparations;

"That he has formally attacked the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring his determination to support the pretensions of the German princes holding possessions in France, to whom the French nation has not ceased to offer indemnities;

"That he has sought to divide the French citizens and to arm them, one against the other, by offering to support the malcontents in concert with the other powers;

"Considering, lastly, that the refusal to answer the last despatches of the King of the French leaves no hope of obtaining an amicable redress of these various grievances by means of an amicable negotiation, and is equivalent to a declaration of war, the Assembly declares that it is compelled, &c., &c."

It must be admitted that this cruel war, which for so long a period afflicted Europe, was not provoked by France but by the foreign powers. France, in declaring it, did no more than recognise by a decree the state in which she had been placed. Condorcet was directed to draw up an exposition of the motives of the nation. History ought to preserve this paper, an admirable model of reasoning and moderation.†

* Francis I. was not yet elected emperor.

† *Exposition of the Motives which determined the National Assembly to decree, on the formal proposal of the King, that there is reason to declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia.* By M. Condorcet.

(Sitting of April 20, 1792.)

Forced by the most imperative necessity to consent to war, the National Assembly is well aware that it shall be accused of having wilfully accelerated or provoked it.

It knows that the insidious conduct of the court of Vienna has had no other object than to give a shadow of plausibility to this imputation, which is needed by the foreign powers to conceal from their people the real motives of the unjust attack prepared against France: it knows that this reproach will be repeated by the domestic enemies of our constitution and our laws, in the criminal hope of robbing the representatives of the nation of the good-will of the public.

A simple exposition of their conduct is their only reply, and they address it with equal confidence to foreigners and to Frenchmen, since Nature has placed the sentiments of the same justice in the hearts of all mankind.

Each nation has alone the power of giving laws to itself, and the inalienable right of changing them. This right either belongs to none, or it belongs to all in perfect equality: to attack it in one is to declare that it is not recognised in any other; to attempt to wrest it by force from a foreign nation is proclaiming that a person respects it only in that of which he is a citizen or the chief; it is betraying his country; it is proclaiming himself an enemy of the human race. The French nation could not but conceive that truths so simple would be felt by all princes, and that, in the eighteenth century, no one would dare to oppose to them the old maxims of tyranny: its hope has been disappointed; a league has been formed against its independence, and it has had no other choice left but to enlighten its enemies respecting the justice of its cause, or to oppose to them the force of arms.

Informed of this threatening league, but anxious to preserve peace, the National Assembly at first inquired what was the object of this concert between powers which had so long been rivals, and it received for answer that its motive was the maintenance of the general tranquillity, the safety and honour of crowns, the fear of witnessing the recurrence of the events which some of the epochs of the French Revolution have presented.

But how should France threaten the general tranquillity, since she has taken the solemn reso-

The war occasioned general joy. The patriots beheld in it the end of those apprehensions which they felt on account of the emigration and the wavering con-

lution not to attempt any conquest, not to attack the liberty of any nation; since, amidst that long and sanguinary struggle which has arisen in the territory of the Liege, in the Netherlands, between the government and the citizens, it has maintained the strictest neutrality?

It is true that the French nation has loudly declared that the sovereignty belongs exclusively to the people, which, limited in the exercise of its supreme will by the rights of posterity, cannot delegate irrevocable power; it is true that it has loudly acknowledged that no usage, no express law, no consent, no convention, can subject a society of men to an authority which they would not have the right of resuming: but what idea would princes form of the legitimacy of their power, or of the justice with which they exercise it, if they were to consider the enunciation of these maxims as an enterprise against the tranquillity of their dominions?

Will they allege that this tranquillity might be disturbed by the writings, by the speeches, of a few Frenchmen? This, then, would be requiring, by main force, a law against the liberty of the press; it would be declaring war against the progress of reason and when it is known that the French nation has everywhere been insulted with impunity, that the presses of the neighbouring countries have never ceased inundating our departments with works designed to stir up treason, to excite rebellion; when it is recollected what marks of patronage and interest have been lavished on the authors, will any one believe that a sincere love of peace, and not hatred of liberty, has dictated these hypocritical reproaches!

Much has been said of attempts made by the French to rouse the neighbouring nations to break their fetters, to claim their rights. But the very ministers who have repeated these imputations, without daring to adduce a single fact in support of them, well knew how chimerical they were; and had even these attempts been real, the powers which have allowed assemblages of our emigrants, which have given them assistance, which have received their ambassadors, which have publicly admitted them into their conferences, which are not ashamed to incite Frenchmen to civil war, would have retained no right of complaining; otherwise it must be admitted that it is allowable to extend slavery, and criminal to propagate liberty; that everything is lawful against nations; that kings alone possess genuine rights. Never would the pride of the throne have more audaciously insulted the majesty of nations!

The French people, at liberty to fix the form of its constitution, could not, by making use of this power, endanger the safety or the honour of foreign crowns. Would, then, the chiefs of other countries class among their prerogatives the right of obliging the French nation to confer on the head of its government a power equal to that which they themselves exercise in their dominions? Would they, because they have subjects, forbid the existence elsewhere of freemen? Can they help perceiving that, in permitting everything for what they term the safety of crowns, they declare legitimate whatever a nation can undertake in favour of the liberty of other nations?

If acts of violence, if crimes, have accompanied some of the epochs of the French Revolution, to the depositories of the national will alone belonged the power of punishing or burying them in oblivion: every citizen, every magistrate, be his title what it may, ought not to demand justice but of the laws of his country—ought not to expect it but from them. Foreign powers, so long as their subjects have not suffered from these events, cannot have a just motive either for complaining of them, or for taking hostile measures to prevent their recurrence. Kindred, personal alliances between kings, are nothing to the nations; whether enslaved or free, common interests unite them: Nature has placed their happiness in peace, in the mutual aids of a kindly fraternity; she would be indignant if one would dare to put in the same balance the fate of twenty millions of men and the affections or the pride of a few individuals. Are we then doomed still to behold the voluntary servitude of nations encircling the altars of the false gods of the earth with human victims!

Thus these alleged motives of a league against France were but a fresh outrage against her independence. She had a right to require a renunciation of the injurious preparations, and to consider a refusal as an act of hostility: such have been the principles that have guided the conduct of the National Assembly. It has continued to desire peace; but it could not help preferring war to a patience dangerous for liberty; it could not help perceiving that changes in the constitution, that violation of the equality which is the basis of it, were the sole aim of the enemies of France; that they wished to punish her for having recognised in their full extent the rights common to all mankind; and then it took that oath, repeated by all Frenchmen, to perish rather than suffer the slightest attack either upon the liberty of the citizens, or upon the sovereignty of the people; or, above all, upon that equality without which there exists for societies neither justice nor happiness.

Would they reproach the French with not having sufficiently respected the rights of other nations, in offering only pecuniary indemnities either to the German princes holding possessions in Alsace, or to the Pope?

Treaties had ackuowledged the sovereignty of France over Alsace, and it had been peaceably exercised there for upwards of a century. The rights which these treaties had reserved were but privileges; the meaning of this reserve therefore was, that the possessors of fiefs in Alsace should retain them, with their old prerogatives, so long as the general laws of France admitted of the different forms of feudalism; that reserve signified also that, if the feudal prerogatives were involved

duct of the King. The moderates, alarmed by divisions, hoped that the common danger would put an end to them, and that the fields of battle would absorb all the

in one general ruin, the nation ought to indemnify the possessors for the real advantages resulting from it: for this is all that the right of property can demand, when it happens to be in opposition to the law, in contradiction to the public interest. The citizens of Alsace are Frenchmen, and the nation cannot, without disgrace and without injustice, suffer them to be deprived of the smallest portion of the rights common to all those whom this name ought alike to protect. Shall it be urged that, in order to indemnify these princes, we can relinquish to them a portion of our territory? No: a generous and free nation does not sell men; it does not doom to slavery, it does not give up to masters, those whom it has once admitted to share its liberty.

The citizens of the Comtats had a right to give themselves a constitution; they might have declared themselves independent; they preferred being Frenchmen, and, after adopting, France will not forsake them. Had she refused to accede to their desire, their country is encompassed by her territory, and she could not have permitted their oppressors to pass through a land of liberty in order to punish men for having dared to make themselves independent and to resume their rights. What the Pope possessed in this country was the salary of the functions of the government: the people, in taking from him these functions, have exercised a power which long servitude had suspended, but of which it could not deprive them; and the indemnity offered by France was not even required by justice.

Thus it is again violations of the right of nature that they dare to demand in the name of the Pope and the possessors of fiefs in Alsace! It is again for the pretensions of a few individuals that they would spill the blood of nations! And if the ministers of the house of Austria had resolved to declare war against reason in the name of prejudices, against nations in the name of kings, they could not have held any other language.

It has been asserted that the vow of the French people for the maintenance of its equality and its independence was the vow of a faction. But the French nation has a constitution; that constitution has been recognised, adopted by the generality of the citizens; it cannot be changed but by the desire of the people, and according to the forms which it has itself prescribed: whilst it subsists the powers established by it have alone the right of manifesting the national will, and it is by them that this will has been declared to the foreign powers. It was the King who, on the application of the National Assembly, and exercising the functions which the constitution confers on him, complained of the protection granted to the emigrants, and insisted to no purpose that it should be withdrawn; it was he who solicited explanations concerning the league formed against France; it was he who required that this league should be dissolved; and assuredly we have a right to be surprised to hear the solemn wish of the people, publicly expressed by its lawful representatives, proclaimed as the cry of a few factious men. What title equally respectable could then those kings invoke, who force misled nations to fight against the interests of their own liberty, and to take arms against rights which are also their own, to stifle beneath the ruins of the French constitution the germs of their own felicity and the general hopes of mankind!

And, besides, what sort of a faction is it that could be accused of having conspired the universal liberty of mankind? It is then the entire human race that enslaved ministers dare to brand with this odious name.

But, say they, the King of the French is not free. What! is to be dependent on the laws of one's country not to be free? The liberty of thwarting them, of withdrawing oneself from them, of opposing to them a foreign force, would not be a right, but a crime.

Thus, in rejecting all these insidious propositions, in despising these indecent declamations, the National Assembly had shown itself, in all the foreign relations, equally friendly to peace, and jealous of the liberty of the people; thus the continuance of a hostile tolerance for the emigrants, the open violation of the promises to disperse their assemblages, the refusal to renounce a line evidently offensive, the injurious motives of this refusal, which indicated a desire to destroy the French constitution, were sufficient to authorize hostilities, which would never have been any other than acts of lawful defence; for it is not attacking, not to give our enemy time to exhaust our resources in long preparations, to spread all his snares, to collect all his forces, to strengthen his first alliances, to seek fresh ones, to form connexions in the midst of us, to multiply plots and conspiracies in our provinces. Does he deserve the name of aggressor, who, when threatened, provoked, by an unjust and perfidious foe, deprives him of the advantage of striking the first blows? Thus, so far from seeking war, the National Assembly has done everything to prevent it. In demanding new explanations respecting intentions which could not be doubtful, it has shown that it renounced with pain the hope of a return to justice, and that, if the pride of kings is prodigal of the blood of their subjects, the humanity of the representatives of a free nation is sparing even of the blood of its enemies. Insensible to all provocations, to all insults, to the contempt of old engagements, to violations of new promises, to the shameful dissimulation of the plots hatched against France, to that perfidious condescension under which were disguised the succours, the encouragements, lavished on the French who have betrayed their country, it would still have accepted peace, if that which was offered had been compatible with the maintenance of the constitution, with the independence of the national sovereignty, with the safety of the state.

But the veil which concealed the intentions of our enemy is at length torn. Citizens, which of

turbulent spirits generated by the Revolution. Some Feuillans alone, glad to find faults in the Assembly, reproached it with having violated the constitution, according to which, France ought never to be in a state of aggression. It is but too evident that here France was not the assailant. Thus, war was the general wish of all excepting the King and a few discontented persons.

Lafayette prepared to serve his country bravely in this new career. It was he who was more particularly charged with the execution of the plan conceived by Dumouriez and apparently ordered by Degraves. Dumouriez had justly flattered himself, and given all the patriots reason to hope, that the invasion of the Netherlands would be an easy task. That country, recently agitated by a revolution, which Austria had suppressed, might naturally be expected to be disposed to rise on the first appearance of the French, and then would be fulfilled the warning of the Assembly to the sovereigns—"If you send us war, we will send you back liberty." It was, moreover, the execution of the plan conceived by Dumouriez, which consisted in extending the French territory to its natural frontiers.

Rochambeau commanded the army close to the scene of action, but he could not be charged with this operation on account of his peevish and discontented disposition, and more especially because he was less fitted than Lafayette for an invasion half military, half popular. It was wished that Lafayette might have the general command, but Dumouriez refused to comply, no doubt from ill-will. He alleged, as a reason, that it was impossible, in the presence of a marshal, to give the chief command of that expedition to a mere general. He said, moreover, and this reason was not quite so bad, that Lafayette was suspected by the Jacobins and by the Assembly. It is certain that, young, active, the only one of all the generals who was beloved by his army, Lafayette was a terror to overheated imaginations, and furnished occasion, by his influence, to the calumnies of the malignant. Be this as it may, he cheerfully offered to execute the plan of the ministry, at once diplomatic and military: he demanded fifty thousand men, with whom he proposed to push forward by Namur and the Meuse to Liege, the possession of which would make him master of the Netherlands.

This plan was judicious, and it was approved by Dumouriez. War had been declared only a few days. Austria had not time to cover her possessions in the Netherlands, and success appeared certain. Accordingly, Lafayette was ordered at first to advance with ten thousand men from Givet to Namur, and from Namur to Liege or Brussels. He was to be followed immediately by his whole army. While he was executing this movement, Lieutenant-general Biron was to set out from Valenciennes with ten thousand men, and to march upon Mons. Another officer had orders to proceed to Tournay, and to take possession of it immediately. These movements, conducted by officers of Rochambeau's, were intended to support and mask the real attack committed to Lafayette.

The orders given to this effect were to be executed between the 20th of April and

you could, in fact, subscribe to these ignominious proposals? Feudal servitude, and an humiliating inequality, bankruptcy, and taxes which you alone would pay, tithes and the inquisition, your possessions bought upon the public faith restored to their former usurpers, the beasts of the chase re-established in the right of ravaging your fields, your blood profusely spilt for the ambitious projects of a hostile house,—such are the conditions of the treaty between the King of Hungary and perfidious Frenchmen!

Such is the peace which is offered to you! No; never will you accept it. The cowards are at Coblentz, and France no longer harbours in her bosom any but men worthy of liberty!

He proclaims in his own name, in the name of his allies, the plan of requiring of the French nation the relinquishment of its rights; he declares that he shall demand of it sacrifices which nothing but the fear of destruction could wring from it. Let him; but never will it submit to them. This insulting pride, so far from intimidating it, will only rouse its courage. It takes time to discipline the slaves of despotism, but every man is a soldier when he combats tyranny; money will start forth from its dark retreats at the cry of the country in danger; those ambitious wretches, those slaves of corruption and intrigue, those base calumniators of the people, from whom our foes dared promise themselves ignominious succours, will lose the support of the blind or pusillanimous citizens whom they had deluded by their hypocritical declamations; and the French empire, throughout its wide extent, will display to our enemies but one universal determination to conquer or utterly perish with the constitution and the laws.

the 2d of May. Biron commenced his march, left Valenciennes, made himself master of Quievrain, and found a few hostile detachments near Mons. All at once, two regiments of dragoons, though not in presence of the enemy, cried out, "We are betrayed!" betook themselves to flight, and were followed by the whole army. In vain the officers strove to stop the fugitives; they threatened to shoot them, and continued their flight. The camp was given up, and all the military effects fell into the hands of the Imperialists.

While this event was occurring at Mons, Theobald Dillon left Lille, according to a preconcerted plan, with two thousand infantry and a thousand horse. In the very same hour that Biron's disaster happened, the cavalry, at the sight of some Austrian troops, gave way, crying out that it was betrayed. It hurried the infantry along with it, and again the whole of the baggage was abandoned to the enemy. Theobald Dillon and an officer of engineers, named Berthois, were murdered by the soldiers and the populace of Lille, who insisted that they were traitors.

Meanwhile Lafayette, apprized too late of these circumstances, had proceeded from Metz to Givet, after encountering extreme difficulties, and by roads that were scarcely passable. Nothing but the ardour of his troops enabled him to perform, in so short a time, the considerable distance which he had traversed. There, learning the disasters of Rochambeau's officers, he thought it right to halt.

This intelligence produced a general agitation. It was natural to suppose that these two events had been concerted, judging from their coincidence and their simultaneous occurrence. All the parties accused one another. The Jacobins and the furious patriots insisted that there was a design to betray the cause of liberty. Dumouriez, not accusing Lafayette, but suspecting the Feuillans, conceived that there had been a scheme to thwart his plan, in order to make him unpopular. Lafayette complained, but less bitterly than his party, that he had been directed too late to commence his march, and that he had not been furnished with all the means necessary for accomplishing it. The Feuillans, moreover, reported that Dumouriez had designed to ruin Rochambeau and Lafayette by chalking out a plan for them, without giving them the means of executing it. Such an intention was not to be supposed; for Dumouriez, in stepping beyond the duty of minister for foreign affairs in order to form a plan of campaign, incurred a grievous risk in case of its failure. Besides, the project of gaining Belgium for France and liberty formed part of a plan which he had long meditated; how then could it be imagined that he wished to make it miscarry? It was evident that in this case neither the minister nor the generals could be insincere, because they were all interested in succeeding. But parties always put persons in the place of circumstances, that they may throw upon some one the blame of the disasters which befal them.

Degraves, alarmed at the tumult excited by the recent military events, determined to resign an office which had long been too arduous for him, and Dumouriez was wrong in not undertaking it. Louis XVI., still under the sway of the Gironde, gave that department to Servan, an old soldier, known for his patriotic opinions.* This choice gave increased strength to the Gironde, which found itself almost in a majority in the council, having Servan, Clavières, and Roland, at its disposal. From that moment, discord began to prevail among the ministers. The Gironde daily became more distrustful, and consequently more urgent for demonstrations of sincerity on the part of Louis XVI. Dumouriez, who was but little guided by opinions, and who was touched by the confidence of the King, always took his part. Lacoste, who was strongly attached to the prince, did the same. Duranthon was neuter, and had no preference but for the weakest parties. Servan, Clavières,

* "Servan was born at Romano in 1741, and died at Paris in 1808. 'He was,' says Madame Roland, 'an honest man in the fullest signification of the term; an enlightened patriot, a brave soldier, and an active minister; he stood in need of nothing but a more sober imagination, and a more flexible mind."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

and Roland, were inflexible. Filled with the fears of their friends, they daily showed themselves more impracticable and inexorable at the council.

Another circumstance completed the rupture between Dumouriez and the principal members of the Gironde. Dumouriez, on accepting the ministry for foreign affairs, had demanded six millions for secret services, and insisted that he should not be called upon to account for the expenditure of that sum. The Feuillans had opposed this, but, through the influence of the Gironde, his demand proved triumphant, and the six millions were granted. Petion had applied for funds for the police of Paris; Dumouriez had allowed him thirty thousand francs per month; but, ceasing to be a Girondin, he permitted only one payment to be made. On the other hand, it was learnt or suspected that he had just spent one hundred thousand francs upon his pleasures. Roland, around whom rallied the Gironde, was, with all his friends, highly indignant at this circumstance. The ministers dined with one another by turns, for the purpose of conversing on public affairs. When they met at the house of Roland, it was in the presence of his wife and all his friends; and we may say that the council was then held by the Gironde itself. It was at such a meeting that remonstrances were made to Dumouriez on the nature of his secret expenses. At first he replied with gaiety and good humour, afterwards lost his temper, and quarrelled decidedly with Roland and the Girondins. He ceased to attend at these accustomed parties, and alleged as his reason that he would not talk of public affairs either before a woman or before Roland's friends. He nevertheless went occasionally to Roland's, but either said very little, or nothing at all, concerning business. Another discussion widened still further the breach between him and the Girondins. Guadet, the most petulant of his party, read a letter, proposing that the ministers should induce the King to choose for his spiritual director a priest who had taken the oath. Dumouriez maintained that the ministers could not interfere in the religious exercises of the King. He was supported, it is true, by Vergniaud and Gensonné; but the quarrel was not the less violent, and a rupture became inevitable.

The newspapers commenced the attack upon Dumouriez. The Feuillans, who were already leagued against him, then found themselves aided by the Jacobins and the Girondins. Dumouriez, assailed on all sides, firmly confronted the storm, and caused severe measures to be taken against some of the journalists.

A decree of accusation had already been directed against Marat, author of the *Ami du Peuple;* an atrocious work, in which he openly advocated murder, and heaped the most audacious insults on the royal family, and on all who were objects of suspicion to his frenzied imagination. To counterbalance the effect of this measure, a decree of accusation was obtained against Royou, who was the author of the *Ami du Roi*, and who inveighed against the republicans with the same violence that Marat displayed against the royalists.

For a long time past a great deal had been said concerning an Austrian committee. The patriots talked of it in the city, as the Orleans faction was talked of at court. To this committee a secret and mischievous influence was attributed, which was exercised through the medium of the Queen. If anything resembling an Austrian committee had existed in the time of the Constituent Assembly, there was nothing of the kind under the Legislative. At the former period an illustrious personage, who held an appointment in the Netherlands, communicated to the Queen, in the name of her family, some very prudent advice, which was still more prudently commented upon by the French intermediate agent. But under the Legislative Assembly these private communications had ceased; the Queen's family had continued its correspondence with her, but never omitted to recommend patience and resignation to her. It is true that Bertrand de Molleville and Montmorin still paid visits to the palace after their removal from the ministry. It was against them that all suspicions were directed, and they were, in fact, the agents of all the secret commissions. They were publicly accused by Carra, the journalist. Determined to prosecute him as a calumniator, they summoned him to produce documents in support of his denunciation. The journalist backed himself by three deputies, and named Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire, as the authors of the particulars which he had

published. Larivière, justice of the peace, who was devoted to the cause of the King, prosecuted this affair with great courage, and had the boldness to issue a summons against the three above-mentioned deputies. The Assembly, indignant at this attack on the inviolability of its members, replied to the justice of peace by a decree of accusation, and sent the unfortunate Larivière to Orleans.*

This unlucky attempt served only to increase the general agitation, and the hatred which prevailed against the court. The Gironde no longer considered itself as guiding Louis XVI., since Dumouriez had established his influence over him, and it had resumed its part of violent opposition.

The new constitutional guard of the King had been recently formed. Agreeably to the law, the civil establishment also ought to have been composed; but the nobility would not enter into it, that they might not recognise the constitution by filling posts which it had created. On the other hand, there was a determination not to compose it of new men, and it was abandoned. "How will you, madam," wrote Barnave to the Queen, "continue to raise the least doubt in those people concerning your sentiments? When they decree you a military and a civil establishment, like young Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, you eagerly grasp the sword and put away mere ornaments."† The ministers, and Bertrand himself, remonstrated on their part to the same purpose as Barnave, but they could not carry their point, and the composition of the civil establishment was abandoned.

The military establishment, formed agreeably to a plan proposed by Delessart, had been composed, one-third of troops of the line, and two-thirds of young citizens selected from the national guards. This composition could not but appear satisfactory. But the officers and the soldiers of the line had been chosen in such a manner as to alarm the patriots. Combined against the young men taken from the national guards, they had rendered the situation of the latter so disagreeable, that most of them had been obliged to retire. The vacancies had soon been filled up by trusty men: the number of this guard had been singularly increased; and, instead of eighteen hundred men fixed by the law, the number had been swelled, it is said, to nearly six thousand. Dumouriez had apprized the King of this circumstance, and he always replied that the old Duke de Brissac, who commanded these troops, could not be regarded as a conspirator.

Meanwhile, the conduct of the new guard at the palace and at other places was such, that suspicions were expressed in all quarters, and the clubs took up the subject. At the same period, twelve Swiss hoisted the white cockade at Neuilly; a considerable quantity of paper was burned at Sèvres,‡ and these proceedings gave

* "For several days past the journalists had been endeavouring to raise the people by violent declamations about plots asserted to be carried on by an Austrian committee. On the Sunday before, two orators had been taken up in the Palais Royal for haranguing against this committee, and, on examination, they were found to carry the marks of the whip and branding iron on their shoulders: patents of their association with the Jacobin club were found at the same time in their pockets. Possessed of the above facts, I went to confer with M. de Montmorin, when I was informed that Carra had the day before denounced the Austrian committee in the Jacobin club; and that both Montmorin and myself were pointed out as its principal members. On learning this, I carried my complaint before Larivière, *juge de paix*—an intelligent, well-disposed man—who ordered the case to be brought before him, and witnesses to be heard, after which he issued a decree that Carra should appear before him. He presented himself accordingly, and declared in his own defence that he had been authorized by Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, members of the committee of public safety, to bring forward the accusation against Messrs. de Montmorin and Bertrand. In consequence of this, we jointly gave in our accusation against these three members, who were arrested by order of Larivière, a proceeding which drew down on him the wrath of the Assembly; the affair was then sifted to the bottom, and, from that time forward, no journalist or motion-maker ventured to mention the Austrian committee."—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

† Mémoires de Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 154.

‡ Madame Campan explains in the following manner the secret of the paper burned at Sèvres: "In the beginning of 1792, a very worthy priest requested a private interview with me. He informed me that the arrival of the manuscript of a new libel by Madame Lamotte had come to his knowledge; that in the persons who had come from London to get it printed at Paris he perceived no other incentive but gain, and that they were ready to give up the manuscript to him for a thousand louis, if he could find some friend of the Queen disposed to make that sacrifice to her

rise to serious suspicions. The alarm then became general; the Assembly declared itself permanent, as though it was still the time when thirty thousand men threatened Paris. It is true, however, that the disturbances were general; that the non-juring priests were exciting the people in the southern provinces, and abusing the secrecy of confession to kindle fanaticism; that the concert of the powers was manifest; that Prussia was on the point of joining Austria; that the foreign armies became threatening, and that the recent disasters of Lille and Mons was the general topic of conversation. It is, moreover, true that the power of the people excites little confidence, that it is never believed till it has been exercised, and that an irregular multitude, how numerous soever it may be, cannot counterbalance the force of six thousand men, armed and disciplined.

The Assembly therefore lost no time in declaring itself permanent, and it caused an accurate report to be drawn up respecting the composition of the King's military establishment, and the number, choice, and conduct of those who composed it. After deciding that the constitution had been violated, it issued a decree for disbanding the guard, and another of accusation against the Duke de Brissac, and sent both these decrees for the royal sanction. The King was disposed at first to affix his *veto*. Dumouriez reminded him of the dismissal of his life-guards, who had been much longer in his service than his new military household, and exhorted him to make this second and much less difficult sacrifice. He recapitulated, besides, the positive faults committed by his guard, and obtained the execution of the decree. But he immediately insisted on its recomposition; and the King, either returning to his former policy of appearing to be oppressed, or relying upon this disbanded guard, whose pay he secretly continued, refused to replace it, and was thus exposed, without protection, to the popular fury.

The Gironde, despairing of the King's sincerity, followed up its attack with perseverance. It had already issued a new decree against the priests, instead of that which the King had refused to sanction. As reports of their factious conduct were continually arriving, it pronounced the sentence of banishment upon them. The designation of the culprits was difficult; and as this measure, like all those of safety, rested upon suspicion, it was according to their notoriety that the priests were judged and banished. On the denunciation of twenty active citizens, and with the approbation of the directory of the district, the directory of the department

tranquillity; that he had thought of me, and that, if her majesty would give him the twenty-four thousand francs, he would deliver the manuscript to me on receiving them.

"I communicated this proposal to the Queen, who rejected it, and ordered me to reply that, at the time when it was possible to punish the publishers of these libels, she had deemed them so atrocious and so improbable, that she had disdained the means of preventing their circulation; that, if she were to be weak and imprudent enough to buy a single one, the active espionnage of the Jacobins would be likely to discover it; that this libel, though bought up, would still be printed, and would prove infinitely more mischievous when they should acquaint the public with the means which she had employed to suppress it.

"Baron d'Aubier, gentleman in waiting on the King, and my particular friend, had an excellent memory, and a clear and precise manner for transmitting to me the substance of the deliberations, debates, and decrees of the National Assembly. I went every day to the Queen's apartments, to make my report on the subject to the King, who said, on seeing me, 'Ah! here comes the Calais postilion.'

"One day, M. d'Aubier came and said to me, 'The Assembly has been much engaged with a denunciation made by the workmen in the manufactory of Sèvres. They brought and laid upon the president's desk a bundle of pamphlets, saying that they were the Life of Marie Antoinette. The director of the manufactory was summoned to the bar, and declared that he had received orders to burn these pamphlets in the ovens employed for baking the porcelain.'

"Whilst I was giving this account to the Queen, the King blushed and hung down his head over his plate. The Queen said, 'Do you know anything of this, sir!' The King made no answer. Madame Elizabeth begged him to explain the meaning of this; still he kept silence. I quickly withdrew. In a few minutes, the Queen came to me, and told me that it was the King who, out of tenderness for her, had caused the whole edition printed from the manuscript which I had offered to her to be bought up, and that M. de Laporte could not devise any more secret way of annihilating the work than to cause it to be burnt at Sèvres among two hundred workmen, of whom at least one hundred and eighty were Jacobins. She told me that she had concealed her vexation from the King, who was exceedingly mortified, and that she could not say anything, as his kindness and affection for her had occasioned this accident."—*Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 196.

pronounced sentence. The condemned priest was obliged to leave the canton in twenty-four hours, the department in three days, and the kingdom in a month. If he was indigent, three livres a day were granted him till he reached the frontiers.

This severe law proved the increasing irritation of the Assembly. It was immediately followed by another. Servan, the minister, without having received any orders from the King, or consulting his colleagues, proposed that, on the approaching anniversary of the Federation of the 14th of July, there should be formed a camp of twenty thousand federalists, destined to protect the Assembly and the capital. It may easily be conceived with what enthusiasm this plan was hailed by the majority of the Assembly, consisting of Girondins. At this moment the power of the latter was at its height. They governed the Assembly, where the constitutionalists and the republicans were in a minority, and where those who called themselves impartial were, as at all times, but indifferent persons, ever more complying the more powerful the majority became. Moreover, they had Paris at their beck, through Petion, the mayor, who was wholly devoted to them. Their plan was by means of the proposed camp, without personal ambition, but from ambition of party and of opinion, to make themselves masters of the King, and to forestall his suspicious intentions.

No sooner was Servan's proposal known, than Dumouriez asked him, in full council, and with the strongest emphasis, in what character he had made such a proposition. He replied, that it was in the character of a private individual. "In that case," replied Dumouriez, "you should not put after the name of Servan the title of minister at war." The dispute became so warm, that, but for the King's presence, blood would probably have been spilt in the council. Servan offered to withdraw his motion; but this would have been useless, as the Assembly had taken it up; and the King, instead of gaining anything by it, would have appeared to exercise a violence upon his minister. Dumouriez, therefore, opposed this; the motion was persevered in, and was combated by a petition signed by eight thousand of the national guard, who were offended because it seemed to be thought that their service was insufficient for the protection of the Assembly. It was nevertheless carried, and sent to the King. Thus there were two important decrees awaiting his sanction, and it was already surmised that the King would refuse his adhesion to them. In this case, the Assembly was prepared to pass a definitive resolution against him.

Dumouriez maintained, in full council, that this measure would be fatal to the throne, but still more so to the Girondins, because the new army would be formed under the influence of the most violent Jacobins. He nevertheless added that it ought to be adopted by the King, because, if he refused to convoke twenty thousand men regularly chosen, forty thousand would spontaneously rise and make themselves masters of the capital. Dumouriez, moreover, declared that he had an expedient for annulling this measure, and which he would communicate at the fitting time. In like manner, he insisted that the decree respecting the banishment of the priests ought to be sanctioned, because they were culpable, and besides, exile would withdraw them from the fury of their enemies. Still Louis XVI. hesitated, and replied that he would consider farther of it. At the same council, Roland insisted on reading, in the King's presence, a letter which he had already addressed to him, and which it was consequently superfluous to communicate to him a second time *vivâ voce*. This letter had been determined upon at the instigation of Madame Roland, and it was her composition. It had been previously proposed that one should be written in the name of all the ministers. They had refused; but Madame Roland continued to urge the point upon her husband, till he resolved to take the step in his own name. To no purpose did Duranthon, who was weak but discreet, object with reason that the tone of his letter, so far from persuading the King, would only sour him against his ministers, who possessed the public confidence, and that a fatal rupture between the throne and the popular party would be the result of it. Roland persisted, agreeably to the advice of his wife and his friends. The Gironde, in fact, was bent on coming to an explanation, and preferred a rupture to uncertainty.

Roland, therefore, read this letter to the King, and made him listen in full council to the harshest remonstrances. This famous letter was as follows :

" Sire,—The present state of France cannot last long. It is a state of crisis, the violence of which has nearly attained the highest degree ; it must terminate in a catastrophe which cannot but interest your majesty as deeply as it concerns the whole empire.

" Honoured by your confidence, and placed in a post which renders truth an imperative duty, I will venture to tell the whole truth : it is an obligation which is imposed upon me by yourself.

" The French have given themselves a constitution, which has made malcontents and rebels : nevertheless the majority of the nation is determined to uphold that constitution. It has sworn to defend it at the price of its blood, and it has hailed with joy the war which presented a powerful medium for securing it. The minority, however, supported by hopes, has united all its efforts to gain the advantage. Hence that intestine struggle against the laws, that anarchy which good citizens deplore, and of which the malevolent eagerly avail themselves to calumniate the new system. Hence that division everywhere diffused and everywhere excited, for nowhere does indifference exist. People desire either the triumph, or a change, of the constitution. They act either to maintain or to alter it. I shall abstain from examining what it is of itself, in order to consider only what circumstances require ; and, expressing myself as dispassionately as possible, I will seek what we are authorized to expect and what it is right to favour.

Your majesty possessed great prerogatives, which you considered as pertaining to royalty. Brought up in the idea of retaining them, you could not see them taken from you with pleasure. The desire of recovering them was therefore as natural as regret on seeing them annihilated. These sentiments, inherent in the nature of the human heart, must have entered into the calculation of the enemies of the Revolution ; they reckoned, therefore, upon a secret favour, till circumstances should admit of a declared protection. This disposition could not escape the nation, nor fail to excite its jealousy.

" Your majesty has therefore been constantly under the alternative of yielding to your first habits, to you private affections, or of making sacrifices dictated by philosophy, and required by necessity ; consequently of encouraging rebels by alarming the nation, or of appeasing the latter by uniting yourself with it. Everything has its time, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived.

" Can your majesty at the present day ally yourself openly with those who pretend to reform the constitution, or ought you generously to strive without reserve to render it triumphant? Such is the real question, the solution of which the present state of affairs renders inevitable. As for that highly metaphysical one, whether the French are ripe for liberty, its discussion is not to the purpose here, for it is not the point to judge what we shall become in a century, but to discover what the present generation is capable of.

" Amidst the agitations in which we have been living for four years past, what has happened? Privileges burdensome to the people have been abolished. Ideas of justice and equality have been universally diffused. The opinion of the rights of the people has justified the feeling of its rights. The recognition of the latter, solemnly proclaimed, has become a sacred doctrine ; the hatred, inspired for ages by feudalism, has been exasperated by the manifest opposition of most of the nobles to the constitution, which destroys that system.

" During the first year of the Revolution, the people beheld in those nobles, men odious for the oppressive privileges which they had possessed, but whom they would have ceased to hate after the suppression of those privileges, if the conduct of the nobility since that time had not strengthened every possible reason for dreading it and for combating it as an irreconcilable enemy.

" Attachment to the constitution has increased in the like proportion. Not only are the people indebted to it for manifest benefits, but they have judged that it was preparing for them still greater ; since those who were accustomed to make them bear all the burdens were striving so powerfully to overthrow or to modify it.

"The declaration of rights is become a political gospel, and the French constitution a religion for which the people are ready to perish.

"Thus zeal has sometimes proceeded so far as to take the place of the law; and, when the latter was not sufficiently restrictive to repress disturbers, the citizens have ventured to punish them themselves.

"Thus it is that the property of emigrants has been exposed to ravages instigated by revenge. Hence too, so many departments have deemed themselves constrained to pursue severe measures against the priests whom public opinion had proscribed, and of whom it would have made victims.

"In this collision of interests, the sentiments of all have taken the tone of passion. The country is not a word which the imagination has delighted to embellish. It is a being to which people have made sacrifices, to which they are becoming daily more and more strongly attached on account of the anxieties which it occasions, which they have created with mighty efforts, which rises from amidst alarms, and which is loved as much for what it has cost as for what is hoped from it. All the attacks made upon it are but means of kindling enthusiasm in its behalf. To what a height will this enthusiasm attain, at the moment when hostile forces, assembled without, combine with internal intrigues for the purpose of striking the most fatal blows! In all parts of the empire, the ferment is extreme; it will burst forth in a terrible manner, unless a well-founded confidence in the intentions of your majesty can at length allay it: but this confidence cannot be established upon protestations; it can no longer have anything but facts for its basis.

"It is evident to the French nation that its constitution can go alone, that the government will have all the strength that is necessary for it, the moment that your majesty, absolutely bent on the triumph of that constitution, shall support the legislative body with all the power of the executive, shall remove all pretext for the alarm of the people, and take away all hope from the discontented.

"For example, two important decrees have been passed. Both essentially concern the public tranquillity and the welfare of the state. The delay in their sanction excites distrust. If it be further prolonged, it will cause discontent; and I am obliged to confess that, in the present effervescence of opinions, discontent may lead to any consequences.

It is too late to recede, and there are no longer any means of temporizing. The Revolution is accomplished in people's minds. It will be consummated at the expense of their blood, and cemented with it, if prudence does not prevent the calamities which it is yet possible to avoid.

"I know that it may be imagined that everything may be effected and everything repressed by extreme measures; but when force has been employed to overawe the Assembly, when terror has been spread throughout Paris, and dissension and stupor in its environs, all France will rise with indignation, and, tearing herself in pieces amidst the horrors of a civil war, will develop that stern energy, which is the parent alike of virtues and of crimes, and is always fatal to those by whom it has been called forth.

"The welfare of the state and the happiness of your majesty are intimately connected. No power is capable of separating them. Cruel pangs and certain calamities will environ your throne, if it is not placed by yourself upon the bases of the constitution, and strengthened by the peace which its maintenance must at length procure us. Thus the state of opinion, the course of events, motives for any particular line of policy, the interest of your majesty, render indispensable the obligation of uniting yourself with the legislative body and responding to the wish of the nation, who make a necessity of that which principles present as a duty. But the sensibility natural to this affectionate people is ready to find in that necessity a motive for gratitude. You have been cruelly deceived, sire, when you have been filled with aversion or distrust for a people so easily touched. It is by being kept in perpetual uneasiness that you yourself have been led to a conduct calculated to alarm. Let them see that you are determined to aid the progress of that constitution to which they have attached their felicity, and you will soon become the object of their thanksgiving.

"The conduct of the priests in many places, and the pretexts with which fanaticism furnished the discontented, have caused a wise law to be enacted against the disturbers. Be pleased, sire, to give it your sanction. The public tranquillity claims it. The safety of the priest solicits it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be constrained to substitute for it, as they do in every instance, violent measures, and the incensed people will, for want of it, have recourse to outrages.

"The attempts of our enemies, the commotions which have broken out in the capital, the extreme uneasiness excited by the conduct of your guard, and which is still kept up by the testimonies of satisfaction which your majesty has been induced to bestow upon it, in a proclamation truly impolitic under existing circumstances, and the situation of Paris, and its proximity to the frontiers, have caused the want of a camp in its vicinity to be felt. This measure, the prudence and urgency of which have struck all well-meaning persons, is still waiting only for your majesty's sanction. Why should delays be allowed to produce the appearance of reluctance, when celerity would deserve gratitude?

"Already have the proceedings of the staff of the national guard of Paris against this measure, awakened a suspicion that it was acting from superior instigation. Already are the declamations of certain furious demagogues raising surmises of their connexion with the parties concerned for the overthrow of the constitution. Already is public opinion compromising the intentions of your majesty. A little longer delay, and the disappointed people will imagine that in their King they behold the friend and accomplice of the conspirators.

"Gracious Heaven! hast thou stricken with blindness the powers of the earth, and are they never to have any counsels but such as shall lead them to perdition!

"I know that the austere language of truth is seldom relished near the throne. I know, too, that it is because it is scarcely ever proclaimed there that Revolutions are become necessary; and above all, I know that it is my duty to hold such language to your majesty, not only as a citizen subject to the laws, but as a minister honoured by your confidence, or clothed with functions which suppose it; and I know nothing that can prevent me from performing a duty of which I am conscious.

"It is in the same spirit that I shall repeat my representations to your majesty on the utility of executing the law which directs that there shall be a secretary to the council. The mere existence of the law speaks so powerfully that it would seem that the execution ought to follow without delay; but it is of importance to employ all the means of insuring to the deliberations the necessary gravity, discretion, and maturity; and for the responsible ministers there ought to be a medium of recording their opinions. Had such a medium existed, I should not on this occasion have addressed myself in writing to your majesty.

"Life is not a consideration with the man who prizes his duties above all things; but, next to the happiness of having performed them, the highest satisfaction he can enjoy is that of thinking that he has performed them faithfully; which is an obligation incumbent on the public man.

"Paris, June 10, 1792, the fourth year of liberty.

"(Signed) ROLAND."

The King listened to this lecture with the utmost patience, and withdrew saying that he would communicate his intentions.

Dumouriez was summoned to the palace. The King and Queen were together. "Ought we," said they, "to endure any longer the insolence of these three ministers?"—"No," replied Dumouriez. "Will you undertake to rid us of them?" asked the King. "Yes, sire," answered the bold minister; "but in order to succeed, your majesty must consent to one condition. I have become unpopular, and I shall make myself still more so, by dismissing three colleagues, the leaders of a powerful party. There is but one way of persuading the public that they are not dismissed on account of their patriotism."—"What is that?" inquired the King. "It is," replied Dumouriez, "to sanction the two decrees;" and he repeated the reasons which he had already given in full council. The Queen exclaimed that the condition was too hard: but Dumouriez represented to

her that the twenty thousand men were not to be feared; that the decree did not mention the place where they were to be encamped; that they might be sent to Soissons, for instance; that there they might be employed in military exercises, and afterwards marched off by degrees to the armies, when the want of them began to be felt. "But then," said the King, "it is necessary that you should be minister at war."—"Notwithstanding the responsibility, I consent to it," replied Dumouriez, "but your majesty must sanction the decree against the priests. I cannot serve you unless at that price. This decree, so far from being injurious to the ecclesiastics, will place them beyond the reach of the popular fury. Your majesty could do no other than oppose the first decree of the Constituent Assembly which prescribed the oath; now you can no longer recede."—"I was wrong then," exclaimed Louis XVI.; "I must not commit a second fault." The Queen, who did not share the religious scruples of her husband, joined Dumouriez, and for a moment the King appeared to comply.

Dumouriez pointed out the new ministers to supply the places of Servan, Clavières, and Roland. These were Mourgues for the interior, and Beaulieu for the finances. The war was consigned to Dumouriez, who, for the moment, held two departments, till that of foreign affairs should be filled. The ordinance was immediately issued, and on the 13th, Roland, Clavières, and Servan, received their official dismission. Roland, who possessed all the nerve necessary for executing what the bold spirit of his wife was capable of conceiving, repaired immediately to the Assembly, and read to it the letter which he had written to the King, and for which he was dismissed. This step was certainly allowable when once hostilities were declared; but, as a promise had been given to the King to keep the letter secret, it was by no means generous to read it publicly.

The Assembly bestowed the greatest applause on Roland's letter, and ordered it to be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. It declared moreover that the three displaced ministers carried with them the confidence of the nation. It was at this very moment that Dumouriez, nothing daunted, ventured to appear in the tribune with his new title of minister at war. He had drawn up in the utmost haste a circumstantial report of the state of the army, of the faults of the administration and of the Assembly. He did not spare those whom he knew to be disposed to give him the most unfavourable reception. The moment he appeared, he was assailed with violent hootings by the Jacobins. The Feuillands maintained the most profound silence. He first gave an account of a slight advantage gained by Lafayette and of the death of Gouvion, an officer, a deputy, and an upright man, who, driven to despair by the calamities of the country, had purposely sought death. The Assembly bestowed its regrets on the loss of this generous citizen; but listened coldly to those of Dumouriez, and above all to the wish that he expressed to escape the same calamities by the same fate. But when he announced his report as minister at war, a refusal to listen to him was manifested on all sides. He coolly desired to be heard, and at length obtained silence. His remonstrances irritated some of the deputies. "Do you hear him?" exclaimed Guadet: "he is lecturing us!"—"And why not?" coldly replied the intrepid Dumouriez. Quiet was restored; he finished reading, and was by turns hooted and applauded. As soon as he had done, he folded up the paper for the purpose of taking it with him. "He is running away!" cried one. "No," rejoined he; and, boldly laying his memorial upon the desk again, he calmly signed it, and walked through the Assembly with unshaken composure. Some of the members, who thronged round him as he passed, said, "You will be sent to Orleans."—"So much the better," he replied; "for I shall then take baths and curds, and get a little rest, which I stand in need of.

His firmness cheered the King, who expressed his satisfaction; but the unhappy prince was already shaken and tormented with scruples. Beset by false friends, he had already taken up his former determinations, and refused to sanction the two decrees.

The four ministers met in council, and entreated the King to give his double sanction, which he had seemed to promise. The King drily replied, that he could

assent only to the decree relative to the twenty thousand men ; that, as for that concerning the priests, he was determined to oppose it ; that his mind was made up ; and that threats could not frighten him. He read the letter communicating his determination to the President of the Assembly. "One of you," said he to his ministers, "will countersign it;" and these words he uttered in a tone which he had never been known to use before.

Dumouriez then wrote to him, soliciting his dismissal. "That man," exclaimed the King, "has made me dismiss three ministers because they wanted to oblige me to adopt the decrees, and now he insists on my sanctioning them!" This reproach was unjust, for it was only on condition of the double sanction that Dumouriez had consented to remain in office after his colleagues. Louis XVI. saw him, and asked if he persisted. "In that case," said he, "I accept your resignation." The other ministers had given in theirs also. The King, however, detained Lacoste and Duranthon, and prevailed on them to remain. Messrs. Lajard, Chambonas, and Terrier de Mont-Ciel, selected from among the Feuillans, were appointed to the vacant ministerial departments.

"The King," says Madame Campan, "sunk about this time into a despondency that amounted even to physical debility. He was for ten days together without uttering a word even in the midst of his family, excepting at a game at backgammon, which he played with Madame Elizabeth after dinner, when he merely pronounced the words which are used in that game. The Queen roused him from this state, so ruinous in a crisis when every minute brought with it the necessity for acting, by throwing herself at his feet, and sometimes by employing images calculated to terrify him, at others, expressions of her affection for him. She also urged the claims which he owed to his family ; and went so far as to say that, if they must perish, they ought to perish with honour, and not wait to be both stifled on the floor of their own apartment."*

It is not difficult to guess the disposition of Louis XVI. when he recovered his spirits and returned to business. After having once forsaken the party of the Feuillans to throw himself into the arms of the Girondins, he could not go back to the former with much cordiality and hope. He had made the twofold experiment of his incompatibility with both, and, what was still worse, he had caused them all to make it, too. Thenceforward he could not but think more than ever of foreign powers, and rest all his hopes upon them. This disposition became evident to all, and it alarmed those who beheld in the invasion of France the fall of liberty, the execution of its defenders, and perhaps the partition and dismemberment of the kingdom. Louis XVI. saw none of these things, for we always shut our eyes to the inconveniences of the course that we prefer.

Alarmed at the tumult produced by the route of Mons and Tournay, he had sent Mallet du Pan to Germany, with instructions in his own handwriting. He there recommended to the sovereigns to advance cautiously, to treat the inhabitants of the provinces through which they should pass with the utmost indulgence, and to send forth before them a manifesto professing their pacific and conciliatory intentions.† Moderate as was this plan, it was nevertheless an invitation to advance

* Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 205.

† The mission given by the King to Mallet du Pan is one of the facts which it is of the greatest importance to confirm ; and, from the allusions of Bertrand de Molleville, no doubt can be entertained on the subject. A minister at this period, Bertrand de Molleville must have possessed accurate information, and, as a counter-revolutionary minister, he would rather have concealed than avowed such a fact. This mission proves the moderation of Louis XVI., but likewise his communications with foreigners.

"So far from sharing this patriotic security, the King saw with the deepest grief France engaged in an unjust and sanguinary war, which the disorganization of her armies seemed to render it impossible for her to maintain, and which more than ever exposed our frontier provinces to the dangers of invasion. Above all things his majesty dreaded civil war, and had no doubt that it would break forth on the intelligence of the first advantage over the French troops gained by the corps of emigrants forming part of the Austrian army. It was, in fact, but too much to be apprehended that the Jacobins and the enraged populace would exercise the most cruel reprisals against the priests and the nobles remaining in France. These fears, which the King expressed to me in the daily correspondence that I had with his majesty, determined me to propose to him to send a

into the country; and, besides, if such was the wish of the King, was that of the foreign princes and rivals of France and of the inveterately hostile emigrants the same? Was Louis XVI. assured that he should not be hurried away beyond his intentions? The ministers of Prussia and Austria themselves expressed to Mallet du Pan the apprehensions which they felt on account of the violence of the emigrants, and it appears that he had some difficulty to satisfy them on this head.*

confidential person to the emperor and the King of Prussia, to endeavour to prevail on their majesties not to act offensively but at the last extremity; and, before the entrance of their armies into the kingdom, to issue a well-written manifesto, in which it should be declared that 'the emperor and the King of Prussia, being forced to take up arms by the unjust aggression that had been made upon them, attributed neither to the King nor to the nation, but to the criminal faction which oppressed both, the declaration of war which had been notified to them; that, in consequence, so far from renouncing the sentiments of friendship which united them to the King and to France, their majesties would fight only to deliver them from the yoke of the most atrocious tyranny that had ever existed, and to assist them in re-establishing the legitimate authority forcibly usurped, order, and tranquillity, without at all intending to interfere in any way whatever in the form of government, but to insure to the nation the liberty of choosing that which was best suited to it; that all idea of conquest was, therefore, far from the thoughts of their majesties; that private property should be not less respected than national property; that their majesties took under their special safeguard all the peaceable and faithful citizens; that their only enemies, as well as those of France, were the factious and their adherents, and that their majesties wished to find out and to fight those alone.' Mallet du Pan, whom the King esteemed for his abilities and integrity, was charged with this mission. He was the more fit for it, inasmuch as he had never been seen at the palace, had no connexion with any of the persons belonging to the court, and, by taking the route of Geneva, to which he was in the habit of making frequent journeys, his departure could not give rise to any suspicion."

The King gave Mallet du Pan instructions in his own handwriting, which are quoted by Bertrand de Molleville:

"1. The King joins his entreaties to his exhortations, to prevail on the princes and the emigrant French not to take from the present war, by a hostile and offensive concurrence on their part, the character of a foreign war waged by one power against another;

"2. He recommends to them to rely upon him and the interfering courts for the discussion and securing of their interests, when the moment for treating shall arrive;

"3. It is requisite that they appear only as parties and not arbiters in the quarrel, as that arbitration ought to be reserved for his majesty when liberty shall be restored to him, and for the powers who shall demand it;

"4. Any other conduct would produce a civil war in the interior, endanger the lives of the King and of his family, overturn the throne, cause the royalists to be slaughtered, rally around the Jacobins all the revolutionists who have seceded and are daily seceding from them, rekindle an enthusiasm which is tending towards extinction, and render more obstinate a resistance which will give way before the first successes, when the fate of the Revolution shall not appear to be exclusively committed to those against whom it has been directed, and who have been its victims;

"5. To represent to the courts of Vienna and Berlin the utility of a manifesto jointly with the other states which have formed the concert; the importance of so wording this manifesto as to separate the Jacobins from the rest of the nation, and to give confidence to all those who are capable of renouncing their errors, or who, without wishing for the present constitution, desire the suppression of abuses and the reign of moderate liberty, under a monarch to whose authority the law sets limits;

"6. To obtain the insertion in that document of this fundamental truth, that war is made on an anti-social faction and not on the French nation; that the allies take up the defence of legitimate governments and nations against a ferocious anarchy, which breaks all the bonds of sociability among men, all the conventions under the shelter of which liberty, peace, public safety at home and abroad repose; to dispel all apprehensions of dismemberment; not to impose any laws, but to declare energetically to the Assembly, to the administrative bodies, to the municipalities, to the ministers, that they shall be held personally and individually responsible, in their bodies and goods, for all outrages committed against the sacred person of the King, against that of the Queen and of the royal family, and against the persons or property of any citizens whatever;

"7. To express the wish of the King that, on entering the kingdom, the powers declare that they are ready to give peace, but that they neither will nor can treat unless with the King; that in consequence they require that the most complete liberty be restored to him, and that afterwards there be a congress assembled, in which the different interests shall be discussed on bases already laid down, to which the emigrants shall be admitted as complaining parties, and at which the general plan of claims shall be negotiated under the auspices and the guarantee of the powers."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii., p. 39.

* Bertrand de Molleville, from whom I have borrowed the facts relative to Mallet du Pan, thus expresses himself respecting the reception and the dispositions which he met with:

"On the 15th and 16th of July Mallet du Pan had had long conferences with Count de Cobentzel,

The Queen felt equally strong apprehensions on the same subject. She dreaded Calonne in particular, as the most dangerous of her enemies ;* but she nevertheless conjured her family to act with the greatest celerity for her deliverance. From that moment the popular party could not help considering the court as an enemy so much the more dangerous, because it had at its disposal all the forces of the state ; and the combat that was commencing became a combat for life and death. The King, in composing his new ministry, did not select any conspicuous man. In expectation of his speedy deliverance, he had only to wait a few days more, and for that interval the most insignificant ministry was sufficient.

The Feuillans thought to profit by the occasion to unite themselves again to the court, less, it must be confessed, from personal ambition of party than from the interest which they felt for the King. They were far from reckoning upon an invasion. Most of them regarded it as a crime, and pregnant, moreover, with equal danger to the court and the nation. They rightly foresaw that the King must succumb before succour could arrive ; and they dreaded lest the invasion should be followed by the atrocities of revenge, perhaps the dismemberment of the territory, and certainly the abolition of all liberty.

Lally-Tollendal, who, as we have seen, quitted France as soon as the formation of the two chambers became impossible ; Malouet, who had made a last attempt in their favour at the time of the revision ; Duport, Lameth, Lafayette, and others, who were desirous that things should remain as they were, united to make a last effort. This party, like all the other parties, was not in perfect harmony with itself. It united with one view only, that of saving the King from his errors, and of saving the constitution with him. Every party, obliged to act in secret, is forced to resort to proceedings which are termed intrigues when they are not successful. In this sense the Feuillans intrigued. As soon as they saw the dismissal of Servan, Clavières, and Roland, effected by Dumouriez, they sought the latter, and offered

Count de Haugwitz, and M. Heymann, ministers of the emperor and the King of Prussia. After examining the credentials of his mission, and listening with extreme attention to the reading of his instructions and of his memorial, those ministers acknowledged that the views which he proposed perfectly agreed with those which the King had previously expressed to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which had respectively adopted them. They had, in consequence, testified their entire confidence, and had approved in every point the plan of the manifesto which he had proposed to them. They had declared to him in the most positive terms that no views of ambition, no personal interest or design of dismemberment, entered into the plan of the war, and that the powers had no other view or interest than the re-establishment of order in France, because no peace could exist between her and her neighbours while she was a prey to the anarchy which prevailed, and which obliged them to keep cordons of troops on all the frontiers, and to take extraordinary and very expensive precautions of safety ; but that, so far from pretending to impose upon the French any form of government whatever, the King should be left at perfect liberty to concert with the nation on this subject. They had applied to him for the most circumstantial information relative to the dispositions of the interior, the public opinion concerning the old system, the parliaments, the nobility, &c., &c. They informed him in confidence that the emigrants were destined to form an army to be given to the King when he should be set at liberty. The French princes had been spoken of in an ill-natured and prejudiced manner: they were supposed to harbour intentions directly contrary to those of the King, and especially those of acting independently and creating a regent. [Mallet du Pan strongly combated this supposition, and observed, that the intentions of the princes ought not to be inferred from the silly or extravagant language of some of those around them.] Lastly, after having fully discussed the different demands and proposals on which Mallet du Pan was directed to insist, the three ministers had unanimously acknowledged their prudence and justice, had each desired to have a note or summary of them, and had given the most formal assurances that the views of the King, being perfectly accordant with those of the powers, should be strictly followed."—*Bertrand de Molleville*, tome viii., p. 320.

* "The party of the princes," says Madame Campan, "having been informed of the coalition of the remains of the constitutional party with the Queen, was greatly alarmed at it. The Queen, for her part, always dreaded the party of the princes, and the pretensions of the French who composed it. She did justice to Count d'Artois, and frequently said that his party would act in a spirit contrary to his own sentiments for the King, her brother, and for herself, but that he would be led away by persons over whom Calonne had the most mischievous ascendency. She reproached Count d'Esterhazy, on whom favours had been heaped through her means, with having become so decided a partisan of Calonne's, that she could even consider him as an enemy."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 193.

him their alliance, on condition that he would sign the *veto* to the decree against the priests. Dumouriez, perhaps from spleen, perhaps from want of confidence in their means, and no doubt, also, on account of the engagement he had made to obtain the King's sanction of the decree, refused this alliance, and repaired to the army, wishing, as he wrote to the Assembly, that some cannon-ball might reconcile all the opinions respecting him.

The Feuillans still had Lafayette left. Without taking part in their secret proceedings, he had shared their dislike of Dumouriez, and was, above all, desirous of saving the King, without injuring the constitution. Their means were feeble. In the first place, the court which they strove to save would not be saved by them. The Queen, who cheerfully confided in Barnave, had always adopted the greatest precautions in her interviews with him, and had never admitted him except in secret. The emigrants and the court would not have forgiven her for seeing constitutionalists. They recommended to her, in fact, not to treat with them, and rather to prefer the Jacobins, because, as they said, it would be necessary to make concessions to the former, but it would not be bound to any terms with the latter.* If to this oft-repeated advice be added the personal hatred of the Queen for M. de Lafayette,† it will be easy to conceive that the court would be very reluctant to accept the services of constitutionalists and Feuillans. Besides this aversion of the court to them, we must also consider the feebleness of the means which they had to employ against the popular party. Lafayette, it is true, was adored by his soldiers, and could rely upon his army; but he was in front of the enemy, and he could not leave the frontier uncovered for the purpose of marching into the interior. Old Luckner, by whom he was supported, was weak, fickle, and easily intimidated, though very brave in the field. But could they even have reckoned upon their military resources, the constitutionalists possessed no civil means. The majority of the Assembly belonged to the Gironde. The national guard was in part devoted to them, but it was disunited and disorganized. In order to employ their military forces, they would therefore have been compelled to march from the frontiers upon Paris; that is to say, to attempt an insurrection against the Assembly; and insurrections, however advantageous for a violent party which adopts the offensive side, are unsuitable and ruinous to a moderate party, which, in resisting, supports itself by the laws.

Many, nevertheless, rallied round Lafayette, and concerted with him the plan of a letter to the Assembly. This letter, written in his name, was intended to express his sentiments relative to the King and the constitution, and his disapprobation of everything that tended to attack either. His friends were divided. Some excited, others restrained his zeal. But thinking only of what was likely to serve the King, to whom he had sworn fidelity, he wrote the letter; and defied all the dangers which were about to threaten his life. The King and Queen, though determined not to make use of him, allowed him to write, because they beheld in this step only an exchange of reproaches between the friends of liberty. The letter reached the Assembly on the 18th of June. Lafayette, disapproving in the first place of the late minister, whom, he said, he meant to denounce at the moment when he was informed of his dismissal, proceeded in these terms:

"It is not enough that this branch of the government be delivered from a baneful

* "Meanwhile the emigrants betrayed great apprehension of all that might be done at home, in consequence of the coalition with the constitutionalists, whom they described as existing only in idea, and as mere ciphers in regard to the means of repairing their blunders. The Jacobins were to be preferred to them, because, it was alleged, there would be no occasion to treat with any one at the moment when the King and the royal family should be rescued from the abyss into which they were plunged."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 194.

† "On one occasion, when Madame Elizabeth advised the Queen to place confidence in Lafayette, her majesty made answer, that it was better to perish than to be saved by Lafayette and the constitutionalists. 'We know that the general will save the King, but he will not save royalty,' was the public language of the Tuileries. The Queen remembered that Mirabeau, shortly before his death, had predicted to her that, in case of a war, 'Lafayette would desire to keep the King a prisoner in his tent.' She was in the habit of replying to those who spoke to her in the general's favour, 'It would be too hard upon us to be twice indebted to him for our lives.'"—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

influence; the public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives: from them the nation expects its salvation; but, in giving itself a constitution, it has marked out for them the only route by which they are to save it."

Then, protesting his inviolable attachment to the law which had been sworn to, he expatiated on the state of France, which he saw placed between two kinds of enemies, those abroad, and those at home.

"Both must be destroyed. But you will not have the power to destroy them, unless you be constitutional and just. Look around you; can you deny that a faction, and, to avoid every vague denomination, that the Jacobin faction, has caused all these disorders? It is to this faction that I loudly attribute them. Organized like a separate empire, in its principal society and its affiliations, blindly directed by a few ambitious leaders, this party forms a distinct corporation amongst the French people, whose powers it usurps by overawing its representatives and its functionaries.

"It is there that, in the public sittings, love of the laws is called aristocracy, and their violation, patriotism;—there the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan* find panegyrists;—there the account of the murder which has sullied the city of Metz has but just now excited infernal acclamations.

"Will they expect to escape from these reproaches by bragging of an Austrian manifesto in which these sectaries are mentioned? Have they become sacred since Leopold has pronounced their name? And, because we must combat foreigners who interfere in our quarrels, are we to dispense with the duty of delivering our country from a domestic tyranny?"

Then, recapitulating his former services for liberty, and enumerating the guarantees which he had given to the country, the general answered for himself and his army, and declared that the French nation, if it was not the vilest in the world, could and ought to resist the conspiracy of the kings who had coalesced against it. "But," added he, "in order that we, soldiers of liberty, should fight with efficacy, and die with benefit for her, it is requisite that the number of the defenders of the country should be speedily proportioned to that of its adversaries; that supplies of all kinds be multiplied to facilitate our movements; that the well-being of the troops, their equipments, their pay, and the arrangements relative to their health, be no longer subject to fatal delays." Then followed other advice, the principal and last of which was this: "Let the reign of the clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims, to the genuine principles of liberty; their frantic fury, to the calm and persevering courage of a nation which knows its rights and defends them; and lastly, their sectarian combinations to the true interests of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to rally around them all those to whom its subjugation and ruin are not objects of atrocious satisfaction and infamous speculation!"

This was saying to exasperated passions, "Stop!" to the parties themselves, "Put an end to your own existence!" to a torrent, "Cease to flow!" But though the advice was useless it was not the less a duty to give it. The letter was highly applauded by the right side. The left was silent. No sooner was the reading of it finished, than it was proposed to print and send it to the departments.

Verginaud asked and obtained permission to speak. According to him it was of importance to that liberty, which M. de Lafayette had hitherto so ably defended, to make a distinction between the petitions of private citizens, who offered advice or

* "M. Jouve Jourdan, entitled the 'Beheader,' was born in 1749. He was successively a butcher, a blacksmith's journeyman, a smuggler, a servant, general of the army of Vaucluse in 1791, and finally leader of a squadron of national gendarmerie. In the massacres of Versailles he cut off the heads of two of the King's body guards. He boasted also of having torn out the hearts of Foulon and Bertier, and called on the National Assembly to reward him for this deed with a civic medal! He was also one of the chief instigators of the massacres at Avignon. In 1794 he was condemned to death as a federalist. Jourdan was remarkable for wearing a long beard, which was often besprinkled with blood."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

claimed an act of justice, and the lectures of an armed general. The latter ought never to express his sentiments unless through the medium of the ministry, otherwise liberty would be undone. It was, therefore, expedient to pass to the order of the day. M. Thevenot replied, that the Assembly ought to receive from the lips of M. de Lafayette truths which it had not dared to tell itself. This last observation excited a great tumult. Some members denied the authenticity of the letter. "Even if it were not signed," exclaimed M. Coubé, "none but M. de Lafayette could have written it." Guadet demanded permission to speak upon a matter of fact, and asserted that the letter could not be that of M. de Lafayette, because it adverted to the dismissal of Dumouriez, which had not taken place till the 16th, and it was dated the very same day. "It is therefore impossible," he added, "that the person whose name is signed to it should have made mention of a fact which could not have been known to him. Either the signature is not his, or it was attached to a blank, which was left for a faction to fill up at its pleasure."

A great uproar followed these words. Guadet resumed: he said that M. de Lafayette was incapable, according to his known sentiments, of having written such a letter. "He must know," added he, "that when Cromwell . . ." Dumas, the deputy, unable to contain himself, at this last word, desired to be heard. Agitation prevailed for a considerable time in the Assembly. Guadet, however, regained possession of the tribune, and began: "I was saying . ." Again he was interrupted. "You were at Cromwell," said some one to him. "I shall return to him," he replied. "I was saying that M. de Lafayette must know that when Cromwell held a similar language, liberty was lost in England. It is expedient either that we ascertain whether some coward has not sheltered himself beneath the name of M. de Lafayette, or prove by a signal example to the French people that we have not taken a vain oath in swearing to maintain the constitution."

A great number of members attested the signature of M. de Lafayette. The letter was, nevertheless, referred to the committee of twelve for the purpose of ascertaining its authenticity. It was thus deprived of the honour of being printed and sent to the departments.

This generous procedure then proved absolutely useless, and could not be otherwise in the existing state of the public mind. From that moment, the general became almost as unpopular as the court; and if the leaders of the Gironde, more enlightened than the populace, did not believe M. de Lafayette capable of betraying his country because he had attacked the Jacobins, the mass nevertheless believed him to be so, because it was constantly repeated in the clubs, in the newspapers, and in the public places, that he was.

Thus the alarm which the court had excited in the popular party was heightened by that which M. de Lafayette had just added to it by a step of his own. This party then became absolutely desperate, and resolved to strike a blow at the court before it could carry into execution the plots of which it was accused.

We have already seen how the popular party was composed. In speaking out more decidedly, it also manifested a more decided character, and several additional persons rendered themselves conspicuous in it. Robespierre has already been mentioned at the Jacobins, and Danton at the Cordeliers. The clubs, the municipality, and the sections, comprised many men who, from the ardour of their disposition and opinions, were ready for any enterprise. Among these were Sergent and Panis, whose names, at a later period, were connected with a terrible event. In the fauxbourgs were remarked several commanders of battalions, who had rendered themselves formidable. The principal of these was a brewer named Santerre. By his stature, his voice, and a certain fluency of speech, he pleased the people, and had acquired a kind of sway in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, the battalion of which he commanded. Santerre had already distinguished himself in the attack on Vincennes, repulsed by Lafayette in February, 1791; and, like all men who are too easily wrought upon, he was capable of becoming very dangerous, according to the excitement of the moment.* He attended all the factious meetings held in

* "M. Grammont assured me he was positively informed that Santerre had entertained a project to have the Queen assassinated, and that a grenadier of his battalion had engaged to perpe-

the distant fauxbourgs. There, too, were to be found Carra, the journalist, prosecuted for an attack on Bertrand de Molleville and Montmorin; Alexandre, commandant of the fauxbourg St. Marceau; a person well known by the name of Fournier the American; Legendre,* the butcher, who was afterwards a deputy to the Convention; a journeyman goldsmith, named Rossignol; and several others, who, by their communications with the populace, set all the fauxbourgs in commotion. By the most conspicuous among them they communicated with the chiefs of the popular party, and were thus able to conform their movements to a superior direction.

It is impossible to designate in a precise manner such of the deputies as contributed to this direction. The most distinguished of them were strangers to Paris, and possessed no other influence there but that of their eloquence. Guadet, Isnard, Vergniaud, were all natives of the provinces, and communicated more with their departments than with Paris. Besides, though extremely ardent in the tribune, they were not at all active out of the Assembly, and were not capable of exciting the multitude. Condorcet and Brissot, deputies of Paris, were not more active than those just mentioned, and, by the conformity of their opinions with those of the deputies of the West and South, they had become Girondins. Roland, since the dismissal of the patriot ministry, had returned to private life. He occupied an humble and obscure dwelling in the Rue St. Jacques. Persuaded that the court entertained the design of delivering up France and liberty to foreigners, he deplored the calamities of his country in conjunction with some of his friends, who were members of the Assembly. It does not, however, appear that any plans were formed in his society for attacking the court. He merely promoted the printing of a paper entitled *La Sentinelle*, which was conducted in a patriotic spirit by Louvet, already known at the Jacobins by his controversy with Robespierre. Roland, during his ministry, had allowed funds for the purpose of enlightening the public opinion by means of the press, and it was with a remnant of these funds that *La Sentinelle* was carried on.

About this period there was, at Paris, a young native of Marseilles, full of ardour, courage, and republican illusions, and who, on account of his extraordinary beauty, was called the Antinous. He had been deputed by his commune to the Legislative Assembly, to complain of the directory of his department; for this division between the inferior and superior authorities, between the municipalities and the directories of departments, was general throughout all France. The name of this young man was Barbaroux.† Possessing intelligence and great activity, he was likely to

trate the crime for a considerable sum of money, a small part of which he had already received. The grenadier in question, added M. Grammont, was sufficiently remarkable by a scar in his left cheek. The 14th of July, the day of the Federation, was the time fixed on for the execution of the project. On that day, accordingly, M. Grammont went himself to the palace. The grenadier appeared at eight o'clock at night, and, though he was perceived by the sentinel, yet he had the address to make his escape. He returned, however, the same night in his uniform, and was taken up at the bottom of the stair leading to the Queen's apartment. He was recognised by the scar, and conducted to the guard-room. On searching him, a cutlass was found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, just as he was going to be brought before the justice of peace, he was carried off by a band of ruffians, who came to the palace on purpose to rescue him."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

* "L. Legendre was ten years a sailor, and afterwards a butcher at Paris. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was one of the earliest and most violent leaders of the mob. In 1791 he was deputed by the city of Paris to the Convention. In 1793 he voted for the King's death, and, the day before his execution, proposed to the Jacobins to cut him into eighty-four pieces, and send one to each of the eighty-four departments! He was one of the chief instigators of the atrocities of Lyons; and at Dieppe, when some persons complained of the want of bread, he answered, 'Well, eat the aristocrats!' Legendre died at Paris in 1797, aged forty-one, and bequeathed his body to the surgeons, 'in order to be useful to mankind after his death.'"—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Charles Barbaroux, deputy to the Convention, was born at Marseilles. He embraced the cause of the Revolution with uncommon ardour, and came to Paris in July, 1792, with a few hundred Marseillais, to bring about a revolution against the court. He had a considerable share in the insurrection of the 10th of August. He belonged to the party of the Girondins, and was guillotined in Bordeaux in 1794."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Barbaroux's ingenious disposition and ardent patriotism inspired us with confidence. Dis-

become very serviceable to the popular cause. He met Roland, and deplored with him the dangers with which the patriots were threatened. They agreed that, as the danger was daily growing greater in the north of France, they ought, if driven to the last extremity, to retire to the south, and there found a republic, which they might some day extend, as Charles VII. had formerly extended his kingdom from Bourges. They examined the map with Servan, the ex-minister, and said to each other that, Liberty, if beaten upon the Rhine and beyond it, ought to retire behind the Vosges and the Loire; that, driven from these intrenchments, she would still have left, in the east, the Doubs, the Ain, and the Rhône; in the west, the Vienne and the Dordogne; in the centre, the rocks and the rivers of the Limousin. "And beyond these," added Barbarouz, "we have the Auvergne, its steep hills, its ravines, its aged forests, and the mountains of the Velay, laid waste of old by fire, now covered with pines; a wild country, where men plough amidst snow, but where they live independently. The Cevennes would offer us another asylum too celebrated not to be formidable to tyranny; and in the extreme south, we should find for barriers the Isère, the Durance, the Rhône from Lyons to the sea, the Alps, and the ramparts of Toulon. Lastly, if all these points were forced, we should have Corsica left—Corsica, where neither Genoese nor French have been able to naturalize tyranny; which needs but hands to be fertile, and philosophers to be enlightened."*

It was natural that the natives of the South should think of betaking themselves to their provinces in case the North should be invaded. They did not, however, neglect the North, for they agreed to write to their departments, to induce them to form spontaneously a camp of twenty thousand men, though the decree relative to this camp had not yet been sanctioned. They reckoned much upon Marseilles, an opulent city, with a numerous population, and extremely democratic. It had sent Mirabeau to the States-general, and it had since diffused over all the South the spirit with which it was itself animated. The mayor of that city was a friend of Barbaroux, and held the same opinions as he did. Barbaroux wrote, desiring him to provide supplies of corn, to send trusty persons into the neighbouring departments as well as to the armies of the Alps, of Italy, and of the Pyrenees, in order to prepare the public opinion there; to sound Montesquiou, the commander of the army of the Alps, and to turn his ambition to the advantage of liberty; lastly, to concert with Paoli and the Corsicans, so as to secure a sure aid and a last asylum. It was also recommended to the same mayor to retain the produce of the taxes in order to deprive the executive government of it, and in case of need to employ it against the latter. What Barbaroux did for Marseilles, others did for their departments, and thought of insuring a refuge for themselves. Thus distrust, converted into despair, paved the way for a general insurrection, and, in the preparations for insurrection, there was already a marked difference between Paris and the departments.

Petion, the mayor, connected with all the Girondins, and subsequently classed and proscribed with them, had from his functions much intercourse with the agitators of Paris. He had great composure, an appearance of coldness which his enemies mistook for stupidity, and an integrity which was extolled by his partisans and never attacked by his slanderers. The people, who give distinctive appellations to all those who engage their attention, called him *Virtue Petion*. We have already mentioned him on occasion of the journey to Verennes, and of the preference given him by the court to Lafayette for the mayoralty of Paris. The court hoped to bribe him, and certain swindlers promised to accomplish this matter. They demanded a sum of money, which they kept, without having even made overtures to Petion, whose well-known character would have rendered them useless. The joy felt by the court at the prospect of gaining a supporter and corrupting a

coursing on the bad situation of affairs, and of our apprehensions of despotism in the North under Robespierre, we formed the conditional plan of a republic in the South. Barbaroux was one whose features no painter would disdain to copy for the head of an Antinous."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

* Mémoires de Barbaroux, pp. 38, 39.

popular magistrate, was of short duration. It soon discovered that it had been cheated, and that its adversaries were not so venal as it had imagined.

Petion had been one of the first to take for granted that the propensities of a King, born to absolute power, are not to be modified. He was a republican before any one ever dreamt of a republic ; and in the Constituent Assembly he was from conviction, what Robespierre was from the acerbity of his temper. Under the Legislative Assembly, he became still more convinced of the incorrigibleness of the court. He was persuaded that it would call in foreigners, and, as he had before been a republican from system, he now became so for the sake of safety. Thenceforward he resolved in his mind, as he said, how to promote a new revolution. He checked ill-directed movements, favoured on the contrary such as were judicious, and strove above all things to reconcile them with the law, of which he was a strict observer, and which he was determined not to violate but at the last extremity.

Though we are not well acquainted with the extent of the participation of Petion in the movements which were preparing, and know not whether he consulted his friends of the Gironde for the purpose of promoting them, we are authorized by his conduct to assert that he did nothing to impede them. It is alleged that, in the latter part of June, he went to the house of Santerre with Robespierre, Manuel, *procureur syndic* of the commune, Sillery, ex-constituent, and Chabot, ex-capuchin and deputy ; that the latter harangued the section of the Quinze-Vingts, and said that the Assembly was waiting for it. Whether these circumstances be true or not, it is certain that clandestine meetings were held ; and from the well-known opinions and subsequent conduct of the persons above named, it is not to be believed that they had any scruple to attend them.* From that moment a *fête* for the 20th

* Among the depositions contained in the proceedings instituted against the authors of the 20th of June, is one that is extremely curious, on account of the particulars which it furnishes—I mean that of Lareynie. It comprehends almost everything that is repeated by the other witnesses, and therefore we quote it in preference. These proceedings were printed in quarto.

" Before us appeared Sieur Jean Baptiste Marie Louis Lareynie, a volunteer soldier of the battalion of the Isle St. Louis, decorated with the military cross, dwelling in Paris, Quai Bourbon, No. 1 ;

" Who, deeply afflicted at the disturbances which have recently taken place in the capital, and conceiving it to be the duty of a good citizen to furnish justice with all the information that it can need in these circumstances, for the purpose of punishing the abettors and instigators of all manœuvres against the public tranquillity and the integrity of the French constitution, has declared that, for a week past, he has known, from acquaintance that he has in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, that the citizens of that fauxbourg were worked up by the Sieur Santerre, commandant of the battalion of the Enfans-Trouvés, and by other persons, among whom were the Sieur Fournier, calling himself an American, and elector, in 1791, of the department of Paris ; the Sieur Rotondo, who calls himself an Italian ; the Sieur Legendre, butcher, living in the Rue des Boucheries, fauxbourg St. Germain ; the Sieur Cuirette Verrières, living over the coffee-house of Rendez-Vous, Rue du Théâtre-Français ; who held by night secret meetings at the Sieur Santerre's, and sometimes in the committee-room of the section of the Enfans-Trouvés ; that the deliberations were there carried on in the presence of a very small number of trusty persons of the fauxbourg, such as the Sieur Rossignol, lately a journeyman goldsmith ; the Sieur Nicolas, sapper of the said battalion of the Enfans-Trouvés ; the Sieur Brierre, wine merchant ; the Sieur Gonor, who calls himself the conqueror of the Bastille, and others whom he could name ; that there they determined upon the motions which should be discussed by the groups at the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Place de Grêve, and especially at the Porte St. Antoine ; that there were drawn up the incendiary placards posted from time to time in the fauxbourgs, and the petitions destined to be carried by deputations to the patriotic societies of Paris ; and lastly, that there was framed the famous petition, and there hatched the plot of the 20th of this month. That on the preceding night there was held a secret committee at the Sieur Santerre's, which began almost at midnight, and at which witnesses, whom he can bring forward when they have returned from the errand on which they have been sent by the Sieur Santerre to the neighbouring country, declare they saw present Messrs. Petion, mayor of Paris ; Robespierre ; Manuel, solicitor of the commune ; Alexandre, commandant of the battalion of St. Michel ; and Sillery, ex-deputy of the National Assembly. That, on the 20th, the Sieur Santerre, seeing that several of his people, and especially the leaders of his party, deterred by the resolution (*arrêté*) of the directory of the department, refused to go down armed, alleging that they should be fired upon, assured them that they had nothing to fear, that *the national guard would not have any orders, and that M. Petion would be there.* That, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the said day, the concourse did not amount to more than about fifteen hundred

of June, the anniversary of the oath at the Tennis Court, was talked of in the fauxbourgs. It was said that a tree of liberty was to be planted on the terrace of the Feuillans, and a petition presented to the Assembly as well as to the King. This petition, moreover, was to be presented in arms. It is obvious that the real intention of this scheme was to strike terror into the palace by the sight of forty thousand pikes.

On the 16th of June, a formal application was addressed to the general council of the commune that the citizens of the fauxbourg St. Antoine should be authorized to meet on the 20th in arms, and to present a petition to the Assembly and to the King. The general council of the commune passed to the order of the day, and directed that its resolution (*arrêté*) should be communicated to the directory and to the municipal body. The petitioners did not regard this proceeding as a condemnation of their purpose, and declared loudly that they would meet in spite of it. It was not till the 18th that Petion, the mayor, made the communications ordered on the 16th: he made them, moreover, to the department only and not to the municipal body.

On the 19th, the directory of the department, which we have seen exerting itself on all occasions against agitators, passed a resolution (*arrêté*) forbidding armed

persons, including those drawn together by curiosity, and that it was not till the Sieur Santerre, leaving his house, and putting himself at the head of a detachment of invalids, had arrived at the Place, and by the way excited the spectators to join him; that the multitude increased considerably till his arrival at the passage of the Feuillans; that there, not having dared to force the post, he turned into the court of the Capuchins, where he caused the may, which he had destined for the palace of the Tuileries, to be planted; that then he, this deponent, asked several persons in the train of the said Sieur Santerre why the may was not planted on the terrace of the palace, as had been agreed upon, and that these persons replied that *they should take good care not to do any such thing; that it was a snare into which the Feuillantins meant to lead them because there were guns placed in the garden; but that they should not run into the trap.* The deponent observed that, at this moment, the mob was almost entirely dispersed, and that it was not till the drums and music were heard in the vicinity of the National Assembly, that the people, then scattered here and there, rallied, and, joined by the other spectators, filed off quietly three deep, before the legislative body; that he, deponent, remarked that these people, in passing into the Tuileries, were guilty of no misdemeanor, and did not attempt to enter the palace; that even when assembled in the Place du Carrousel, where they arrived after going round by the Quai du Louvre, they manifested no intention of penetrating into the courts till the arrival of the Sieur Santerre, who was at the National Assembly, and did not leave it before the sitting was over. That then the Sieur Santerre, accompanied by several persons, among whom he, deponent, remarked the Sieur Hurugue, addressed the mob, which was at that time very quiet, and asked *why they had not entered the palace; that they must go in, and that this was what they had come for.* That immediately he ordered the gunners of his battalion to follow him with one piece of cannon, and said that, if he was refused admittance, he must break open the gate with cannon-balls; that afterwards he proceeded in this manner to the gate of the palace, where he met with a faint resistance from the horse gendarmerie, but a firm opposition on the part of the national guard; that this occasioned great noise and agitation, and they would probably have come to blows, had not two men, in scarfs of the national colours, one of whom he, deponent, knew to be the Sieur Boucher-René, and the other was said by the spectators to be the Sieur Sergent, come by way of the courts, and *ordered,* he must say, in a very imperious, not to say insolent tone, at the same time prostituting the sacred name of the law, *the gates to be opened,* adding, *that nobody had a right to close them, but every citizen had a right to enter;* that the gates were accordingly opened by the national guard, and that then Santerre and his band rushed confusedly into the courts; that the Sieur Santerre, who had cannon drawn forward to break open the doors of the King's apartments if he found them fastened, and to fire upon the national guard in case it should oppose his incursion, was stopped in his progress in the last court on the left, at the foot of the staircase of the Pavilion by a group of citizens, who addressed him in the most reasonable language with a view to appease his fury, and threatened to make him responsible for all the mischief that should be done on that fatal day, because, said they to him, *you are the sole cause of this unconstitutional assemblage, you alone have misled these good people, and you are the only villain among them.* That the tone in which these honest citizens spoke to the Sieur Santerre caused him to turn pale; but that, encouraged by a look from the Sieur Legendre, butcher, above named, he had recourse to a hypocritical subterfuge, addressing his band, and saying, '*Gentlemen, draw up a report of my refusal to march at your head into the King's apartments;* that the mob, accustomed to guess the Sieur Santerre's meaning, by way of answer, fell upon the group of honest citizens, entered with its cannon and its commandant, the Sieur Santerre, and penetrated into the apartments by all the passages, after having broken in pieces the doors and windows."

assemblages, and enjoining the commandant-general and the mayor to employ the measures necessary for dispersing them. This resolution was notified to the Assembly by the minister of the interior, and a discussion immediately arose on the question whether it should be read or not.

Vergniaud opposed its being read, but unsuccessfully. The reading of the resolution was immediately followed by the order of the day.

Two circumstances of considerable importance had just occurred in the Assembly. The King had signified his opposition to the two decrees, one of which related to the nonjuring priests, and the other to the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men. This communication had been received in profound silence. At the same time, some persons from Marseilles had appeared at the bar for the purpose of reading a petition. We have just seen what kind of correspondence Barbaroux kept up with them. Excited by his counsels, they had written to Petion, offering him all their forces,* and this offer was accompanied with a petition to the Assembly. In this petition they said among other things:

"French liberty is in danger, but the patriotism of the South will save France. The day of the people's wrath is arrived. . . . . Legislators, the power of the people is in your hands; make use of it: French patriotism demands your permission to march with a more imposing force towards the capital and the frontiers. . . . You will not refuse the sanction of the law to those who would cheerfully perish in its defence."

This petition gave rise to long debates in the Assembly. The members of the right side maintained that, to send such a decree to the departments, would be inviting them to insurrection. Its transmission was nevertheless decreed, in spite of these remarks, which were certainly very just but unavailing, since people were persuaded that nothing but a new revolution could save France and liberty.

Such had been the occurrences of the 19th. Notwithstanding the resolution of the directory, the movements continued in the fauxbourgs, and it is affirmed that Santerre said to his trusty partisans, who were somewhat intimidated by that resolution, "What are you afraid of? The national guard will not have orders to fire, and M. Petion will be there."

At midnight the mayor, whether he conceived that the movement was irresistible, or that he ought to favour it, as he did that of the 10th of August, wrote to the directory, soliciting it to authorize the assemblage, by permitting the national guard to receive the citizens of the fauxbourgs into its ranks. This expedient fully accomplished the views of those who, without wishing for any disturbance, were nevertheless desirous of overawing the King; and everything proves that such were in fact the views of Petion and the popular chiefs.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 20th of June, the directory replied that it persisted in its preceding resolutions. Petion then ordered the commandant-general on duty to keep up all the posts to their full complement, and to double the guard of the Tuileries. But he did nothing more: and, unwilling either to renew the scene in the Champ de Mars, or to disperse the assemblage, he waited till nine o'clock for the meeting of the municipal body. As soon as it met, it came to a decision contrary to that of the directory, and the national guard was enjoined to open its ranks to the armed petitioners. Petion did not oppose a resolution which violated the administrative subordination, and was thus guilty of a species of inconsistency, with which he was afterwards reproached. But, whatever was the character of that resolution, its objects were rendered useless, for the national guard had not time to assemble, and the concourse soon became so considerable, that it was no longer possible to change either its form or its direction.

It was eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The Assembly had just met in expecta-

* "When the Marseillois soon afterwards arrived in Paris, though only about five hundred in number, they marched through the city to the terror of the inhabitants, their keen black eyes seeming to seek out aristocratic victims, and their songs partaking of the wild Moorish character that lingers in the south of France, denouncing vengeance on kings, priests, and nobles. 'I never,' says Madame de la Rochejaquelein, 'heard anything more impressive and terrible than their songs.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

tion of some great event. The members of the department hastened to it for the purpose of acquainting it with the inutility of their efforts. Rœderer, the *procureur syndic*, obtained permission to speak. He stated that an extraordinary assemblage of citizens had met, in spite of the law and various injunctions of the authorities; that the object of this assemblage appeared to be to celebrate the anniversary of the 20th of June, and to pay a new tribute of respect to the Assembly; but that, if this was the intention of the greater number, it was to be feared that evil-disposed persons were desirous of availing themselves of this concourse to carry an address to the King, to whom none ought to be presented but in the peaceful form of a mere petition.

Then, referring to the resolutions of the directory and of the general council of the commune, the laws enacted against armed assemblages, and those which limit to twenty the number of citizens who could present a petition, he exhorted the Assembly to enforce them; "for," added he, armed petitioners are to-day thronging hither by a civic movement; but to-morrow a crowd of evil-disposed persons may collect, and then, I ask you, gentlemen, what should we have to say to them?"

Amidst the applause of the right and the murmurs of the left, which, by disapproving the apprehensions and the foresight of the department, evidently approved the insurrection, Vergniaud ascended the tribune, and observed that the abuse with which the *procureur syndic* was alarming the Assembly for the future, had already taken place. That, on several occasions, armed petitioners had been received, and even permitted to file through the hall; that this was perhaps wrong, but that the petitioners of that day would have reason to complain if they were treated differently from others; that if, as it was said, they purposed to present an address to the King, no doubt they would send to him unarmed petitioners; and, at any rate, if any danger was apprehended for the King, they had but to send him a deputation of sixty members for a safeguard.

Dumolard admitted all that Vergniaud had asserted, confessed that the abuse had taken place, but declared that a stop ought to be put to it, and more especially on this occasion, if they did not wish the Assembly and the King to appear in the eyes of all Europe the slaves of a destructive faction. He proposed, like Vergniaud, the sending of a deputation; but he required, moreover, that the municipality and the department should be responsible for the measures taken for the maintenance of the laws. The tumult became more and more violent. A letter was brought from Santerre. It was read amidst the applause of the tribunes. It purported that the inhabitants of the fauxbourg St. Antoine were celebrating the 20th of June; that they were calumniated, and begged to be admitted to the bar of the Assembly, in order that they might confound their slanderers, and prove that they were still the men of the 14th of July.

Vergniaud then replied to Dumolard that, if the law had been violated, the example was not new; that to attempt to oppose the violation of it this time would be to renew the sanguinary scene in the Champ de Mars; and that, after all, there was nothing reprehensible in the sentiments of the petitioners. Justly anxious about the future, added Vergniaud, they wish to prove that, in spite of all the intrigues carried on against liberty, they are still ready to defend it.

Here, as we see, the true sentiment of the day was disclosed by an ordinary effect of the discussion. The tumult continued, Ramond desired permission to speak, but a decree was required before he could obtain it. At this moment it was stated that the petitioners were eight thousand. "Eight thousand!" exclaimed Calvet, "and we are but seven hundred and forty-five. Let us adjourn." Cries of "Order! order!" arose on all sides. Calvet was called to order, and Ramond was urged to speak, because eight thousand citizens were waiting. "If eight thousand citizens are waiting," said he, "twenty-four millions of French are waiting for me, too." He then repeated the reasons urged by his friends of the right side. All at once, the petitioners rushed into the hall. The Assembly, indignant at the intrusion, rose; the president put on his hat, and the petitioners quietly withdrew. The Assembly, gratified by this mark of respect, consented to admit them.

This petition, the tone of which was most audacious, expressed the prevailing idea of all the petitions of that period. "The people are ready. They wait but for you. They are disposed to employ great means for carrying into execution Article 2 of the declaration of rights—*resistance to oppression*. . . . . Let the minority among you, whose sentiments do not agree with ours, cease to pollute the land of liberty, and betake yourselves to Coblentz. Investigate the cause of the evils which threaten us. If it proceeds from the executive, let the executive be annihilated!"

The president, after a reply in which he promised the petitioners the vigilance of the representatives of the people, and recommended obedience to the laws, granted them, in the name of the Assembly, permission to file off before it. The doors were then thrown open, and the mob, amounting at that moment to at least thirty thousand persons, passed through the hall. It is easy to conceive what the imagination of the populace, abandoned to itself, is capable of producing. Enormous tables, upon which lay the declaration of rights, headed the procession. Around these tables danced women and children, bearing olive-branches and pikes, that is to say, peace or war, at the option of the enemy. They sang in chorus the famous *Ca ira*. Then came the porters of the markets, the working men of all classes, with wretched muskets, swords, and sharp pieces of iron fastened to the end of thick bludgeons. Santerre and the Marquis de St. Hurugues, who had already attracted notice on the 5th and 6th of October, marched with drawn swords at their head. Battalions of the national guard followed in good order, to prevent tumult by their presence. After them came women and more armed men. Waving flags were inscribed with the words, "The constitution or death." Ragged breeches were held up in the air with shouts of *Vivent les sans-culottes!* Lastly an atrocious sign was displayed to add ferocity to the whimsicality of the spectacle. On the point of a pike was borne a calf's heart, with this inscription: "Heart of an aristocrat."

Grief and indignation burst forth at this sight. The horrid emblem instantly disappeared, but was again exhibited at the gates of the Tuileries. The applause of the tribunes, the shouts of the people passing through the hall, the civic songs, the confused uproar, and the silence of the anxious Assembly composed an extraordinary scene, and at the same time an afflicting one to the very deputies who viewed the multitude as an auxiliary.* Why, alas! must reason prove so insufficient in such times of discord? Why did those who called in the disciplined barbarians of the north oblige their adversaries to call in those other undisciplined barbarians, who, by turns merry and ferocious, abound in the heart of cities, and remain sunk in depravity amid the most polished civilization!

This scene lasted for three hours. At length Santerre again came forward to express to the Assembly the thanks of the people, and presented it with a flag in token of gratitude and attachment.

The mob at this moment attempted to get into the garden of the Tuileries, the gates of which were closed. Numerous detachments of the national guard surrounded the palace, and, extending in line from the Feuillans to the river, presented an imposing front. By order of the King, the garden-gate was opened. The people instantly poured in, and filed off under the windows of the palace and before the ranks of the national guard, without any hostile demonstration, but shouting, "Down with the *Veto!* The *sans-culottes* for ever!" Meanwhile some persons, speaking of the King, said, "Why does he not show himself? . . . . We mean to

* "It may be alleged in excuse that the Assembly had no resource but submission. Yet brave men, in similar circumstances, have, by a timely exertion of spirit, averted similar insolencies. When the furious anti-catholic mob was in possession of the avenues to, and even lobbies of, the House of Commons in 1780, General Cosmo Gordon, a member of the House, went up to the unfortunate nobleman under whose guidance they were supposed to act, and addressed him thus: 'My lord, is it your purpose to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? for, if so, I apprize you that the instant one of them enters, I pass my sword, not through his body, but your lordship's.' The hint was sufficient, and the mob was directed to another quarter."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

do him no harm."—The old expression, *He is imposed upon*, was occasionally, but rarely, heard. The people, quick at catching the opinions of its leaders, had like them despaired.

The crowd, moving off by the garden-gate leading to the Pont Royal, proceeded along the quay and through the wickets of the Louvre to the Place du Carrousel. This place, now so spacious, was then intersected by numerous streets. Instead of that immense court, extending from the body of the palace to the gate and from one wing to the other, there were small courts separated by walls and houses. Ancient wickets opened from each of them into the Carrousel. All the avenues were crowded with people and they appeared at the royal gate. They were refused admittance. Some of the municipal officers addressed them and appeared to have prevailed upon them to retire. It is asserted that at this moment Santerre, coming from the Assembly, where he had stayed till the last moment to present a flag, whetted the almost blunted purpose of the people, and caused the cannon to be drawn up to the gate.

It was nearly four o'clock. Two municipal officers all at once ordered the gate to be opened.* The troops which were in considerable force at this point, and consisted of battalions of the national guard and several detachments of gendarmerie, were then paralyzed. The people rushed headlong into the court, and thence into the vestibule of the palace. Santerre, threatened, it is said, by two witnesses, on account of this violation of the royal residence, exclaimed, turning to the assailants, "Bear witness that I refuse to go into the King's apartments." This apostrophe did not stop the mob, which had received a sufficient stimulus. They poured into every part of the palace, took possession of all the staircases, and by main force dragged a piece of cannon up to the first floor. At the same instant, the assailants commenced an attack with swords and hatchets upon the doors which were closed against them.

Louis XVI. had just at this moment sent away a great number of his dangerous friends, who, without possessing the power to save, had so often compromised him. They had hastened to him, but he had made them leave the Tuileries, where their presence would only have served to exasperate, without repressing, the people. He had with him the old Marshal de Mouchy Acloque, *chef de bataillon*, some of the servants of his household, and several trusty officers of the national guard. It was at this moment that the cries of the people and the strokes of the hatchets were heard. The officers of the national guard immediately surrounded him and implored him to show himself, vowing to die by his side. Without hesitation, he ordered the door to be opened. At that instant, the panel, driven in by a violent blow, fell at his feet. It was at length opened, and a forest of pikes and bayonets appeared. "Here I am!" said Louis XVI., showing himself to the furious rabble. Those who surrounded him kept close to him and formed a rampart of their bodies. "Pay respect to your King," they exclaimed; and the mob, which certainly had no definite purpose, relaxed its intrusion.

Several voices announced a petition, and desired that it might be read. Those about the King prevailed upon him to retire to a more spacious room to hear this petition. The people pleased to see their desire complied with, followed the prince, whom his attendants had the good sense to place in the embrasure of a window. He was made to mount a small bench; several others were set before him, and a table was added. All who had accompanied him were ranged around. Some grenadiers of the guard and officers of the household arrived to increase the number of his defenders, who formed a rampart, behind which he could listen with less danger to this terrible lecture of the rabble. Amidst uproar and shouts were heard the oft-repeated cries of "No *veto!* No priests! No aristocrats! The camp near Paris!" Legendre, the butcher, stepped up, and in popular language demanded the sanction of the decree. "This is neither the place nor the moment," replied the King, with firmness; "I will do all that the constitution requires." This resistance produced its effect. "*Vive la nation! Vive la nation!*" shouted

* All the witnesses examined agreed respecting this fact, differing only as to the name of the municipal officers.

the assailants. "Yes," resumed Louis XVI., "*Vive la nation!* I am its best friend." "Well, prove it then," said one of the rabble, holding before him a red cap at the point of a pike. A refusal might have been dangerous; and certainly in the situation of the King, dignity did not consist in throwing away his life by rejecting a vain sign, but in doing as he did, in bearing with firmness the assault of the multitude. He put the cap upon his head, and the applause was general.* As he felt oppressed by the heat of the weather and the crowd, one of the half-drunken fellows, who had brought with him a bottle and a glass, offered him some of his drink. The King had long been apprehensive lest he should be poisoned; he nevertheless drank without hesitation, and was loudly applauded.

Meanwhile, Madame Elizabeth, who was fondly attached to her brother, and who was the only one of the royal family that could get to him, followed him from window to window, to share his danger. The people, when they saw her, took her for the Queen. Shouts of "There's the Austrian!" were raised in an alarming manner. The national grenadiers, who had surrounded the princess, endeavoured to set the people right. "Leave them," said that generous sister, "leave them in their error, and save the Queen!"

The Queen, with her son and her daughter, had not been able to join her royal consort. She had fled from the lower apartments, hurried to the council-chamber, and could not reach the King on account of the crowd, which filled the whole palace. She was anxious to rejoin him, and earnestly begged to be led to the room where he was. On being dissuaded from this attempt, standing behind the council-table, with some grenadiers, she watched the people file off with a heart full of horror, and eyes swimming in tears, which she repressed. Her daughter was weeping by her side; her young son, frightened at first, had soon recovered his cheerfulness, and smiled in the happy ignorance of his age. A red cap had been handed to him, and the Queen had put it on his head. Santerre recommended respect to the people, and spoke cheeringly to the princess. He repeated to her the accustomed and unfortunately useless expression, "Madam, you are imposed upon; you are imposed upon." Then, seeing the young prince encumbered with the red cap, "The boy is stifling," said he, and relieved him from that ridiculous head-dress.

Some of the deputies, on receiving intelligence of the danger of the palace, had hastened to the King, addressed the people, and enjoined respect. Others had repaired to the Assembly, to inform it of what was passing, and the agitation there was increased by the indignation of the right side, and the efforts of the left to palliate this invasion of the palace of the monarch. A deputation had been decreed without discussion, and twenty-four members had set out to surround the King. It had been moreover decreed that the deputation should be renewed every half-hour, in order that the Assembly might be instantly apprized of everything that might occur. The deputies who were sent spoke alternately, hoisted upon the shoulders of the grenadiers. Petion afterwards made his appearance, and was accused of having come too late. He declared that it was half-past four before he heard of the attack made at four; that it had taken him half an hour to get to the palace, and that it was not till a long time after this he could overcome the obstacles which separated him from the King, so that he had been prevented from reaching

* "While we were leading a somewhat idle life, the 20th of June arrived. We met that morning, as usual, in a coffee-room in Rue St. Honoré. On going out, we saw a mob approaching, which Bonaparte computed at five or six thousand men, all in rags, and armed with every sort of weapon, vociferating the grossest abuse, and proceeding with rapid pace towards the Tuileries. 'Let us follow that rabble,' said Bonaparte to me. We got before them, and went to walk in the gardens, on the terrace overlooking the water. From this station he beheld the disgraceful occurrences that ensued. I should fail in attempting to depict the surprise and indignation roused within him. He could not comprehend such weakness and forbearance. But when the King showed himself at one of the windows fronting the garden, with the red cap which one of the mob had just placed on his head, Bonaparte could no longer restrain his indignation. 'What madness!' exclaimed he; 'how could they allow these scoundrels to enter? They ought to have blown four or five hundred of them into the air with cannon. The rest would then have taken to their heels.'" —*Bourrienne's Memoirs.* E.

his presence earlier than half-past five. On approaching the prince, "Fear nothing, sire," said he, "you are in the midst of your people." Louis XVI., taking the hand of a grenadier, placed it upon his heart, saying, "Feel whether it beats quicker than usual." This noble answer was warmly applauded. Petion at length mounted an arm-chair, and addressing the crowd, said that, after laying its remonstrances before the King, it had now nothing further to do but to retire peaceably and in such a manner as not to sully that day. Some persons who were present assert that Petion said its *just* remonstrances. This expression, however, would prove nothing but the necessity for not offending the mob. Santerre reinforced him with his influence, and the palace was soon cleared. The rabble retired in a peaceful and orderly manner. It was then about seven in the evening.

The King was immediately joined by the Queen, his sister, and his children, shedding a flood of tears. Overcome by the scene, the King had still the red cap on his head. He now perceived it for the first time during several hours, and flung it from him with indignation. At this moment, fresh deputies arrived to learn the state of the palace. The Queen, going over it with them, showed them the shattered doors and the broken furniture, and expressed keen vexation at such outrages. Merlin de Thionville,* one of the stanchest republicans, was one of the deputies present. The Queen perceived tears in his eyes. "You weep," said she to him, "to see the King and his family treated so cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to render happy."—"It is true, madam," replied Merlin; "I weep over the misfortunes of a beautiful, tender-hearted woman and mother of a family; but do not mistake; there is not one of my tears for the King or the Queen—I hate Kings and Queens."†

Next day general indignation prevailed among the partisans of the court, who considered it as outraged, and among the constitutionalists who regarded this invasion as a violation of the laws and of the public tranquillity. The disturbance had been alarming, but now it was greatly exaggerated. It was alleged to have been a plan for murdering the King, and it was even asserted that this plan had miscarried solely from the effect of a lucky accident. Hence, by a natural reaction, the popular opinion of the day was in favour of the royal family, who, on the preceding, had been exposed to so many dangers and outrages; and the supposed authors of the assault became the objects of unqualified censure.

Sad faces were seen in the Assembly. Several deputies inveighed strongly against the events of the preceding day. M. Bigot proposed a law against armed petitions, and against the custom of suffering bodies of men to file off through the hall. Though there already existed laws on this head, they were renewed by a decree. M. Daveirhoult moved for proceedings against the disturbers. "Proceedings," exclaimed one of the members, "against forty thousand men!"—"Well then," he replied, "if it is impossible to distinguish among forty thousand men, punish the guard, which did not defend itself; or, at least do something."

The ministers then entered, to present a report on what had happened, and a discussion arose on the nature of the circumstances. A member of the right, observing that Vergniaud's testimony was above suspicion, and that he had been an eye-witness of the affair, called upon him to relate what he had seen. Vergniaud, however, declined to rise at this appeal, but maintained silence. The boldest of

* "Antoine Merlin de Thionville, a bailiff and a municipal officer, was deputed by the Moselle to the legislature, where he, Bazire, and Chabot, formed, what was then called the triumvirate, which, during the whole session, made it a point daily to denounce all the ministers and placemen. On the 10th of August he signalized himself at the head of the enemies of the court. He strongly objected to the motion to allow counsel for the King, and warmly urged his execution. During the contest which led to Robespierre's fall, he maintained the most complete silence, and, after the victory, joined the conquerors. He was afterwards appointed president of the Convention. In 1797 he was denounced to the Council of Five Hundred as a peculator, for he had at that period immense landed property, whereas, before the Revolution he had none; but the denunciation failed. In 1798 Merlin obtained an appointment in the management of the general post."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† Mémoires de Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 215.

the left side, nevertheless, shook off constraint and took courage towards the conclusion of the sitting. They even ventured to propose that an examination should be instituted whether the *veto* was necessary in certain peculiar circumstances; but this motion was thrown out by a great majority.

Towards evening, a fresh scene similar to that of the preceding day was apprehended. The people, on retiring, had said that they should come again, and it was believed that they would keep their word. But, whether this was only a remnant of the agitation of the day before, or whether for the moment this new attempt was disapproved of by the leaders of the popular party, it was very easily stopped; and Petion repaired in great haste to the palace, to inform the King that order was restored, and that the people, having laid their remonstrances before him, were now tranquil and satisfied. "That is not true," said the King.—"Sire."—. . .—"Be silent."—"It befits not the magistrate of the people to be silent, when he does his duty and speaks the truth."—"The tranquillity of Paris rests on your head." I know my duty; I shall perform it."—"Enough; go and perform it. Retire."

The King, notwithstanding his extreme good-nature, was liable to fits of ill-humour, which the courtiers termed *coup de boutoir*. The sight of Petion, who was accused of having encouraged the scenes of the preceding day, exasperated him, and produced the conversation which we have just quoted. It was soon known to all Paris. Two proclamations were immediately issued, one by the King, the other by the municipality; and hostilities seemed to be commencing between these two authorities.

The municipality told the citizens to be peaceable, to pay respect to the King, to respect the National Assembly and *to make it be respected;* not to assemble in arms, because it was forbidden by the laws, and, above all, to beware of evil-disposed persons who were striving to excite fresh commotions.

It was actually rumoured that the court was endeavouring to excite a second insurrection of the people, that it might have occasion to sweep them away with artillery. Thus the palace supposed the existence of a plan for a murder—the fauxbourgs that a plan existed for a massacre.

The King said, "The French will not have learned without pain that a multitude, led astray by certain factious persons, has entered by force of arms the habitation of the King. . . . . The King has opposed to the threats and the insults of the factious nothing but his conscience and his love for the public weal.

"He knows not where will be the limit at which they will stop; but to what excesses soever they proceed, they shall never wring from him a consent to anything that he deems contrary to the public interest.

"If those who wish to overthrow the monarchy have need of another crime, they have it in their power to commit it.

"The King enjoins all the administrative bodies and municipalities to provide for the safety of persons and property."

These opposite sentiments corresponded with the two opinions which were then formed. All those whom the conduct of the court had driven to despair were but the more exasperated against it, and the more determined to thwart its designs by all possible means. The popular societies, the municipalities, the pikemen, a portion of the national guard, and the left side of the Assembly, were influenced by the proclamation of the mayor of Paris, and resolved to be prudent no farther than was necessary to avoid being mowed down by grape-shot without any decisive result. Still, uncertain as to the means to be employed, they waited, full of the same distrust, and even aversion. Their first step was to oblige the ministers to attend the Assembly, and give account of the precautions which they had taken on two essential points:

1. On the religious disturbances excited by the priests;

2. On the safety of the capital, which the camp of twenty thousand men, refused by the King, was destined to cover.

Those who were called aristocrats, the sincere constitutionalists, part of the national guards, several of the provinces, and especially the departmental directories

spoke out on this occasion, and in an energetic manner. The laws having been violated, they had all the advantage of speech, and they used it without reserve. A great number of addresses were sent to the King. At Rouen and at Paris a petition was drawn up and supported by twenty thousand signatures. This petition was associated in the minds of the people with that already signed by eight thousand Parisians against the camp below Paris. Lastly, legal proceedings were ordered by the department against Petion, the mayor, and Manuel,* *procureur* of the commune, who were both accused of having favoured, by their dilatory conduct, the irruption of the 20th of June. At this moment, the behaviour of the King during that trying day was spoken of with admiration. There was a general change of opinion respecting his character, and people reproached themselves for having charged it with weakness. But it was soon perceived that the passive courage which resists is not that which anticipates dangers, instead of awaiting them with resignation.

The constitutional party fell anew to work with the utmost activity. All those who had surrounded Lafayette to concert with him the letter of the 16th of June, again united for the purpose of taking some signal step. Lafayette had felt deep indignation on learning what had occurred at the palace: and he was found to be quite willing to assist. Several addresses from his regiments, expressing similar indignation, were sent to him. Whether these addresses were concerted or spontaneous, he put a stop to them by an order of the day, in which he promised to express, in person, the sentiments of the whole army. He resolved, therefore, to go to Paris, and to repeat to the legislative body what he had written to it on the 16th of June. He arranged the matter with Luckner, who was as easily led as an old warrior who has never been out of his camp.† He induced him to write a letter addressed to the King, expressing the same sentiments that he was himself about to proclaim *vivâ voce* at the bar of the legislative body. He then took all requisite measures so that his absence might not be detrimental to the military operations, and, tearing himself from his attached soldiers, he hastened to Paris to confront the greatest dangers.

Lafayette reckoned upon his faithful national guard, and on imparting a new impulse by means of it. He reckoned upon the court, which he could not believe to be his foe, when he came to sacrifice himself for it. Having proved his chivalrous love of liberty, he was now resolved to prove his sincere attachment to the King; and, in his heroic enthusiasm, it is probable that his heart was not insensible to the glory of this twofold self-devotion. He arrived on the morning of the 28th of June. The news soon spread, and it was everywhere repeated with surprise and curiosity that General Lafayette was in Paris.

Before his arrival, the Assembly had been agitated by a great number of contrary petitions. Those of Rouen, Havre, the Ain, the Seine and Oise, the Pas de Calais, and the Aisne, condemned the outrages of the 20th of June. Those of Arras and of l'Herault seemed almost to approve of them. There had been read, on the one hand, Luckner's letter to the King, and, on the other, atrocious placards against him. The reading of these different papers had produced excitement for several preceding days.

On the 28th, a considerable concourse had repaired to the Assembly, hoping that Lafayette, whose intentions were yet a secret, would make his appearance there. About half-past one o'clock, a message was actually brought, stating that he desired to be admitted to the bar. He was received with plaudits by the right side, but with silence by the tribunes and the left side.

* "Manuel was born at Montargis in 1751. On the trial of the King, he voted for imprisonment and banishment in the event of peace. When the Queen's trial came on, he was summoned as a witness against her, but only expressed admiration of her fortitude, and pity for her misfortunes. In November, 1793, Manuel was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed. He was the author of several works, and among others, of 'Letters on the Revolution.'" —*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "Marshal Luckner blamed extremely the intention Lafayette announced of repairing to Paris, 'because,' said he, 'the *sans-culottes* will cut off his head.' But as this was the sole objection he made, the general resolved to set out alone."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I must in the first place assure you that, in consequence of arrangements concerted between Marshal Luckner and myself, my presence here cannot in any way compromise either the success of our arms, or the safety of the army which I have the honour to command."

The general then explained the motives of his coming. It had been asserted that his letter was not written by himself. He came to avow it, and, to make this avowal, he came from amidst his camp, where he was surrounded by the love of his soldiers. A still stronger reason had urged him to this step. The 20th of June had excited his indignation and that of his army, which had presented to him a multitude of addresses. He had put a stop to them, and solemnly engaged to be the organ of its sentiments to the National Assembly. "The soldiers," he added, "are already asking themselves if it is really the cause of liberty and of the constitution that they are defending." He besought the National Assembly,

1. To prosecute the instigators of the 20th of June;

2. To suppress a sect which grasps at the national sovereignty, and whose public debates leave no doubt respecting the atrocity of its designs;

3. Lastly, to enforce respect for the authorities, and to give the armies the assurance that the constitution shall suffer no injury at home, while they are spilling their blood to defend it abroad.

The president replied that the Assembly would uphold the law which had been sworn to, and that it would examine his petition. He was invited to the honours of the sitting.

The general proceeded to take his seat on the benches of the right. Kersaint, the deputy, observed that his proper place was on the petitioners' bench. Cries of "Yes!" "No!" burst from all parts. The general modestly rose and removed to the petitioners' bench. Numerous plaudits accompanied him to this new place. Guadet* was the first who spoke, and resorting to a clever circumlocution, he asked if the enemy was vanquished, and the country delivered, since M. de Lafayette was in Paris. "No," he exclaimed in reply, "the country is not delivered; our situation is not changed; and yet the general of one of our armies is in Paris!" He should not inquire, he continued, whether M. de Lafayette, who saw in the French people nothing but a factious mob surrounding and threatening the authorities, was not himself surrounded by a staff which was circumventing him; but he should observe to M. de Lafayette that he was trespassing against the constitution by making himself the organ of an army legally incapable of deliberating, and that probably he was also trespassing against the authority of the military powers by coming to Paris without being authorized by the minister at war.

Guadet, in consequence, proposed that the minister at war should be called upon to state whether he had given leave of absence to M. de Lafayette, and that, moreover, the extraordinary commission should report upon the question whether a general had a right to address the Assembly on purely political subjects.

Ramond came forward to answer Guadet. He set out with a very natural observation, and one that is very frequently applicable, that the interpretation of the laws is liable to great variations according to circumstances. "Never," said he, "have we been so scrupulous relative to the existence of the right of petition. When, but very lately, an armed multitude presented itself, it was not asked what was its errand; it was not reproached with infringing by the parade of arms the independence of the Assembly; but when M. de Lafayette, who is for America and for Europe the standard of liberty—when he presents himself, suspicions are awakened!

* "M. E. Gaudet, a lawyer, president of the criminal tribunal of the Gironde, was deputed by that department to the legislature, and was looked up to by the Girondists as one of their leaders. He voted for the death of Louis, but for delaying his execution. Involved in the fall of his party, he was executed at Bordeaux in 1794, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. When he was led to the scaffold, he wanted to harangue the people, but the roll of the drums drowned his voice, and nothing could be heard but the words, 'People, behold the sole resource of tyrants! They drown the voices of free men that they may commit their crimes.' Gaudet's father, who was seventy years old, his aunt, and his brother, perished a month after him by the sentence of the military committee at Bordeaux."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

. . If there are two weights and two measures, if there are two ways of considering things, let it be allowable to make some distinction in favour of the eldest son of liberty !"

Ramond then moved to refer the petition to the extraordinary commission, for the purpose of examining, not the conduct of Lafayette, but the petition itself. After a great tumult and two divisions, Ramond's motion was carried. Lafayette left the Assembly surrounded by a numerous train of deputies and soldiers of the national guard, all of them his partisans and his old companions in arms.

This was the decisive moment for the court, for himself, and for the popular party. He repaired to the palace. The most abusive expressions were repeated around him among the groups of the courtiers. The King and Queen received with coldness the man who came to devote himself for them.* Lafayette withdrew, mortified at the disposition which he had perceived, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the royal family. On leaving the Tuileries, a numerous concourse escorted him to his residence, shouting "Long live Lafayette !" and even planted a May before his gate. These demonstrations of old attachment touched the general and intimidated the Jacobins. But it was requisite to take advantage of these feelings of attachment and to rouse them still more, in order to render them efficacious. Some officers of the national guard, particularly devoted to the court, applied to it inquiring how they ought to act. The King and Queen were both of opinion that they ought not to second M. Lafayette.† He thus found himself forsaken by the only portion of the national guard from which he could still have expected support. Anxious, nevertheless, to serve the King, in spite of himself, he consulted his friends. But these were not agreed. Some, and particularly Lally Tollendal, were for acting promptly against the Jacobins, and attacking them by main force in their club. Others, all members of the department and of the Assembly, supporting themselves constantly by the authority of the law, and having no resources but in it, would not advise its violation, and opposed any open attack.

Lafayette, nevertheless, preferred the boldest of these two courses and appointed a rendezvous for his partisans, for the purpose of going with them to drive the Jacobins from their place of meeting and walling up the doors. But though the place for assembling was fixed, few attended, and Lafayette found it impossible to act. Whilst, however, he was deeply mortified to perceive that he was so ill supported, the Jacobins, ignorant of the defection of his partisans, were seized with a panic and abandoned their club. They ran to Dumouriez,‡ who had not yet set out for the army, and urged him to put himself at their head and to march against Lafayette; but their application was not complied with. Lafayette staid another day in Paris, amidst denunciations, threats, and hints of assassination, and at length departed, lamenting the uselessness of his self-devotion and the fatal obstinacy of the court. And yet this same man, so completely forsaken when he had come to expose his own life to save the King, has been accused of having betrayed him ! The writers of the court have asserted that his means were ill combined. No doubt it was easier and safer, at least in appearance, to employ eighty thousand Prussians; but in Paris, and with the determination not to call in foreigners, what

* "The debate was not closed, when Lafayette repaired to the King. The royal family were assembled together, and the King and Queen both repeated that they were convinced there was no safety for them but in the constitution. Never did Louis appear to express himself with more thorough conviction than on this occasion. He added that he considered it would be very fortunate if the Austrians were defeated. It so happened that the King was next day to review four thousand men of the national guard. Lafayette asked permission to accompany him, apprizing him, at the same time, of his intention, as soon as his majesty had retired, of addressing the troops. But the court did everything in its power to thwart Lafayette, and Petion the mayor countermanded the review an hour before daybreak."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

† See Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 224, a Letter from M. Lally to the King of Prussia, and all the historians.

‡ "Dumouriez survived the troubles of the Revolution many years. He spent some time in Germany; and lived in retirement latterly at Turville Park, near Henley-upon-Thames, where he died March 14, 1823, in his eighty-fifth year. He was a man of pleasing manners, and lively conversation."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

more could he do than put himself at the head of the national guard, and overawe the Jacobins by dispersing them!

Lafayette set out with the design of still serving the King, and contriving, if possible, means for his quitting Paris. He wrote a letter to the Assembly, in which he repeated with still greater energy all that he had himself said against what he called the factious.

No sooner was the popular party relieved from the fears occasioned by the presence and the plans of the general, than it continued its attacks upon the court, and persisted in demanding a strict account of the means which it was adopting for preserving the territory. It was already known, though the executive power had not yet made any communication on the subject to the Assembly, that the Prussians had broken the neutrality, and that they were advancing by Coblentz, to the number of eighty thousand men, all old soldiers of the great Frederick, and commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a celebrated general.* Luckner, who had too few troops and could not fully rely on the Belgians, had been obliged to retire upon Lille and Valenciennes. An officer, in retreating from Courtray, had burned the suburbs of the town, and it was conceived that the aim of this cruel measure was to alienate the Belgians. The government did nothing to reinforce the armies, which amounted at the utmost, on the three frontiers, to two hundred and thirty thousand men. It resorted to none of those mighty schemes which rouse the zeal and the enthusiasm of a nation. The enemy, in short, might be in Paris in six weeks.

The Queen reckoned upon this result, and mentioned it in confidence to one of her ladies. She had the route of the emigrants and the King of Prussia. She knew that on such a day they would be at Verdun, on such a one at Lille, and that they were to lay siege to the latter place. That unfortunate princess hoped, she said, to be delivered in a month.† Why, alas! did she not believe the sincere friends who represented to her the inconveniences of foreign aid, and told her that this aid would be useless; that it would arrive soon enough to compromise, but not soon enough to save, her! Why did she not believe her own fears on this point and the gloomy forebodings which sometimes overwhelmed her! Why, in short, did she not spare herself a fault, and many misfortunes!

We have seen that the measure to which the national party clung most tenaciously was a reserve of twenty thousand men below Paris. The King, as we have shown, was adverse to this plan. He was summoned, in the person of his ministers, to state what precautions had been taken in the place of those proposed in the decree to which he had refused his sanction. He answered by proposing a new project, which consisted in directing upon Soissons a reserve of forty-two battalions of national volunteers, to supply the place of the old reserve, which had been exhausted in completing the two principal armies. This was as nearly as possible the first decree; with this difference, that the camp of reserve should be formed between Paris and the frontiers, and not near Paris itself. This plan was received with murmurs and referred to the military committee.

Several departments and municipalities, excited by their correspondence with Paris, had subsequently resolved to carry into execution the decree for a camp of twenty thousand men, though it was not sanctioned. The departments of the

* "Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, was born in 1735. He was the eldest son of the reigning duke, and a sister of Frederick the Great. The seven years' war afforded him the first opportunity of cultivating his military talents. In 1756 he decided the victory of Crefeld, and took the most active part in all the enterprises of his uncle Ferdinand. In 1764 he married the Princess Augusta of England. High expectations were entertained of him, when the wars of the French Revolution broke out. The duke received the chief command of the Austrian and Prussian armies, and issued at Coblentz, in 1792, the famous manifesto drawn up in a haughty style by a Frenchman, De Limon. The duke considered the expressions too strong, and some of the severest passages were expunged. He continued to labour for the welfare of his country until 1806, when he was placed at the head of the Prussian army. He was mortally wounded in that year, and died at Ottensen, near Altona."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† See Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 230.

Bouches du Rhone, la Gironde, and l'Herault, set the first example; which was soon followed by others. Such was the commencement of the insurrection.

As soon as intelligence of these spontaneous levies was received, the Assembly, modifying the plan of the forty-two new battalions proposed by the King, decreed that the battalions, whose zeal should have led them to march before they were legally called upon, should pass through Paris, for the purpose of being inscribed at the municipality of that city; that they should then proceed to Soissons, to be there encamped; and lastly, that those who should happen to be in Paris on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the Federation, should attend that national solemnity. It had not been held in 1791, on account of the flight to Varennes, and it was determined that it should be celebrated in 1792 with *éclat*. The Assembly added that, immediately after this festival, the federalists should march off to the place of their destination.

This was at once authorizing insurrection, and reviving, with some trifling variation, the unsanctioned decree. The only difference was that the federalists should merely pass through Paris. But the grand point was to bring them thither; and, when once there, a thousand circumstances might arise to detain them. The decree was immediately sent to the King, and sanctioned on the following day.

To this important measure was added another. A distrust was felt of part of the national guards, and particularly of the staffs, which, after the example of the departmental directories, the nearer they approached in rank to superior authority the more they were disposed in its favour. It was especially the national guard of Paris at which the blow was aimed; but it could not be struck directly, and therefore it was decreed that all the staffs in towns containing upwards of fifty thousand inhabitants should be dissolved and re-elected. In the agitated state in which France then was, with the constantly increasing influence which this agitation insured to the most ardent spirits, this re-election could not fail to bring forward persons devoted to the popular and republican party.

These were important measures, carried by main force, in opposition to the right side and to the court. Yet all this did not appear to the patriots to fortify them sufficiently against the imminent dangers by which they conceived themselves to be threatened. Forty thousand Prussians, and as many Austrians and Sardinians, were approaching our frontiers. A court, apparently in concert with the enemy, resorted to no means for augmenting the armies and exciting the nation, but on the contrary employed the *veto* to thwart the measures of the legislative body, and the civil list to secure partisans in the interior. Lastly, there was a general, who was not supposed to be capable of uniting with the emigrants to deliver up France, but who was seen to be disposed to support the court against the people. All these circumstances alarmed and deeply agitated the public mind. "The country is in danger!" was the general cry. But how was that danger to be prevented? There lay the difficulty. People were not even agreed respecting the causes. The constitutionalists and the partisans of the court, as much terrified as the patriots themselves, imputed the dangers to the factious only. They trembled only for royalty, and saw no peril but in discussion. The patriots, trembling for a contrary reason, beheld this peril in invasion alone, and laid the whole blame of it on the court, its refusals, its tardiness, and its underhand proceedings. Petitions continued to pour in. Some attributed everything to the Jacobins, others to the court, designated alternately by the appellations of the *palace*, the *executive power*, and the *veto*. The Assembly listened to and referred them all to the extraordinary commission of twelve, appointed long before to seek and propose means for saving the country.

Its plan was awaited with impatience. Meanwhile all the walls were covered with threatening placards; the public papers, not less bold than the posting bills, talking of nothing but forfeiture of the crown and dethronement. This was the topic of general conversation, and no moderation seemed to be observed but in the Assembly. There the attacks against royalty were yet only indirect. It had been proposed, for example, to suppress the *veto* for decrees of circumstance; observations had several times been made on the civil list and on the culpable use that was made

of it; and it had been suggested that it should either be reduced, or that a public account of its expenditure should be demanded.

At length, the commission of twelve proposed its measures. The court had never refused to comply with the recommendations of the Assembly materially to augment the means of defence. It could not have done so without compromising itself too openly; and, besides, it could not much dread the numerical increase of armies which it believed to be in a state of complete disorganization.

The popular party desired, on the contrary, some of those extraordinary means, which indicate a great resolution, and which frequently confer victory on the most desperate cause. The commission of twelve devised such, and proposed to the Assembly the following plan:

When the danger should become extreme, the legislative body was itself to declare it by this solemn form of expression: *The country is in danger.*

After this declaration, all the local authorities, the councils of the communes, those of the districts and departments, and the Assembly itself, as the highest of the authorities, were to be permanent and to sit without interruption. All the citizens, under the severest penalties, were to deliver to the authorities the arms which they possessed, with a view to their suitable distribution. All the men, old and young, fit for service, were to be enrolled in the national guards. Some were to proceed to the seats of the different authorities of districts or departments; others to march whithersoever the exigencies of the country required, either at home or abroad. Those only should be expected to appear in uniform who were able to defray the expense of it. The pay of volunteers was to be given to all the national guards who should be removed from their homes. The authorities were to be directed to provide themselves with military stores. Any sign of rebellion, wilfully displayed, was to be punished with death. Every cockade, every flag, was to be reputed seditious, excepting the tricoloured cockade and flag.

According to this plan, the whole nation would be on the alert and in arms. It would possess the means of deliberating and fighting at every point and at every moment: and would be able to dispense with the government and to make amends for its inactivity. That aimless agitation of the popular masses would be regulated and directed. If, in short, after this appeal, the French should fail to respond to it, the Assembly could not be expected to do any more for a nation which would not do anything for itself. This plan gave rise, as might naturally be expected, to a most vehement discussion.

Pastoret,* the deputy, read the preliminary report. It satisfied no one; imputing faults to all, balancing some by others; and not fixing in a positive manner the means of parrying the public dangers. After him, Jean de Bry explained clearly and with moderation the plan of the commission. The discussion, once commenced, soon became a mere exchange of recriminations. It afforded scope for those impetuous imaginations, which rush headlong into extreme measures. The great law of the public welfare, that is to say, the dictatorship—in other words, the power of doing everything, with the chance of using it cruelly but energetically—that power which could by right be decreed only in the Convention, was nevertheless proposed in the Legislative.

M. Delaunay of Angers proposed to the Assembly to declare that, till the removal of the danger, it would *consult only the imperative and supreme law of the public welfare.* This would have been, by an abstract and mysterious formula, evidently to abolish royalty and to declare the Assembly absolute sovereign. M. Delaunay said that the Revolution was not completed; that people were mistaken if they thought so; and that it was right to keep fixed laws for the Revolution

* "Pierre Pastoret, born at Marseilles in 1756, was an advocate before the Revolution, which he embraced with ardour. Having luckily survived the reign of terror, he was in 1795 delegated from Var to the Council of Five Hundred, where he became one of the firmest defenders of the Clichyan party. In 1804 he was appointed professor of the laws of man and nations, in the college of France; and was made a member of the Institute and the Legion of Honour. He was the author of several works, both in prose and verse, written with eloquence and perspicuity."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

saved and not the Revolution to be saved. He said, in short, all that is usually said in favour of the dictatorship, the idea of which always presents itself in moments of danger. The answer of the deputies of the right side was natural. "They should violate," they said, "the oaths taken to the constitution, by creating an authority that would absorb the regulated and established powers." Their adversaries replied by saying that the example of violation was already given, and that they ought not to suffer themselves to be anticipated and surprised without defence. "But, prove then," rejoined the partisans of the court, "that this example has been given, that the constitution has been betrayed." This challenge was answered by fresh accusations against the court, and these charges were repelled in their turn by recriminations against agitators. "You are factious men."—"You are traitors." Such was the reciprocal and everlasting reproach—such the question to be resolved.

So violent did M. Jaucour deem the proposal, that he was for referring it to the Jacobins. M. Isnard, with whose ardour it harmonized, urged that it should be taken into consideration, and that the speech of M. Delaunay should be sent to the departments, to counterpoise that of M. Pastoret, which was but *a dose of opium given to a patient in the agonies of death.*

M. de Vaublanc succeeded in obtaining a hearing. He said that the constitution could save itself by the constitution; that the plan of M. Jean de Bry was a proof of this; that it was right to print the speech of M. Delaunay, if they so pleased, but at any rate not to send it to the departments; and that they ought to return to the proposal of the commission. The discussion was accordingly adjourned till the 3d of July.

One deputy had not yet spoken. This was Vergniaud. A member of the Gironde, and its most eloquent orator, he was nevertheless independent. Whether from thoughtlessness or from real elevation, he seemed to be above the passions of his friends; and, in sharing their patriotic ardour, he did not always share their prepossessions and their vehemence.* When he had made up his mind upon a question, he carried along with him by his eloquence and a certain acknowledged impartiality, that floating portion of the Assembly, which Mirabeau had formerly hurried away by his reasoning and his warmth. Wavering masses are everywhere decided by talents and reason.†

It had been announced that he would speak on the 3d of July. An immense concourse had assembled to hear this distinguished orator on a question which was regarded as decisive. Accordingly, he did speak, and first drew a sketch of the state of France. "If," said he,‡ "one did not believe in the imperishable love of the people for liberty, one would doubt whether the Revolution retrogrades or whether it is reaching its term. Our armies of the North advanced into Belgium, and all at once they fell back. The theatre of war is transferred to our territory, and we shall have left the unfortunate Belgians nothing but the remembrance of the conflagrations that lighted our retreat. At the same time, a formidable army of

* "Vergniaud was an indolent man, and required to be stimulated; but when once fairly excited, his eloquence was true, forcible, penetrating, and sincere."—*Dumont.* E.

"I do not like Vergniaud, because he disdains men, does not put any restraint on himself in his intercourse with them, and has not employed his talents with the ardour of a soul devoted by the love of the public good, and with the tenacity of a diligent mind."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

Vergniaud was born at Limoges in 1759. He projected the decree which pronounced the suspension of the King, and the formation of the National Convention. He filled the chair on the day of Louis's sentence, and voted for his death. He was condemned to death as a Girondist, in 1793, and spent the night before his execution in discoursing with his friends upon revolutions and governments. His speeches were always carefully prepared beforehand. E.

† This is a justice done to Vergniaud by the *Journal de Paris*, at that time so celebrated for its opposition to the majority of the Assembly, and for the extraordinary talents of its conductors, especially of the unfortunate and immortal André Chenier. (See that paper of the 4th of July, 1792.)

‡ It is scarcely necessary to observe that I here analyze Vergniaud's speech, but do not give it *verbatim.*

Prussians is threatening the Rhine, though we had been taught to hope that their progress would not be so rapid.

"How happens it that this moment should have been chosen for the dismissal of the popular ministers, for breaking the chain of their labours, for committing the empire to inexperienced hands, and for rejecting the useful measures which we have deemed it our duty to propose? . . Can it be true that a dread is felt of our triumphs? Is it the blood of Coblentz or yours, that there is a desire to spare? Is there a wish to reign over forsaken towns and devastated fields? . . In short, where are we? . . And you, gentlemen, what grand work are you about to undertake for the public weal?

"You, whom some flatter themselves that they have intimidated: you, whose consciences they flatter themselves that they have alarmed by stigmatizing your patriotism as the spirit of faction, as if those who took the oath in the Tennis Court had not also been called factious: you, who have been so slandered, because you belong not to a proud caste which the constitution has thrown down in the dust: you, to whom are imputed guilty intentions, as if, invested with a power different from that of the law, you had a civil list: you, whose concern for the dangers of the people a hypocritical moderation hoped to cool: you, whom means have been found to divide, but who, in this moment of danger, will lay aside your animosities, your paltry dissensions, and not find it so delightful to hate one another as to prefer that infernal pleasure to the welfare of the country;—you, finally, hearken to me! What are your resources? What does necessity command you? What does the constitution permit you to do?"

During this exordium, loud applause drowned the voice of the speaker. He continued his speech, and exhibited two kinds of dangers, the one internal, the other external.

"To remove the former, the Assembly had proposed a decree against the priests, and, whether the spirit of a Medicis still flits beneath the vaults of the Tuileries, or a Lachaise or a Letellier still disturbs the heart of the prince, the decree has been rejected by the throne. It is not possible to believe, without doing the King injustice, that he wishes for religious disturbances! He fancies himself then sufficiently powerful—he has then ancient laws enough—to insure the public tranquillity. Let his ministers then answer for it with their heads, since they have the means of insuring it!

"To provide against external dangers, the Assembly conceived the idea of a camp of reserve. The King rejected it. It would be doing him injustice to suppose that he wishes to deliver up France to the enemy; he must therefore have forces sufficient to protect it; his ministers therefore ought to answer to us with their heads for the salvation of the country."

Thus far the speaker confines himself, as we see, to the ministerial responsibility, and strives to exhibit it under the most threatening aspect. "But," added he, "to throw the ministers into the abyss which their malice or their imbecility has opened, is not all . . Listen to me calmly; be in no hurry to anticipate what I am about to say.

At these words the attention of his auditors was redoubled. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly. "It is in the name *of the King*," said he, "that the French princes have endeavoured to raise Europe against us. It is to avenge *the dignity of the King* that the treaty of Pilnitz has been concluded. It is to come *to the aid of the King* that the sovereign of Hungary and Bohemia makes war upon us, that Prussia is marching towards our frontiers. Now, I read in the constitution: 'If the King puts himself at the head of an army and directs its forces against the nation, or if he does not oppose by a formal act an enterprise of this kind that may be executed in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated royalty.'

"What is a formal act of opposition? If one hundred thousand Austrians were marching towards Flanders, and one hundred thousand Prussians towards Alsace, and the King were to oppose to them ten or twenty thousand men, would he have done a formal act of opposition?

"If the King, whose duty it is to notify imminent hostilities, apprized of the movements of the Prussian army, were not to communicate any information on the subject to the National Assembly; if a camp of reserve, necessary for stopping the progress of the enemy into the interior, were proposed, and the King were to substitute in its stead an uncertain plan which it would take a long time to execute; if the King were to leave the command of an army to an intriguing general, of whom the nation was suspicious; if another general, bred afar from the corruption of courts and familiar with victory, were to demand a reinforcement, and the King were by a refusal to say to him; *I forbid thee to conquer*—could it be asserted that the King had committed a formal act of opposition?

"I have exaggerated several circumstances," resumed Vergniaud, "to take away every pretext for explanations purely hypothetical. But if, while France was swimming in blood, the King were to say to you, 'It is true that the enemies pretend to be acting for me, for my dignity, for my rights, but I have proved that I am not their accomplice. I have sent armies into the field; these armies were too weak, but the constitution does not fix the degree of their force. I have assembled them too late, but the constitution does not fix the time for collecting them. I have stopped a general who was on the point of conquering, but the constitution does not order victories. I have had ministers, who deceived the Assembly, and disorganized the government, but their appointment belonged to me. The Assembly has passed useful decrees which I have not sanctioned, but I had a right to act so. I have done all that the constitution enjoined me. It is therefore impossible to doubt my fidelity to it.' (Vehement applause here burst from all quarters.)

"If then," continued Vergniaud, "the King were to hold this language, should you not have a right to reply; 'O King, who, like Lysander, the tyrant, have believed that truth was not worth more than falsehood—who have feigned a love for the laws merely to preserve the power which enabled you to defy them—was it defending us to oppose to the foreign soldiers forces whose inferiority left not even uncertainty as to their defeat? Was it defending us, to thwart plans tending to fortify the interior? Was it defending us, not to check a general who violated the constitution, but to enchain the courage of those who were serving it? Did the constitution leave you the choice of the ministers for our prosperity or for our ruin? Did it make you the head of the army for our glory or our disgrace? Did it finally confer on you the right of sanction, a civil list, and so many prerogatives, in order constitutionally to undo the constitution of the empire? No! no! Man, in whom the generosity of the French has excited no corresponding feeling, insensible to everything but the love of despotism, you are henceforth nothing to that constitution which you have so unworthily violated—to that people whom you have so basely betrayed!'

"But no," resumed the speaker, "if our armies are not complete, the King assuredly is not to blame for this; no doubt he will take the necessary measures for saving us; no doubt the march of the Prussians will not be so triumphant as they hope; but it was requisite to foresee everything and to say everything, for frankness alone can save us."

Verginaud concluded by proposing a message to Louis XVI., firm but respectful, which should oblige him to choose between France and foreigners, and teach him that the French were resolved to perish or triumph with the constitution. He wished also that the Assembly should declare the country in danger, in order to awaken in hearts those mighty affections which have animated mighty nations, and which no doubt would be found in the French; "for," said he, "it will not be in the regenerated French of 89 that Nature will show herself degenerated." He wished, finally, that an end should be put to dissensions which began to assume a sinister character, and that they should reunite those who were in Rome and on Mount Aventine.

As he uttered these last words, the voice of the speaker faltered, and the emotion was general. The tribunes, the left side, in short, all applauded. Vergniaud left the tribune, and was surrounded by a crowd, who thronged to congratulate him. He alone had dared to speak to the Assembly concerning the forfeiture of the crown,

which was a general topic of conversation in public ; but he had presented the subject only in an hypothetical manner, and clothed in forms still respectful, when compared with the language suggested by the passions of the time.

Dumas came forward to reply. He attempted to speak extempore after Vergniaud, before auditors, still full of the feelings that he had excited. He several times claimed silence and an attention which it was not in his power to gain. He animadverted on the reproaches urged against the executive power. "The retreat of Luckner," said he, "is owing to the chance of battles, which cannot be governed in the recesses of cabinets. Assuredly you have confidence in Luckner?" Cries of "Yes! yes!" were the answer; and Kersaint proposed a decree declaring that Luckner had retained the national confidence. The decree was passed, and Dumas proceeded. He observed very justly that, if they had confidence in that general, they could not consider the intention of his retreat as culpable or suspicious: that, as for the want of forces which was complained of, the marshal himself knew that all the troops then disposable were assembled for this enterprize; that, moreover, everything must have been already prepared by the old Girondin ministry, the author of the offensive warfare; and that, if the means were inadequate, that ministry alone was to blame; that the new ministers could not possibly repair all that was defective by a few couriers; and lastly, that they had given *carte blanche* to Luckner, and had left him the power to act according to circumstances and local situation.

"The camp of twenty thousand men has been rejected," added Dumas, "but, in the first place, the ministers are not responsible for the *veto*, and, in the next, the plan which they substituted in its stead was far preferable to that proposed by the Assembly, because it did not paralyze the means of recruiting. The decree against the priests has been rejected, but there is no need of new laws to insure the public tranquillity. Nothing is wanting but quiet, security, respect for individual liberty, and liberty of conscience. Wherever these liberties have been respected, the priests have not been seditious." Dumas concluded with justifying the King, by objecting that he had not wished for war, and Lafayette by reminding the Assembly that he had always been a lover of liberty.

The decree proposed by the commission of twelve, for arranging the forms according to which the country should be declared in danger, was passed amidst the most vehement applause. But the declaration of danger was adjourned, because it was not thought right as yet to proclaim it. The King, no doubt excited by all that had been said, notified to the Assembly the imminent hostilities with Prussia, which he grounded on the convention of Pilnitz, on the favourable reception given to the rebels, on the acts of violence committed upon French mercantile men, on the dismissal of our minister, and the departure of the Prussian ambassador from Paris; lastly, on the march of the Prussian troops to the number of fifty-two thousand men. "Everything proves to me," added the King's message, "an alliance between Vienna and Berlin. (There was a laugh at these words.) Agreeably to the terms of the constitution, I give this intimation of it to the legislative body."—"Yes," replied several voices, "when the Prussians are at Coblentz." The message was referred to the commission of twelve.

The discussion relative to the forms of the declaration *of the country in danger* was continued. It was decreed that this declaration should be considered as a simple proclamation, and that consequently it should not be subject to the royal sanction, which was not quite just, since it comprehended legislative clauses, but, without meaning to proclaim it, the Assembly already followed the law of the public welfare.

The discussions were daily increasing in violence. The wish of Vergniaud to unite those who were in Rome and on Mount Aventine was not fulfilled: the fear which each excited in the other was changed into irreconcilable hatred.

There was in the Assembly a deputy named Lamourette,* constitutional Bishop

* "After the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, Lamourette went to Lyons, and continued there during the siege. He was afterwards conducted to Paris, condemned to death, and decapitated in 1794. He was the author of several religious works."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

of Lyons, who had never considered liberty in any other light than as a return to primitive fraternity, and who was as much grieved as astonished at the divisions of his colleagues. He did not believe that the one harboured any real hatred against the others. He supposed that all of them merely entertained unjust suspicions. On the 7th of July, at the moment when the discussion on the country in danger was about to be resumed, he asked leave to speak for the purpose of a motion to order; and addressing his colleagues in the most persuasive tone and with the noblest aspect, he told them that terrible measures were every day proposed to them in order to put an end to the danger of the country; that, for his part, he had faith in milder and more efficacious means. It was the disunion among the representatives that was the cause of all the evils, and to this disunion it behoved them to apply a remedy. "Oh!" exclaimed the worthy prelate, "he who should succeed in reconciling you, that man would be the real conqueror of Austria and of Coblentz. It is daily alleged that, at the point to which things have been carried, your reunion is impossible. Ah! I tremble at the thought . . . but this is a calumny. There is nothing irreconcilable but guilt and virtue. Good men dispute warmly, because they are impressed with the sincere conviction of the correctness of their opinions, but they cannot hate one another. Gentlemen, the public weal is in your hands. Why do you delay carrying it into operation?

"What is it that the two portions of the Assembly charge each other with? One accuses the other of wishing to modify the constitution by the hands of foreigners; and the latter accuses the former of striving to overthrow the monarchy for the purpose of establishing a republic. Well, gentlemen, hurl one and the same anathema against a republic and the two chambers. Devote them to general execration by a last and irrevocable oath! Let us swear to have but one spirit, but one sentiment. Let us swear everlasting fraternity! Let the enemy know that what we will, we all will, and the country is saved!"

Scarcely had the speaker finished these concluding words, when both sides of the Assembly rose, applauding his generous sentiments, and eager to rid themselves of the burden of their reciprocal animosities. Amidst universal acclamations, they devoted to public execration any project for changing the constitution either by two chambers or by a republic; and the members rushed from the opposite benches to embrace one another. Those who had attacked and those who had defended Lafayette, the *veto*, the civil list, the *factions*, and the *traitors*, were clasped in each others' arms. All distinctions ceased, and Messrs. Pastoret and Condorcet, who the day before were loading one another with abuse in the public papers, were seen locked in each other's embrace. There was no longer any right or left side, and all the deputies sat indiscriminately together. Dumas was beside Basire, Jaucourt next to Merlin, and Ramond by Chabot.

It was immediately decided that they should inform the provinces, the army, and the King, of this happy event. A deputation, headed by Lamourette, repaired to the palace. Lamourette returned, announcing the intention of the King to come, as on the 4th of February, 1790, to express his satisfaction to the Assembly, and to assure it that he was sorry he had to wait for a deputation, for he was most anxious to hasten into the midst of it.

The enthusiasm was increased to the highest pitch by these words, and if the unanimous cry might be credited, the country was saved. Was it, then, that a King and eight hundred hypocritical deputies had suddenly formed the plan of deceiving each other, and feigning an oblivion of injuries, that they might afterwards betray one another with the greater certainty? No, assuredly not. Such a plan is not formed among so great a number of persons, and all at once, without premeditation. But hatred is burdensome; it is a relief to get rid of the weight of it: and, moreover, at the prospect of the most threatening events, which party was it that, in the uncertainty of victory, would not gladly have consented to keep the present as it was, provided that it were insured to them? This fact demonstrates that distrust and fear produced all the animosities, that a moment of confidence allayed them, and that, if the party called republican thought of a republic, it was not from system but from despair. Why did not the King, on returning to his palace, write immediately to Prussia and Austria? Why did he not combine

with these secret measures some grand public measure? Why did he not say, like his ancestor Louis XIV., on the approach of the enemy, *Let us all go!*

But in the evening the Assembly was informed of the result of the proceedings instituted by the department against Petion and Manuel; and this result was the suspension of those two magistrates. From what has since been learned from the lips of Petion himself, it is probable that he could have prevented the commotion of the 20th of June, since he afterwards prevented others. In fact, his real sentiments were not then known, but it was strongly presumed that he had connived with the agitators. There were moreover some infringements of the law to lay to his charge. He was reproached, for instance, with having been extremely dilatory in his communications to the different authorities, and with having suffered the council of the commune to pass a resolution (*arrêté*) contrary to that of the department, in deciding that the petitioners should be admitted into the ranks of the national guard. The suspension pronounced by the department was, therefore, legal and courageous, but impolitic. After the reconciliation of the morning, was it not, in fact, the height of imprudence to signify, in the evening of the very same day, the suspension of two magistrates enjoying the greatest popularity? The King, indeed, referred the matter to the Assembly; but, without betraying its dissatisfaction, it sent back the decision to him that he might himself pronounce upon it. The tribunes recommenced their usual cries; a great number of petitions were presented, demanding *Petion or death;* and Grangeneuve, the deputy, who had been personally insulted, insisted on a report against the perpetrator of the outrage. Thus the reconciliation was already forgotten. Brissot, to whose turn it had come to speak on the question of the public danger, solicited time to modify the expressions of his speech, on account of the reconciliation which had since taken place. Nevertheless, he could not abstain from enumerating all the instances of neglect and tardiness laid to the charge of the court; and, in spite of the pretended reconciliation, he concluded with proposing that the question of the forfeiture of the crown should be solemnly discussed; that ministers should be impeached for having so long delayed to notify the hostilities of Prussia; that a secret commission of seven members should be appointed and charged to attend to the public welfare; that the property of the emigrants should be sold; that the organization of the national guards should be accelerated; and, lastly, that the Assembly should forthwith declare *the country* to be *in danger*.

Intelligence was at the same time received of the conspiracy of Dessaillant, one of the late noblesse, who, at the head of a party of insurgents, had gained possession of the fort of Bannes, in the department of the Ardèche, and thence threatened the whole surrounding country. The disposition of the powers was also reported to the Assembly by the ministers. The house of Austria, influencing Prussia, had induced it to march against France; the pupils of the great Frederick nevertheless murmured against this impolitic alliance. The electorates were all our open or concealed enemies. Russia had been the first to declare against the Revolution; she had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz; she had flattered the projects of Gustavus and seconded the emigrants; and all to deceive Prussia and Austria, and to urge them both on against France, whilst she acted against Poland. At that moment she was treating with Messrs. de Nassau and d'Esterhazy, leaders of the emigrants; but, notwithstanding her magnificent promises, she had merely furnished them with a frigate, to rid herself of their presence at St. Petersburg. Sweden was immoveable since the death of Gustavus and admitted our ships. Denmark promised a strict neutrality. We might consider ourselves as being at war with the court of Turin. The Pope was preparing his thunderbolts. Venice was neutral, but seemed disposed to protect Trieste with its navy. Spain, without entering openly into the coalition, appeared not unwilling to adhere to the family compact, and to return to France the aid which she had received from her.

England promised neutrality and gave fresh assurances of it. The United States would gladly have assisted us with all their means; but those means were then null, on account of their distance and their thin population.

Immediately after the communication of this report, the Assembly was for

declaring the country in danger: but that declaration was postponed till after the presentation of a new report from all the committees united. On the 11th, after this report had been read, amidst profound silence, the president pronounced the solemn formula, CITIZENS, THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER!

From that moment the sittings were declared permanent. The discharge of cannon, fired from moment to moment, proclaimed this important crisis. All the municipalities, all the district and departmental councils, sat without interruption. All the national guards put themselves in motion. Amphitheatres were erected in the public places, and there the municipal officers received, upon a table borne by drummers, the names of those who came voluntarily to enrol themselves. The number enrolled amounted to fifteen thousand in one day.*

The reconciliation of the 7th of July and the oath which followed, had not, as we have just seen, dispelled any distrust. People were still devising means to protect themselves against the designs of the palace, and the idea of declaring that the King had forfeited the crown, or of forcing him to abdicate, presented itself to every mind as the only possible remedy for the evils which threatened France. Vergniaud had merely pointed hypothetically to this idea; but others, especially Torné, the deputy, were desirous that this supposition of Vergniaud should be considered as a reality. Petitions poured in from every part of France, to lend the aid of public opinion to this desperate scheme of the patriotic deputies.

The city of Marseilles had previously presented a threatening petition, read to the Assembly on the 19th of June, and the substance of which has been already given. At the moment when the country was declared in danger, several others were received. One of them proposed to accuse Lafayette, to suppress the *veto* in certain cases, to reduce the civil list, and to reinstate Manuel and Petion in their municipal functions. Another demanded, together with the suppression of the *veto*, the publicity of the councils. But the city of Marseilles, which had set the first example of these acts of boldness, soon carried them to the utmost excess. It presented an address, recommending to the Assembly to abolish royalty in the reigning branch, and to substitute in its stead a merely elective royalty and without *veto*, that is to say, a purely *executive magistracy*, as in republics. The stupor produced by the reading of this address was soon followed by the applause of the tribunes; and a motion for printing it was made by a member of the Assembly. The address was, nevertheless, referred to the commission of twelve, that the law declaring infamous every plan for altering the constitution might be applied to it.

Consternation pervaded the court. It pervaded also the patriotic party, which bold petitions were far from cheering. The King conceived that violence was intended against his person. He attributed the events of the 20th of June to a scheme for murdering him, which had miscarried; but he was assuredly wrong, for nothing would have been easier than the consummation of that crime, if it had been projected. He was fearful of being poisoned, and himself and his family took their meals with a lady in the Queen's confidence, where they ate of different dishes from those which were prepared in the offices of the palace.† As the anniversary

* "While the minds of men were wound up to the highest pitch by inflammatory harangues, the committees to whom it had been remitted to report on the state of the country, published the solemn declaration, "*Citizens, the country is in danger!*" Minute guns announced to the inhabitants of the capital this solemn appeal, which called on every one to lay down his life on behalf of the state. Pikes were distributed to all those not possessed of firelocks; battalions of volunteers formed in the public squares, and standards were displayed in conspicuous situations, with the words, 'Citizens, the country is in danger!' These measures excited the revolutionary ardour to the utmost degree. An universal phrensy seized the public mind. Many departments openly defied the authority of government, and without any orders sent their contingents to form the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris. This was the commencement of the revolt which overturned the throne."—*Alison.* E.

† On the subject of the apprehensions of the royal family, Madame Campan relates as follows:

"The police of M. de Laporte intendant of the civil list, apprized him, about the end of 1791, that one of the King's household, who had set up as a pastrycook in the Palais Royal, had lately taken upon him the duties of an office which reverted to him on the death of the late holder; that he was so outrageous a Jacobin as to have dared to assert that it would be doing a great benefit to France to put an end to the life of the King. His functions were confined merely to articles of

of the Federation was approaching, the Queen caused a kind of breastplate, composed of several folds of stuff, capable of resisting a first thrust of a dagger, to be made for the King. However, as time passed away, and the popular audacity increased, without any attempt at assassination being made, the King began to form a more correct notion of the nature of his danger; and he already perceived that it was not the point of a dagger, but a judicial condemnation, that he had to dread; and the fate of Charles I. continually haunted his tortured imagination.

Lafayette, though repulsed by the court, had nevertheless resolved to save the King. He therefore caused a plan of flight that was very boldly conceived, to be submitted to him.* He had first gained over Luckner, and had even extorted from the easy disposition of the old marshal a promise to march towards Paris. Lafayette proposed that the King should send for him and Luckner, upon pretext of attending the Federation. The presence of two generals might, he thought, overawe the people, and prevent the dangers which were apprehended from that day. Lafayette further proposed that, the day after the ceremony, Louis XVI. should publicly leave Paris, professedly with the intention of going to Compiègne, in order to exhibit a

pastry. He was closely watched by the principal officers of the kitchen, who were attached to his majesty; but a subtile poison may be so easily introduced into articles of food, that it was decided that the King and Queen should eat nothing but what was roasted; that their bread should be supplied by M. Thierry, of Ville d'Avray, intendant of the *petits appartemens*, and that he should also furnish the wine. The King was fond of pastry; I was directed to order some, as if for myself, sometimes of one pastrycook, sometimes of another. The grated sugar was likewise kept in my room. The King, the Queen, and Madame Elizabeth dined together without any attendants. Each of them had a dumb-waiter of mahogany and a bell to ring when they wanted anything. M. Thierry himself brought me the bread and wine for their majesties, and I locked up all these things in a particular closet in the King's cabinet, on the ground floor. As soon as the King was at table, I brought the pastry and the bread. Everything was hid under the table, lest there might be occasion to call in the attendants. The King thought that it was not less dangerous than mortifying to show this apprehension of attempts against his person and this distrust of the servants of his household. As he never drank a whole bottle of wine at dinner—the princesses drank nothing but water—he half filled that from which he had been drinking out of the bottle supplied by the officers of his establishment. I carried it away after dinner. Though no pastry but that which I brought was ever eaten, care was taken to make it appear as if some of that which had been set on the table had been used. The lady who succeeded me found this secret service ready organized, and she executed it in the same manner. The public was never acquainted with these precautions or the apprehensions which had given rise to them. At the end of three or four months, the same police gave intimation that there was no longer any reason to fear a plot of this kind against the King's life; that the plan was completely changed; that the blows intended to be struck would be directed as much against the throne as against the person of the sovereign."—*Mémoires de Madame Campan*, tome ii., p. 188.

* "The plan of flight was as follows: The King, accompanied by Lafayette was to have gone to the National Assembly at midday, and announced his intention of spending some days at Compiègne. On his arrival there with a small escort of Parisian national guards, he could calculate on the national guard of Compiègne, and on two regiments of chasseurs belonging to Lafayette's army, of whom the latter was perfectly sure. The officers of this chosen body were to offer every kind of guarantee by their well-known patriotism and honour; and Brigadier-general Latour Maubourg, was to have taken the command. Thus surrounded, the King, sheltered from all violence, and in a situation of his own choice, would, of his own accord, have issued a proclamation, forbidding his brothers and the emigrants to advance a step further; announcing himself ready to go in person, if the Assembly approved of it, against the enemy; and declaring for the constitution in such terms as to leave not a shadow of doubt as to his real intentions. Such a step might probably have enabled Louis to return to Paris amid the universal acclamations of the people; but such a triumph would have been the triumph of liberty, and therefore the court rejected it. Some of the King's personal friends left nothing untried to inspire him with confidence in Lafayette. With tears in their eyes, they conjured him to comply with the counsels of the only man who could snatch him from destruction. But his most influential advisers saw no chance for absolute royalty save in anarchy and foreign invasion. Lafayette was thanked for his plan, which was rejected; and when his aide-de-camp, Colombe, afterwards asked the Queen by what strange infatuation she and the King had come to so fatal a decision,—'We are very grateful to your general,' was her reply, 'but the best thing that could happen to us, would be, to be confined for two months in a tower!' Lafayette knew well that, at the very moment when he was offering the only chance of safety that remained to the royal family, memorials full of asperity were, by the Queen's orders, composed against him; and that a part of the libels daily devoted to his defamation were paid for out of the civil list."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

proof of his liberty to all Europe. In case of opposition, he asked for no more than fifty trusty horse, to carry him off from Paris. From Compiègne, squadrons kept in readiness were to conduct him to the French armies, where Lafayette would depend on his sincerity for the maintenance of the new institutions. Lastly, in case none of these schemes should succeed, the general had determined to march with all his troops to Paris.*

* When M. de Lafayette was confined at Olmütz, M. de Lally-Tollendal wrote in his behalf a very eloquent letter to the King of Prussia. He there recapitulated all that the general had done to save Louis XVI. and adduced proofs in confirmation. Among these documents were the following letters, which afford an insight into the plans and the efforts of the constitutionalists at this period:

Copy of a Letter from M. de Lally-Tollendal to the King.

PARIS, Monday, July 9, 1792.

I am charged by M. Lafayette to propose directly to his majesty, for the 15th of this month, the same plan which he had proposed for the 12th, and which cannot now be carried into execution on that day, on account of the promise given by his majesty to attend the ceremony of the 14th.

His majesty must have seen the plan sent by M. Lafayette, for M. Duport was to carry it to M. Montciel, that he might show it to his majesty.

M. Lafayette means to be here on the 15th; he will have with him old General Luckner. They have just had a meeting; both have promised, and both have one and the same feeling and one and the same design.

They propose that his majesty shall publicly leave the city between them, having written to the National Assembly, to assure it that he shall not pass the constitutional line, and that he is going to Compiègne.

His majesty and all the royal family are to be in one carriage. It is easy to find a hundred good horse to escort them. The Swiss, in case of need, and part of the national guard will protect the departure. The two generals will keep close to his majesty. On arriving at Compiègne, he shall have for his guard a detachment belonging to the place, which is very good, one from the capital, which shall be picked, and one from the army.

M. Lafayette, after providing for all his fortresses and his reserve camp, has at his disposal for this purpose in his army ten squadrons of horse artillery. Two forced marches may bring this whole division to Compiègne.

If, contrary to all probability, his majesty should be prevented from leaving the city, the laws being most manifestly violated, the two generals would march upon the capital with an army.

The consequences of this plan are sufficiently obvious:

Peace with all Europe, through the mediation of the King;

The King reinstated in all his legal power;

A great and necessary extension of his sacred prerogatives;

A real monarchy, a real monarch, real liberty;

A real national representation, of which the King shall be the head and an integral part;

A real executive power;

A real national representation, elected from among persons of property;

The constitution revised, partly abolished, partly improved, and founded on a better basis;

The new legislative body sitting for three months only in the year;

The old nobility restored to its former privileges, not political but civil; depending on opinion, such as titles, arms, liveries, &c.

I execute my commission without presuming to add either advice or reflection. My imagination is too full of the rage which will seize all those perverse heads at the loss of the first town that shall be taken from us, not to have my misgivings; and these are so strong that the scene of Saturday, which appears to have quieted many people, has doubled my uneasiness. All those kisses reminded me of that of Judas.

I merely solicit permission to be one of the eighty or one hundred horse who shall escort his majesty, if he approves the plan; and I flatter myself that I have no occasion to assure him that his enemies should not get at him or at any member of his royal family before they had passed over my corpse.

I will add one word: I was a friend of M. Lafayette's before the Revolution. I broke off all intercourse with him since the 22d of March in the second year. At that period, I wished him to be what he is at this day; I wrote to him that his duty, his honour, his interest, all prescribed to him this line of conduct; I detailed the plan to him at length, such as my conscience suggested it. He gave me a promise; I saw no effect from that promise. I shall not examine whether this was owing to inability or insincerity; I renounced all further connexion with him, telling him so, and nobody had yet told him more severe truths than myself and my friends, who were also his. These same friends have now renewed my correspondence with him. His majesty knows what has been the aim and the nature of this correspondence. I have seen his letters; I had a conference of two hours with him in the night before he left Paris. He acknowledges his errors; he is

Whether this plan required too great boldness, and Louis XVI. had not enough of that quality, or whether the dislike of the Queen to Lafayette prevented him from

ready to devote himself for liberty, but at the same time for the monarchy; he is willing to sacrifice himself, if need be, for his country and for his King, whom he no longer separates; he is attached, in short, to the principles which I have expounded in this note; he is attached to them completely, with candour, conviction, sensibility, fidelity to the King, disregard of himself—I answer for him on my integrity.

I forgot to say that he begs that nothing may be said on this subject to such of the officers as may be in the capital at this moment. All may suspect that some plans are in agitation; but none of them is apprized of that which he proposes. It is sufficient for them to know it on the morning for acting; he is afraid of indiscretion if it should be mentioned to them beforehand, and none of them is excepted from this observation.

P.S. May I venture to say that, in my opinion, this note should be perused by him only, who, on an ever-memorable day, vanquished by his heroic courage a whole host of assassins; by him who, the day after that unexampled triumph, himself dictated a proclamation as sublime as his actions had been on the preceding day, and not by the counsels which drew up the letter written in his name to the legislative body, intimating that he should attend the ceremony of the 14th; not by the counsels which obtained the sanction of the decree respecting feudal rights, a decree equivalent to a robbery committed upon the highway?

M. Lafayette does not admit the idea that the King, when once out of the capital, has any other direction to follow but that of his conscience and his free will. He conceives that the first operation of his majesty ought to be to create a guard for himself; he conceives also that his plan is capable of being modified in twenty different ways; he prefers a retreat to the North to a retreat to the South, as being nearer at hand to render assistance on that side, and dreading the southern faction. In these words, the *liberty of the King*, and *the destruction of the factions*, is comprehended his aim in all the sincerity of his heart. What is to follow will follow.

Copy of a Letter from Lafayette.

July 8, 1792.

I had disposed my army in such a manner that the best squadrons, the grenadiers, and the horse artillery were under the command of M—, in the fourth division; and, had my proposal been accepted, I should have brought in two days to Compiègne fifteen squadrons and eight pieces of cannon, the rest of the army being placed in échelons, at the distance of one march; and any regiment which would not have taken the first step would have come to my assistance, if my comrades and myself had been engaged.

I had overcome Luckner so far as to obtain a promise from him to march with me to the capital, if the safety of the King had required it, and he had issued orders to that effect; and I have five squadrons of that army at my absolute disposal, Languedoc and ————; the commandant of the horse artillery is also exclusively devoted to me. I reckoned that these would also march to Compiègne.

The King has given a promise to attend the federal festival. I am sorry that my plan has not been adopted; but the most must be made of that which has been preferred.

The steps which I have taken, the adhesion of many departments and communes, that of M. Luckner, my influence with my army and even with the other troops, my popularity in the kingdom, which has rather increased than diminished, though very limited in the capital; all these circumstances, added to several others, have, by awakening honest men, furnished a subject of reflection for the factious; and I hope that the physical dangers of the 14th of July are greatly diminished. I think myself that they are nothing, if the King is accompanied by Luckner and me, and surrounded by the picked battalions which I am getting ready for him.

But, if the King and his family remain in the capital, are they not still in the hands of the factions? We shall lose the first battle; it is impossible to doubt that. The recoil will be felt in the capital. I will go further and assert that the supposition of a correspondence between the Queen and the enemy will be sufficient to occasion the greatest excesses. At least they will be for carrying off the King to the South; and this idea, which is now revolting, will appear simple when the leagued kings are approaching. I see, therefore, a series of dangers commencing immediately after the 14th.

I again repeat it, the King must leave Paris. I know that, were he not sincere, this course would be attended with inconveniences; but when the question is about trusting the King, who is an honest man, can one hesitate a moment? I am impressed with the necessity of seeing the King at Compiègne.

Here then are the two objects to which my present plan relates:

1. If the King has not yet sent for Luckner and myself, he should do so immediately. *We have Luckner.* He ought to be secured more and more. He will say that we are together; I will say the rest. Luckner can come to fetch me, so that we may be in the capital on the evening of the 12th. The 13th and 14th may furnish offensive chances, at any rate the defensive shall be insured by your presence; and who knows what may be the effect of mine upon the national guard?

We will accompany the King to the altar of the country. The two generals, representing two

accepting his aid, he again refused it, and directed a very cold answer, and one very unworthy of the zeal which the general manifested for him, to be returned. "The best advice," to use the words of that answer, "which can be given to M. Lafayette is to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factious, by the able performance of his duty as a general."*

armies, which are known to be strongly attached to them, will prevent any insults that there may be a disposition to offer to the dignity of the King. As for me, I may find again the habit which some have so long had of obeying my voice; the terror which I have always struck into others, as soon as they became factious, and perhaps some personal means of turning a crisis to advantage, may render me serviceable, at least for obviating dangers. My application is the more disinterested, since my situation will be disagreeable in comparison with the grand Federation; but I consider it as a sacred duty to be near the King on this occasion, and my mind is so bent on this point, that *I absolutely require* the minister at war to send for me and that this first part of my proposal be adopted; and I beg you to communicate it through mutual friends to the King, to his family, and to his council.

2. As for my second proposition, I deem it equally indispensable, and this is the way in which I understand it. The King's oath and ours will have tranquillized those persons who are only weak: consequently the scoundrels will be for some days deprived of that support. I would have the King write secretly to M. Luckner and myself, one letter jointly to us both, which should find us on the road on the evening of the 11th, or the morning of the 12th. The King should there say, 'that, after taking our oath, it was expedient to think of proving his sincerity to foreigners; that the best way would be for him to pass some days at Compiègne; that he directed us to have in readiness there some squadrons to join the national guard of that place, and a detachment from the capital; that we shall accompany him to Compiègne, whence we shall proceed to rejoin our respective armies; that he desires us to select such squadrons the chiefs of which are known for their attachment to the constitution, and a general officer who cannot leave any doubt on that head.'

Agreeably to this letter, Luckner and I will appoint M—— to the command of this expedition; he shall take with him four pieces of horse artillery; eight, if preferred; but the King ought not to allude to this subject, because the odium of cannon ought to fall upon us. On the 15th, at ten in the morning, the King should go to the Assembly, accompanied by Luckner and myself; and whether we had a battalion, or whether we had but fifty horse, consisting of men devoted to the King, or friends of mine, we should see if the King, the royal family, Luckner, and myself, should be stopped.

Let us suppose that we were. Luckner and I would return to the Assembly, to complain and to threaten it with our armies. When the King should have returned, his situation would not be worse, for he would not have transgressed the constitution; he would have against him none but the enemies of that constitution, and Luckner and I should easily bring forward detachments from Compiègne. Take notice that this does not compromise the King so much as he must necessarily be compromised by the events which are preparing.

The funds which the King has at his disposal have been so squandered in aristocratic fooleries that he cannot have much money left. There is no doubt that he can borrow, if necessary, to make himself master of the three days of the Federation.

There is still one case to be provided against: the Assembly may decree that the generals shall not come to the capital. It will be sufficient for the King to refuse his sanction immediately.

If, by an inconceivable fatality, the King should have already given his sanction, let him appoint to meet us at Compiègne, even though he should be stopped at setting out. We will open to him the means of coming thither *free and triumphant*. It is superfluous to observe that, in any case, on his arrival at Compiègne, he will there form his personal guard on the footing allowed him by the constitution.

In truth, when I find myself surrounded by inhabitants of the country, who come ten leagues and more to see me and to swear that they have confidence in none but me and that my enemies are theirs; when I find myself beloved by my army, on which the Jacobin efforts have no influence; when I see testimonies of adherence to my opinions arriving from all parts of the kingdom—I cannot believe that all is lost and that I have no means of being serviceable.

* The following answer is extracted from the collection of documents quoted in the last note:

Answer in the handwriting of the King.

You must answer him that I am infinitely sensible to the attachment which would induce him to put himself thus in the front; but that the manner appears to me impracticable. It is not out of personal fear; but everything would be staked at once, and, whatever he may say of it, the failure of this plan would plunge all into a worse state than ever, and reduce it more and more under the sway of the factions. Fontainebleau is but a *cul-de-sac*, it would be a bad retreat, and towards the South; towards the North, it would have the appearance of going to meet the Austrians. Respecting the summons for him, an answer will be returned from another quarter, so I have nothing to say here on that subject. The presence of the generals at the Federation might be useful; it might besides have for its motive to see the new minister and to confer with him on the wants of the

The anniversary of the Federation approached. The people and the Assembly were desirous that Petion should be present at the solemnity of the 14th. The King had already endeavoured to throw upon the Assembly the responsibility of approving or disapproving the resolution of the department; but the Assembly had, as we have seen, constrained him to speak out himself; urging him daily to communicate his decision, that this matter might be settled before the 14th. On the 12th, the King confirmed the suspension. The Assembly lost no time in taking its own course. What that was may easily be conceived. Next day, that is on the 13th, it reinstated Petion. But, from a shadow of delicacy, it postponed its decision respecting Manuel, who, amidst the tumult of the 20th of June, had been seen walking about in his scarf, without making any use of his authority.

The 14th of July, 1792, at length arrived. How times had changed since the 14th of July, 1790! There was neither that magnificent altar, with three hundred officiating priests, nor that extensive area, covered by sixty thousand national guards, richly dressed and regularly organized, nor those lateral tiers of seats, crowded by an immense multitude, intoxicated with joy and delight; nor lastly, that balcony, where the ministers, the royal family, and the Assembly, were accommodated at the first Federation. Everything was changed. People hated each other as after a hollow reconciliation, and all the emblems indicated war. Eighty-three tents represented the eighty-three departments. Beside each of these stood a poplar, from the top of which waved flags of the three colours. A large tent was destined for the Assembly and the King, and another for the administrative bodies of Paris. Thus all France seemed to be encamped in the presence of the enemy. The altar of the country was but a truncated column, placed at the top of those tiers of seats which had been left in the Champ de Mars, ever since the first ceremony. On one side was seen a monument for those who had died or who were destined soon to die, on the frontiers; on the other an immense tree, called the tree of feudalism. It rose from the centre of a vast pile, and bore on its branches crowns, blue ribbons, tiaras, cardinals' hats, St. Peter's keys, ermine mantles, doctors' caps, bags of law proceedings, titles of nobility, escutcheons, coats of arms, &c. The King was to be invited to set fire to it.

The oath was to be taken at noon. The King had repaired to the apartments of the Military School, where he waited for the national procession, which had gone to lay the first stone of a column destined to rise upon the ruins of the ancient Bastille. The King displayed a calm dignity.* The Queen strove to conquer a grief that was but too visible. His sister, his children, surrounded him. Some touching expressions excited emotion in those who were in the apartments, and tears trickled from the eyes of more than one. At length the procession arrived. Until then the Champ de Mars had been almost empty. All at once the multitude rushed into it. Beneath the balcony where the King was placed, a confused mob of women, children, and drunken men, were seen to pass, shouting "Petion for ever! Petion or death!" and bearing on their hats the words which they had in their mouths; federalists, arm in arm, and carrying a representation of the Bastille and a press, which stopped, from time to time, for the purpose of printing and distributing patriotic songs. Next came the legions of the national guard, and the regiments of the troops of the line, preserving with difficulty the regularity of their

army. The best advice which can be given to M. Lafayette is to continue to serve as a bugbear to the factions by the able performance of his duty as a general. He will thereby secure more and more the confidence of his army, and be enabled to employ it as he pleases in case of emergency.

* "The figure made by the King during this pageant formed a striking and melancholy parallel with his actual condition in the state. With hair powdered and dressed, with clothes embroidered in the ancient court fashion, surrounded and crowded unceremoniously by men of the lowest rank, and in the most wretched garb, he seemed belonging to a former age, but which in the present has lost its fashion and value. He was conducted to the Champ de Mars under a strong guard, and by a circuitous route, to avoid the insults of the multitude. When he ascended the altar, to go through the ceremonial of the day, all were struck with his resemblance to a victim led to sacrifice; the Queen so much so, that she nearly fainted. A few children alone called out, 'Vive le Roi!' This was the last time Louis was seen in public until he mounted the scaffold."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

ranks amidst the moving populace ; and lastly, the authorities themselves, and the Assembly. The King then went down, and, placed amidst a square of troops, moved on with the procession towards the altar of the country. The concourse in the centre of the Champ de Mars was immense, so that they could advance but slowly. After great exertions on the part of the regiments, the King reached the steps of the altar. The Queen, stationed on the balcony, which she had not quitted, watched this scene with a glass. The confusion seemed to increase about the altar, and the King to descend a step. At this sight, the Queen uttered a shriek and filled all around her with alarm.* The ceremony, however, passed off without accident.

As soon as the oath was taken, the people hastened to the tree of feudalism. They were for hurrying the King along with them, that he might set fire to it ; but he declined, saying very pertinently that there was no longer any such thing as feudalism. He then set out on his return to the Military School. The troops, rejoiced at having saved him, raised reiterated shouts of *Vive le Roi !* The multitude, which always feels constrained to sympathize, repeated these shouts, and was as prompt to pay him homage as it had been to insult him a few moments before. For a few hours longer the unfortunate Louis XVI. appeared to be beloved ; for an instant the people and himself believed this to be the case ; but even illusion had ceased to be easy, and they began already to find it impossible to deceive themselves. The King returned to the palace, glad at having escaped the dangers which he conceived to be great, but alarmed at those which he beheld approaching.

The news which arrived daily from the frontiers increased the alarm and agitation. The declaration of *the country in danger* had set all France in motion, and had occasioned the departure of a great number of federalists. There were only two thousand at Paris on the day of the Federation ; but they kept continually arriving, and the way in which they conducted themselves there justified both the fears and the hopes that had been conceived of their presence in the capital. All voluntarily enrolled, they comprised the most violent spirits in the clubs of France. The Assembly ordered them an allowance of thirty sous per day, and reserved the tribunes for them exclusively. They soon gave law to it by their shouts and their applause. Connected with the Jacobins, and united in a club which in a few days surpassed all the others in violence, they were ready for insurrection at the first signal. They even made a declaration to this effect in an address to the Assembly. They would not set out, they said, till the enemies in the interior were overthrown. Thus the scheme of assembling an insurrectional force at Paris was completely accomplished, in spite of the opposition of the court.

In addition to this engine, other means were resorted to. The old soldiers of the French guards were dispersed among the regiments. The Assembly ordered them to be collected into a corps of gendarmerie. There could be no doubt respecting their disposition, since it was they who had begun the Revolution. To no purpose was it objected that these men, almost all of them subalterns in the army, constituted its principal force. The Assembly would not listen to any representation, dreading the enemy at home more than the enemy abroad. After composing forces for itself, it resolved to decompose those of the court. To this end, the Assembly ordered the removal of all the regiments. Thus far it had kept within the limits appointed by the constitution ; but, not content with removing, it enjoined them to repair to the frontier, and by so doing, it usurped the disposal of the public force which belonged to the King.

The principal aim of this measure was to get rid of the Swiss, whose fidelity could not be doubted. To parry this blow, the ministers instigated M. d'Affry,

* "The expression of the Queen's countenance on this day will never be effaced from my remembrance. Her eyes were swollen with tears ; and the splendour of her dress, and the dignity of her deportment, formed a striking contrast with the train that surrounded her. It required the character of Louis XVI.—that character of martyr which he ever upheld—to support, as he did, such a situation. When he mounted the steps of the altar, he seemed a sacred victim, offering himself as a voluntary sacrifice. He descended, and, crossing anew the disordered ranks, returned to take his place beside the Queen and his children."—*Madame de Staël.* E.

their commandant, to remonstrate. He appealed to his capitulations in justification of his refusal to leave Paris. The Assembly appeared to take into consideration the reasons which he urged, but ordered for the moment the departure of two Swiss battalions.

The King, it is true, had his *veto* to resist these measures, but he had lost all influence, and could no longer exercise his prerogative. The Assembly itself could not always withstand the propositions brought forward by certain of its members, and invariably supported by the applause of the tribunes. It never failed to declare itself in favour of moderation, when that was possible; and, whilst it assented on the one hand to the most insurrectional measures, it was seen on the other receiving and approving the most moderate petitions.

The measures that were adopted, the petitions that were daily read, and the language that was used in all conversations, indicated a speedy revolution. The Girondins foresaw and wished for it; but they did not clearly distinguish the means, and dreaded the issue, of it. Among the people complaints were made of their listlessness. They were accused of indolence and incapacity. All the leaders of clubs and sections, weary of eloquent speeches without result, loudly demanded an active and concentrated direction, that the popular efforts might not be unavailing.

There was at the Jacobins a room appropriated to the business of correspondence. Here had been formed a central committee of federalists, for the purpose of concerting and arranging their proceedings. In order that their resolutions might be the more secret and energetic, this committee was limited to five members, and was called among themselves the *insurrectional committee*. These five members were Vaugeois, grand vicar; Debessé of La Drôme; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, journalist at Strasburg; and Galissot of Langres. To these were soon added Carra,* Gorsas, Fournier the American, Westermann,† Kienlin of Strasburg, Santerre, Alexandre, commandant of the fauxbourg St. Marceau, a Pole named Lazouski, captain of the gunners in the artillery of St. Marceau, Antoine of Metz an ex-constituent, and Lagrey and Garin, two electors. It was joined by Manuel, Camille Desmoulins,‡ and Danton; and these exercised the greatest influence over it.§ They entered into arrangements with Barbaroux, who promised the co-opera-

* "J. L. Carra called himself a man of letters before the Revolution, because he had written some bad articles in the Encyclopædia. At the beginning of the troubles, he went to Paris; made himself remarkable among the most violent revolutionists, and, in 1789, proposed the formation of the municipality of Paris, and of the city guard. It was Carra who thought of arming the people with pikes. Always preaching up murder and pillage in his writings, he was one of the chiefs of the revolt of the 10th of August, 1792; and in his journal, he gloried in having traced out the plan of that day. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was condemned to death, and executed at the age of fifty. Carra was the author of several works, which have long since sunk into oblivion."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Fr. Joseph Westermann, born at Molsheim, in Alsace, was an officer under the monarchy, but embraced the revolutionary party with ardour. On the 10th of August, he was the first who forced the Tuileries at the head of the Brest battalions. In 1792, and the following year, he distinguished himself by his bravery at the head of the Legion du Nord, of which he had obtained the command. He was afterwards transferred, with the rank of general of brigade, to the army which Biron then commanded in La Vendée. At Chatillon, however, he was completely defeated; his infantry was cut to pieces; and he himself escaped with difficulty. Being attached to the party of the Cordeliers, he was denounced with them, and executed in 1794, in the fortieth year of his age."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Westermann ran from massacre to massacre, sparing neither adversaries taken in arms, nor even the peaceful inhabitants of the country."—*Prudhomme.* E.

‡ "Camille Desmoulins had natural abilities, some education, but an extravagant imagination. He stammered in his speech, and yet he harangued the mob without appearing ridiculous, such was the influence which the vehemence of his language had over it. He was fond of pleasure and of amusement of all kinds, and professed a sincere admiration of Robespierre, who then seemed to feel a friendship for him."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.* E.

§ *Particulars of the events of the 10th of August.*

These particulars are extracted from a paper inserted in the *Annales Politiques*, signed Carra, and entitled, *Historical Sketch of the Origin and real Authors of the celebrated Insurrection of the 10th of August, which has saved the Republic.* The author asserts that the mayor had no

tion of his Marsellais, whose arrival was impatiently expected. They placed themselves in communicatian with Petion, the mayor, and obtained from him a promise not to prevent the insurrection. In return they promised him to protect his residence and to place a guard upon it, in order to justify his inaction by an appearance of constraint, if the enterprise should miscarry.

The plan definitively adopted was to repair in arms to the palace, and to depose the King. But it was requisite to set the people in motion, and, to succeed in this purpose, some extraordinary exciting cause was indispensably necessary. Endeavours were made to produce one, and the subject was discussed at the Jacobins.

hand whatever in the success, but that he happened to be in place, on this occasion, like a real Providence for the patriots.

"Those men, says Jerome Petion, in his excellent speech on the proceedings instituted against Maximilien Robespierre, who have attributed to themselves the glory of that day, are those to whom it least belongs. It is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperative nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists and *to their secret directory which had long concerted the plan of the insurrection*; it is due, in short, to the guardian genius which has constantly governed the destinies of France ever since the first meeting of its representatives.

"It is of this secret directory which Jerome Petion speaks, and of which I shall speak in my turn, both as a member of that directory and as an actor in all its operations. This secret directory was formed by the central committee of federalists, which met in the correspondence-room at the Jacobins, St. Honoré. It was out of the forty-three members, who daily assembled since the commencement of July in that room, that five were selected for the insurrectional directory. These five members were Vaugeois, grand-vicar of the Bishop of Blois; Debessé, of the department of La Drôme; Guillaume, professor at Caen; Simon, journalist of Strasburg; and Galissot, of Langress. I was added to these five members at the very moment of the formation of the directory; and, a few days afterwards, Fournier the American; Westermann; Kienlin, of Strasburg; Santerre; Alexandre, commandant of the fauxbourg St. Marceau; Antoine of Metz, the ex-constituent; Legrey; and Garin, elector in 1789, were invited to join it.

"The first meeting of this directory was held in a small public-house, the Soleil d'Or, rue St. Antoine, near the Bastille, in the night between Thursday and Friday the 26th of July, after the civic entertainment given to the federalists on the site of the Bastille. Gorsas, the patriot, attended at the public-house, which we left at two in the morning, when we repaired to the column of liberty, on the site of the Bastille, to die there, in case of need, for the country. It was to this public-house, the Soliel d'Or, that Fournier the American brought us the red flag, the invention of which I had proposed, and upon which I had got inscribed these words: *Martial Law of the Sovereign People against the Rebellion of the Executive Power.* It was also to the same house that I took five hundred copies of a posting-bill containing these words: *Those who fire on the columns of the people shall instantly be put to death.* This bill, printed in the office of Buisson, the publisher, had been carried to Santerre's, whither I went at midnight to fetch it. Our plan failed this time through the prudence of the mayor, who probably conceived that we were not sufficiently guarded at the moment; and the second active meeting of the directory was adjourned to the 4th of August following.

"Nearly the same persons attended this meeting, and in addition to them Camille Desmoulins. It was held at the Cadran Bleu, on the boulevard; and, about eight in the evening, it removed to the lodgings of Antoine, ex-constituent, rue St. Honoré, opposite to the Assumption, in the very same house where Robespierre lives. His landlady was so alarmed at this meeting that she came, about eleven o'clock at night, to ask Antoine if he was going to get Robespierre murdered. 'If any one is to be murdered,' replied Antoine, 'no doubt it will be ourselves; Robespierre has nothing to fear from us; let him but conceal himself.'

"It was in this second active meeting that I wrote with my own hand the whole plan of the insurrection, of the march of the columns, and of the attack of the palace. Simon made a copy of this plan, and we sent it to Santerre and Alexandre, about midnight; but a second time our scheme miscarried, because Alexandre and Santerre were not yet sufficiently prepared, and several wished to wait for the discussion fixed for the 10th of August on the suspension of the King.

"At length, the third active meeting of this directory was held in the night between the 9th and 10th of August last, at the moment when the tocsin rang, and in three different places at the same time; namely, Founier the American, with some others, at the fauxbourg St. Marceau; Westermann, Santerre, and two others, at the fauxbourg St. Antoine; Garin, journalist of Strasburg, and myself, in the barracks of the Marseillais, and in the very chamber of the commandant, where we were seen by the whole battalion.

"In this sketch, which contains nothing but what is strictly true, and the minutest details of which I defy any person whatever to contradict, it is seen that nothing is said of Marat or of Robespierre, or of so many others who desire to pass for actors in that affair; and that those who may directly ascribe to themselves the glory of the famous day of the 10th, are the persons whom I have named, and who formed the secret directory of the federalists."

Chabot,* the deputy, expatiated with all the ardour of his disposition on the necessity for a great resolution, and he said that, in order to bring about such a one, it was desirable that the court should attempt the life of a deputy. Grangeneuve, himself a deputy, heard this speech. He was a man of limited understanding but resolute disposition. He took Chabot aside. "You are right," said he; "it is expedient that a deputy should perish, but the court is too cunning to give us so fair an occasion. You must make amends, and put me to death as soon as possible in the environs of the palace. Prepare the means and keep your secret." Chabot, seized with enthusiasm, offered to share his fate. Grangeneuve assented, observing that two deaths would produce a greater effect than one. They agreed upon the day, the hour, and the means, of putting an end to their lives, without *maiming* themselves, as they said; and they separated, resolved to sacrifice themselves for the success of the common cause. Grangeneuve, determined to keep his word, put his domestic affairs in order, and proceeded, at half-past ten o'clock at night, to the place of meeting. Chabot was not there. He waited. As Chabot did not come, he conceived that he had changed his mind, but he hoped that, in regard to himself at least, the execution would take place. He walked to and fro several times in expectation of the mortal blow, but was obliged to return, safe and sound, without enjoying the satisfaction of immolating himself for the sake of a calumny.†

The occasion so impatiently looked for did not occur, and the parties began mutually to accuse each other of want of courage, intelligence, and unity. The Girondin deputies, Petion, the mayor, and in short, all persons of any eminence, and who were obliged, either in the tribune or in the performance of their official duties, to speak the language of the law, kept themselves more and more aloof, and condemned these incessant agitations, which compromised them without producing any result. They reproached the subaltern agitators with exhausting their strength in partial and useless movements, which exposed the people without leading to any decisive event. The latter, on the contrary, who did in their respective spheres all that they could do, reproached the deputies and Petion, the mayor, for their public speeches, and accused them of repressing the energy of the people.

Thus the deputies reproached the mass with not being organized, and the latter complained that the deputies themselves were not. The want most sensibly felt was that of a leader. We need a man, was the general cry; but who is it to be? No fit person was to be found among the deputies. They were all of them rather orators than conspirators; and, besides, their elevated situation and their mode of life removed them too far from the multitude, on whom it was necessary to act. In the same predicament were Roland, Servan, and all those men whose courage was undoubted, but whose rank lifted them too high above the populace. Petion might, from his office, have had opportunity to communicate easily with the multitude; but he was cold, passionless, and capable of dying rather than acting. By

* "F. Chabot, a Capuchin, born in the department of Aveyron, eagerly profited by the opportunity of breaking his vows, which the decrees of the Constituent Assembly offered him. In 1792 he was appointed deputy of Loire et Cher to the legislature. In the same year, he went so far as to cause himself to be slightly wounded by six confidential men, in order that he might accuse the King of being the author of this assassination. It is asserted that he even pressed Merlin and Bazire to murder him, and then to carry his bloody corpse into the fauxbourg, to hasten the insurrection of the people, and the destruction of the monarch. Chabot was one of the chief instigators of the events of the 10th of August, and voted afterwards for the death of the King. He was condemned to death by Robespierre as a partisan of the Dantonist faction. When he knew what his fate was to be, he poisoned himself with corrosive sublimate of mercury; but the dreadful pain he suffered having extorted shrieks from him, he was conveyed to the infirmary, and his life prolonged till April, 1794, when he was guillotined. Chabot died with firmness at the age of thirty-five."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "J. A. Grangeneuve, a lawyer, was deputy from the Gironde to the legislature. He was one of those who, in concert with the Capuchin, Chabot, agreed to cause themselves to be mangled by men whom they had in pay, in order to exasperate the people against the court; but he was afraid of being mangled too effectually, so gave up his project. He was condemned to death as a Girondin in 1793. Grangeneuve was forty-three years old, and was born at Bordeaux."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

means of his system of checking petty agitations, for the benefit of a decisive insurrection, he thwarted the daily movements, and lost all favour with the agitators, whom he impeded without controlling. They wanted a leader who, not having yet issued from the bosom of the multitude, had not lost all power over it, and who had received from nature the spirit of persuasion.

A vast field had been opened in the clubs, the sections, and the revolutionary papers. Many had there distinguished themselves, but none had yet gained a marked superiority. Camille Desmoulins had acquired notice by his energy, his cynical spirit, his audacity, and his promptness in attacking all those who seemed to flag in the revolutionary career. He was known to the lower classes; but he had neither the lungs of a popular speaker, nor the activity and powers of persuasion of a party-leader.

Another public writer had gained a frightful celebrity. This was Marat, known by the name of the *Friend of the People*, and who, by his instigations to murder, had become an object of horror to all those who yet retained any moderation. A native of Neufchatel, and engaged in the study of the physical and medical sciences, he had boldly attacked the most firmly-established systems, and had shown an activity of mind that might be termed convulsive. He was physician to the stables of Count d'Artois when the Revolution commenced. He rushed without hesitation into a new career, and soon acquired distinction in his section. He was of middle height, with a large head, strongly-marked features, livid complexion, a piercing eye, and careless in his personal appearance. It was necessary, he asserted, to strike off several thousand heads, and to destroy all the aristocrats, who rendered liberty impossible. Horror and contempt were alternately excited by him. People ran against him, trod upon his toes, made game of his wretched-looking figure; but, accustomed to scientific squabbles and the most extravagant assertions, he had learned to despise those who despised him, and he pitied them as incapable of comprehending him.

Thenceforward he diffused in his papers the horrid doctrine with which he was imbued. The subterraneous life to which he was doomed in order to escape justice had heated his temperament, and the public horror served still more to excite it. Our polished manners were, according to his notions, but vices which were hostile to republican equality; and, in his ardent hatred for the obstacles, he saw but one means of safety—extermination. His studies and his observations on the physical man must have accustomed him to conquer the sight of pain; and his ardent mind, unchecked by any instinct of sensibility, proceeded directly to its goal by ways of blood. That same idea of operating by destruction had gradually become systematized in his head. He proposed a dictator, not for the purpose of conferring on him the pleasure of omnipotence, but of imposing upon him the terrible task of purifying society. This dictator was to have a cannon-ball attached to his leg, that he might always be in the power of the people. He was to have but one faculty left him, that of pointing out victims and ordering death as their only chastisement. Marat knew no other penalty, because he was not for punishing but for suppressing the obstacle.

Perceiving aristocrats on all sides conspiring against liberty, he collected here and there all the facts that gratified his passion. He denounced with fury, and with a levity which was the result of that very fury, all the names mentioned to him, and which frequently had no existence. He denounced them without personal hatred, without fear, nay, even without danger to himself; because he was out of the pale of human society, and because the relations between the injured and the injurer no longer existed between him and his fellow-men.

Being recently included in a decree of accusation with Royou, the King's friend, he had concealed himself in the house of an obscure and indigent advocate, who had afforded him an asylum, Barbaroux was requested to call upon him. Barbaroux had cultivated the physical sciences, and had formerly been acquainted with Marat. He could not refuse to comply with his request, and conceived, when he heard him, that his mind was deranged. The French, according to this atrocious man, were but paltry revolutionists. "Give me," said he, "two hundred Neapolitans,

armed with daggers, and bearing on the left arm a muff, by way of buckler; with them I will traverse France and produce a revolution." He proposed that, in order to mark the aristocrats, the Assembly should order them to wear a white ribbon on the arm, and that it should be lawful to kill them when three were found together. Under the name of aristocrats, he included the royalists, the Feuillans, and the Girondins; and when, by chance, the difficulty of recognising and distinguishing them was mentioned, he declared that it was impossible to mistake; that it was only necessary to fall upon those who had carriages, servants, silk clothes, and who were coming out of the theatres. All such were assuredly aristocrats.

Barbaroux left him horror-struck. Marat, full of his atrocious system, concerned himself but little about the means of insurrection, and was moreover incapable of preparing them. In his murderous reveries, he feasted himself on the idea of retiring to Marseilles. The republican enthusiasm of that city led him to hope that there he should be better understood and more cordially received. He had thoughts, therefore, of seeking refuge there, and begged Barbaroux to send him thither with his recommendation. But the latter, having no desire to make such a present to his native city, left that insensate wretch, whose apotheosis he was then far from foreseeing, where he found him.

The systematic and bloodthirsty Marat was not therefore the active chief who could have united these scattered and confusedly fermenting masses. Robespierre would have been more capable of doing so, because he had gained at the Jacobins a patronizing circle of auditors, usually more active than a patronizing circle of readers. But neither did he possess the requisite qualities. Robespierre, an advocate of little repute at Arras, had been sent by that city as its deputy to the States-general. There he had connected himself with Petion and Buzot, and maintained with bitterness the opinions which they defended with a deep and calm conviction. At first, he appeared ridiculous, from the heaviness of his delivery and the mediocrity of his eloquence; but his obstinacy gained him some attention, especially at the epoch of the revision. When it was rumoured, after the scene in the Champ de Mars, that the persons who had signed the petition of the Jacobins were to be prosecuted, his terror and his youth excited the pity of Buzot and Roland. An asylum was offered to him, but he soon recovered from his alarm: and, the Assembly having broken up, he intrenched himself at the Jacobins, where he continued his dogmatic and inflated harangues. Being elected public accuser, he refused that new office, and thought only how to acquire the double reputation of an incorruptible patriot and an eloquent speaker.*

His first friends, Petion, Buzot, Brissot, and Roland, admitted him to their houses, and observed with pain his mortified pride, which was betrayed by his looks and by his every motion. They felt an interest for him, and regretted that, thinking so much of the public welfare, he should also think so much of himself. He was, however, a person of too little importance for people to be angry with him for his pride; and it was forgiven on account of his mediocrity and his zeal. It was particularly remarked that, silent in all companies, and rarely expressing his

* "Robespierre felt rebuked and humiliated among the first chiefs of the Revolution; he vowed within himself to be one day without a rival, and started for the goal with an undeviating, passionless, pitiless fixedness of purpose, which seems more than human. He is a proof what mediocre talents suffice to make a tyrant. His views were ordinary—his thoughts were low—his oratory was wretched. But he was a man of a single ruling idea, and of indefatigable perseverance. His devouring ambition was not to be confounded with that of a common usurper aspiring at political tyranny. It was rather that of the founder of a sect, and even a fanatic in his way. He seems to have formed for himself a system out of the boldest and wildest visions of Rousseau, domestic, social, and political. But he had not a particle of the fervour, eloquence, or enthusiasm of that philosopher. To propagate the new creed by persuasion, was, therefore, not thought of by him; but he had craft, hypocrisy, impenetrable reserve, singleness of purpose, and apathetic cruelty; and, accordingly, he resolved to effect his vast scheme of reform by immolating a whole generation. Robespierre was severe, frugal, and insensible to the pomps, vanities, seductions, and allurements which corrupt or influence the great mass of the world."—*British and Foreign Review.* E.

sentiments, he was the first on the following day to retail in the tribune the ideas of others which he had thus collected. This observation was mentioned to him, but unaccompanied with any reproach; and he soon began to detest this society of superior men, as he had detested that of his constituents. He then betook himself entirely to the Jacobins, where, as we have seen, he differed in opinion from Brissot* and Louvet on the question of war, and called them, nay, perhaps believed them to be, bad citizens, because their sentiments did not coincide with his, and they supported their opinions with eloquence. Was he sincere, when he immediately suspected those who had opposed him, or did he slander them wilfully? These are the mysteries of minds. But, with a narrow and common intellect, and with extreme susceptibility, it was easy to give him unfavourable impressions and difficult to correct them. It is therefore not impossible that a hatred from pride may have changed in him to a hatred from principle, and that he soon believed all those to be wicked who had offended him.

Be this as it may, in the lower sphere in which he moved, he excited enthusiasm by his dogmatism and by his reputation for incorruptibility. He thus founded his popularity upon blind passions and moderate understandings. Austerity and cold dogmatism captivate ardent characters, nay, often superior minds. There were actually men who were disposed to discover in Robespierre real energy and talents superior to those which he possessed. Camille Desmoulins called him his Aristides, and thought him eloquent.

Others, without talents, but subdued by his pedantry, went about repeating that he was the man who ought to be put at the head of the Revolution, and that without such a dictator it could not go on. For his part, winking at all these assertions of his partisans, he never attended any of the secret meetings of the conspirators. He complained even of being compromised, because one of them dwelling in the same house as himself had occasionally brought thither the insurrectional committee. He kept himself, therefore, in the back-ground, leaving the business of acting to his panegyrists, Panis, Sergent, Osselin, and other members of the sections and of the municipal councils.

Marat, who was looking for a dictator, wished to ascertain if Robespierre was fit for the office. The neglected and cynical person of Marat formed a striking contrast to that of Robespierre, who was particularly attentive to external appearance. In the retirement of an elegant cabinet, where his image was repeated in all possible ways, in painting, in engraving, and in sculpture, he devoted himself to assiduous study, and was continually reading Rousseau, in order to glean ideas for his speeches. Marat saw him, found in him nothing but petty animosities, no great system, none of that sanguinary audacity which he himself derived from his monstrous convictions—in short, no genius. He departed, filled with contempt for this *little man*, declared him incapable of saving the state, and became more firmly persuaded than ever that he alone possessed the grand social system.

The partisans of Robespierre surrounded Barbaroux, and wished to conduct the latter to him, saying that *a man* was wanted, and that Robespierre alone could be that man. This language displeased Barbaroux, whose bold spirit could not brook the idea of a dictatorship, and whose ardent imagination was already seduced by the virtue of Roland and the talents of his friends. He called nevertheless on Ro-

* The following is the opinion entertained of Brissot by Lafayette who knew him well: "It is impossible not to be struck with various contrasts in the life of Brissot: a clever man, undoubtedly, and a skilful journalist, but whose talents and influence have been greatly overrated both by friends and enemies. In other times, before he became a republican, he had made the old régime a subject of eulogy. It seems pretty well proved that, a few days before the 10th of August, he, and some agitators of his party, had been intriguing with the valets-de-chambre of the Tuileries; even after this insurrection, their only desire was to govern in the name of the prince royal. Brissot, on the very eve of denouncing Lafayette, told the Abbé Duvernet, then member of the society of Jacobins, that the person he was going to accuse, was the man of all others whom he esteemed and revered the most. Even while continuing to calumniate Lafayette, he testified in private for him the same esteem to various persons—Lord Lauderdale, among others—a witness whose evidence will hardly be refused, and who often spoke of it in London."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

bespierre. They talked, during the interview, of Petion, whose popularity threw Robespierre into the shade, and who, it was alleged, was incapable of serving the Revolution. Barbaroux replied with warmth to the reproaches urged against Petion, and, as warmly defended a character which he admired. Robespierre talked of the Revolution, and repeated, according to his custom, that he had accelerated its march. He concluded, as everybody else did, by saying that a leader was wanted. Barbaroux replied that he wanted neither dictator nor King. Freron observed that Brissot was desirous of being dictator. Thus reproaches were bandied from one to the other, and they could not agree. As they went away, Panis, wishing to counteract the bad effect of this interview, said to Barbaroux that he had mistaken the matter, that it was but a momentary authority that was contemplated, and that Robespierre was the only man on whom it could be conferred. It was these vague expressions, these petty rivalries, which falsely persuaded the Girondins that Robespierre designed to act the usurper. An ardent jealousy was mistaken in him for ambition. But it was one of those errors which the confused vision of parties is continually committing. Robespierre, capable at the utmost of hating merit, had neither the strength nor the genius of ambition, and his partisans raised pretensions for him which he himself would not have dared to conceive.

Danton was more capable than any other of being the leader whom all ardent imaginations desired, for the purpose of giving unity to the revolutionary movements. He had formerly tried the bar, but without success. Poor and consumed by passions, he then rushed into the political commotions with ardour, and probably with hopes. He was ignorant, but endowed with a superior understanding and a vast imagination. His athletic figure, his flat and somewhat African features, his thundering voice, his eccentric but grand images, captivated his auditors at the Cordeliers and the sections. His face expressed by turns the brutal passions, jollity, and even good-nature. Danton neither envied nor hated anybody, but his audacity was extraordinary; and, in certain moments of excitement, he was capable of executing all that the atrocious mind of Marat was capable of conceiving.

A Revolution, the unforeseen but inevitable effect of which had been to set the lower against the upper classes of society, could not fail to awaken envy, to give birth to new systems, and to let loose the brutal passions. Robespierre was the envious man, Marat the systematic man, and Danton the impassioned, violent, fickle, and by turns cruel and generous man. If the two former, engrossed, the one by a consuming envy, the other by mischievous systems, could not have many of those wants which render men accessible to corruption, Danton, on the contrary, the slave of his passions, and greedy of pleasure, must have been nothing less than incorruptible. Under pretext of compensating him for the loss of his former place of advocate to the council, the court gave him considerable sums. But, though it contrived to pay, it could not gain him.* He continued, nevertheless, to harangue and to excite the mob of the clubs against it. When he was reproached with not fulfilling his bargain, he replied that, in order to retain the means of serving the court, he was obliged in appearance to treat it as an enemy.

Danton was therefore the most formidable leader of those bands which were won and guided by public oratory. But, audacious and fond of hurrying forward to the decisive moment, he was not capable of that assiduous toil which the thirst of rule requires; and, though he possessed great influence over the conspirators, he

* "I never saw any countenance that so strongly expressed the violence of brutal passions, and the most astonishing audacity, half-disguised by a jovial air, an affectation of frankness, and a sort of simplicity, as Danton's. In 1789 he was a needy lawyer, more burdened with debts than causes. He went to Belgium to augment his resources, and, after the 10th of August, had the hardihood to avow a fortune of 158,333*l.*, and to wallow in luxury, while preaching sans-culottism, and sleeping on heaps of slaughtered men."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

"Danton was an exterminator without ferocity; inexorable with regard to the mass, but humane and even generous towards individuals. At the time when the commune was meditating the massacres of September, he saved all who came to him; and, of his own accord, discharged from prison Duport, Barnave, and Charles Lameth, who were in some measure his personal antagonists."—*Mignet.* E.

did not yet govern them. He was merely capable, when they hesitated, of rousing their courage and propelling them to a goal by a decisive plan of operation.

The different members of the insurrectional committee had not yet been able to agree. The court, apprized of their slightest movements, took, on its part, some measures for screening itself against a sudden attack, so that it might be enabled to await in safety the arrival of the coalesced powers. It had formed a club, called the French club, which met near the palace, and was composed of artisans and soldiers of the national guard. They had all their arms concealed in the very building in which they assembled; and they could, in case of emergency, hasten to the aid of the royal family. This single association cost the civil list ten thousand francs per day. A Marseillais, named Lieutaud, kept moreover in pay a band which alternately occupied the tribunes, the public places, the coffee-houses, and the public-houses, for the purpose of speaking in favour of the King, and opposing the continual tumults of the patriots.* Quarrels occurred, in fact, everywhere, and from words the parties almost always came to blows; but, in spite of all the efforts of the court, its adherents were thinly scattered, and that portion of the national guard which was attached to it was reduced to the lowest state of discouragement.

A great number of faithful servants, who had till then been at a distance from the throne, had come forward to defend the King and to make a rampart for him with their bodies. Their meetings at the palace were numerous, and they increased the public distrust. After the scene in February, 1790, they were called knights of the dagger. Letters had been delivered for the purpose of calling secretly together the constitutional guard, which, though disbanded, had always received its pay. During this time, conflicting opinions were maintained around the King, which produced the most painful perplexities in his weak and naturally wavering mind. Some intelligent friends, among others, Malesherbes,† advised him to abdicate. Others, and these constituted the majority, recommended flight. For the rest, they were far from agreeing either upon the means, or the place, or the result of the invasion. In order to reconcile these different plans, the King desired Bertrand de Molleville to see and to arrange matters with Duport, the constituent. The King had great confidence in the latter, and he was obliged to give a positive order to Bertrand, who alleged that he disliked to have any communication with a constitutionalist such as Duport.‡ To this committee belonged also Lally-Tollendal, Mallouet, Clermont-Tonnerre, Gouvernet, and others, all devoted to Louis XVI., but otherwise differing widely as to the part which royalty ought to be made to act, if they could contrive to save it.

The flight of the King and his retreat to the castle of Gaillon, in Normandy, were then resolved upon. The Duke de Liancourt, a friend of the King, and possessing his unlimited confidence, commanded that province. He answered for his troops and for the inhabitants of Rouen, who had, in an energetic address, declared themselves against the 20th of June. He offered to receive the royal family, and to conduct it to Gaillon, or to consign it to Lafayette, who would convey it into the midst of his army. He offered, moreover, his whole fortune for the purpose of seconding this project, asking permission to reserve for his children merely an annuity of one hundred louis. This plan was liked by the constitutional members of the committee, because, instead of placing the King in the hands of the emigrants, it put him under the care of the Duke de Liancourt and Lafayette. For the same reason it displeased others, and was likely to displease the Queen and the King. Still, the castle of Gaillon possessed the important advantage of

* See Bertrand de Molleville, tomes viii. and ix. † See Ibid.

‡ "Bertrand de Molleville, a stanch royalist, was, first controller of Bretagne, and afterwards minister of marine, to which post he was appointed in 1791. After the events of the 10th of August, he was imprisoned by the Jacobins, but succeeded in making his escape to London, where he published a voluminous history of the Revolution, which met with great success. He did not return to Paris after the 18th of Brumaire (1799), but followed the fortunes of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

being only thirty-six leagues from the sea, and of offering an easy flight to England through Normandy, a favourably-disposed province. It had also another, namely, that of being only twenty leagues from Paris. The King could therefore repair thither without violating the constitutional law; and this had great weight with him, for he was extremely tenacious of not committing any open infringement of it.

M. de Narbonne and Necker's daughter, Madame de Staël,* likewise devised a plan of flight. The emigrants, on their part, proposed another. This was to carry the King to Compiègne, and thence to the banks of the Rhine, through the forest of the Ardennes. Every one is eager to offer advice to a weak King, because every one aspires to impart to him a will which he has not. So many contrary suggestions added to the natural indecision of Louis XVI.; and this unfortunate prince, beset by conflicting counsels, struck by the reason of some, hurried away by the passion of others, tortured by apprehensions concerning the fate of his family, and disturbed by scruples of conscience, wavered between a thousand projects, and beheld the popular flood approaching without daring either to flee from or to confront it.†

The Girondin deputies, who had so boldly broached the question of the forfeiture of the crown, continued, nevertheless, undecided on the eve of an insurrection; and, though the court was almost disarmed, and the supreme power was on the side of the people, still the approach of the Prussians, and the dread always excited by an old authority, even after it is disarmed, persuaded them that it would be better to come to terms with the court than to expose themselves to the chances of an attack. In case this attack should even prove successful, they feared lest the arrival of the Prussians, which was very near at hand, should destroy all the results of a victory over the palace, and cause a momentary success to be followed by terrible vengeance.

* "The Baroness de Stael-Holstein, was the daughter of the well-known Necker. Her birth, her tastes, her principles, the reputation of her father, and above all, her conduct in the Revolution, brought her prominently before the world; and the political factions, and the literary circles with which she has been connected, have by turns disputed with each other for her fame. After the death of Robespierre, she returned to Paris, and became an admirer of Bonaparte, with whom she afterwards quarrelled, and who banished her from France. She went to live at Coppet, where she received the last sighs of her father, and where she herself died. She published many works, the best of which is her novel of 'Corinne.' When in England, in 1812, she was much courted by the higher classes."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "The errors of Louis XVI. may truly be said to have originated in a virtuous principle. As to his weaknesses, I shall not endeavour to conceal them. I have more than once had occasion to lament the indecision of this unfortunate prince; his repugnance to adopt the bold measures which might have saved him; and his want of that energy of character, and self-confidence which impose on the multitude, who are ever prone to believe that he who commands with firmness and an air of authority possesses the means of enforcing obedience. But I will venture to say, that the very faults above enumerated did not belong to his natural character, but were ingrafted on it by the selfish indolence of M. de Maurepas."—*Private Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

"Louis XVI. was the grandson of Louis XV., and the second son of the dauphin by his second wife, Marie Josephine, daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. Louis was born in 1754 and in 1770 married Marie Antoinette of Austria. With the best intentions, but utterly inexperienced in government, he ascended the throne in 1774, when he was hardly twenty years of age. In his countenance, which was not destitute of dignity, were delineated the prominent features of his character—integrity, indecision, and weakness. He was somewhat stiff in demeanour; and his manners had none of the grace possessed by almost all the princes of the blood. He was fond of reading, and endowed with a most retentive memory. He translated some parts of Gibbon's history. It was the fault of this unfortunate monarch to yield too easily to the extravagant tastes of the Queen and the court. The latter years of his reign were one continued scene of tumult and confusion; and he was guillotined in 1793, in the 39th year of his age. He was buried in the Magdalen churchyard, Paris, between the graves of those who were crushed to death in the crowd at the Louvre, on the anniversary of his marriage in 1774, and of the Swiss who fell on the 10th of August, 1792."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"The Revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to Louis by his ancestors. He was more fitted than any of those who preceded him, to prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or of being a constitutional monarch after it. He is perhaps the only prince who, destitute of passions, had not even that of power. With a little more strength of mind, Louis would have been a model of a king."—*Mignet.* E.

Notwithstanding, however, this disposition to treat, they opened no negotiations on the subject, and durst not venture to make the first overtures; but they listened to a man named Boze, painter to the King, and very intimate with Thierry, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. Boze, alarmed at the dangers which threatened the public weal, exhorted them to write what they thought proper, in this extremity, to save the King and liberty. They accordingly drew up a letter, which was signed by Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, and which began with these words. "You ask us, sir, what is our opinion respecting the present situation of France." This exordium sufficiently proves that the explanation had been called for. It was no longer time, said the three deputies to Boze, for the King to deceive himself, and he would do so most egregiously, if he did not perceive that his conduct was the cause of the general agitation, and of that violence of the clubs of which he was continually complaining. New protestations on his part would be useless, and appear derisory, for at the point to which things had come, decisive steps were absolutely necessary to give confidence to the people. Everybody, for instance, was persuaded that it was in the power of the King to keep the foreign armies away. He ought, therefore, to begin by making them draw back. He should then choose a patriotic ministry, dismiss Lafayette, who, in the existing state of affairs, could no longer serve him usefully, issue a law for the constitutional education of the young dauphin, submit to the public accountability of the civil list, and solemnly declare that he would not accept any increase of power without the free consent of the nation. On these conditions, added the Girondins, it was to be hoped that the irritation would subside, and that, in time and by perseverance in this system, the King would recover the confidence which he had then entirely lost.

Assuredly, the Girondins were very near the attainment of their aim, if a republic had been a system for which they had long and steadily conspired. And, when so near this goal, would they have stopped short, and even have renounced it, to obtain the ministry for three of their friends! This was not likely, and it becomes evident that a republic was desired only from despair of the monarchy, that it never was a fixed plan, and that, on the very eve of attaining it, those who are accused of having long paved the way to it would not sacrifice the public weal for its sake, but would have consented to a constitutional monarchy, if it were accompanied with sufficient safeguards. The care taken by the Girondins to demand the removal of the foreign troops plainly proves that they were wholly engrossed by the existing danger; and the attention which they paid to the education of the dauphin affords as strong a proof that monarchy was not to them an insupportable prospect for the future.

It has been asserted that Brissot, on his part, had made offers to prevent the dethronement of the King, and that the payment of a very large sum was one of the conditions. This assertion is advanced by Bertrand de Molleville, who always dealt in calumny for two reasons—malignity of heart, and falseness of mind. But he adduces no proof of it; and the known poverty of Brissot and his enthusiastic principles ought to answer for him. It is, to be sure, not impossible that the court might have consigned money to the care of Brissot; but this would not prove that the money was either asked for or received by him. The circumstance already related respecting Petion, whom certain swindlers undertook to bribe for the court —this circumstance, and many others of the same kind, sufficiently prove what credit ought to be attached to these charges of venality, so frequently and so easily hazarded. Besides, let matters stand as they will in regard to Brissot, the three deputies, Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, have not even been accused, and they were the only persons who signed the letter delivered to Boze.

The deeply wounded heart of the King was less capable than ever of listening to their prudent advice. Thierry handed him the letter, but he harshly pushed it back, and returned his two accustomed answers, that it was not he but the patriotic ministry who had provoked the war; and that, as for the constitution, he adhered to it faithfully, whilst others were exerting all their efforts to destroy it.* These

* *Copy of the Letter written to Citizen Boze, by Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné.*

You ask us, sir, what is our opinion respecting the present situation of France, and the choice of the measures that are capable of protecting the public weal from the urgent dangers with which

reasons were not the most just; for, though he had not provoked the war, it was not the less his duty to carry it on with vigour; and, as for his scrupulous fidelity to

it is threatened: this is a subject of uneasiness to good citizens and the object of their profoundest meditations.

Since you question us upon such important interests, we shall not hesitate to explain our sentiments with frankness.

It can no longer be denied that the conduct of the executive power is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict France and of the dangers that surround the throne. They only deceive the King, who strive to persuade him that exaggerated opinions, the effervescence of the clubs, the manœuvres of certain agitators, and powerful factions, have occasioned and keep up those commotions, the violence of which each day is liable to increase, and the consequences of which it will perhaps be no longer possible to calculate: this is placing the cause of the disorder in its symptoms.

If the people were easy respecting the success of a revolution so dearly bought, if the public liberty were no longer in danger, if the conduct of the King excited no distrust, opinions would find their level of themselves; the great mass of the citizens would only think of enjoying the benefits insured to them by the constitution; and if, in this state of things, factions should still exist, they would cease to be dangerous—they would no longer have either pretext or object.

But, so long as the public liberty shall be in danger, so long as the alarms of the citizens shall be kept up by the conduct of the executive power, and conspiracies hatched within and without the realm shall appear to be more or less openly encouraged by the King, this state of things necessarily produces disturbances, disorder, and factions. In the best-constituted states, states that have been constituted for ages, revolutions have no other principle; and with us the effect must be the more prompt, inasmuch as there has been no interval between the movements which led to the first and those which seem at this day to indicate a second revolution.

It is, therefore, but too evident that the present state of things must lead to a crisis, almost all the chances of which will be against royalty. In fact, the interests of the King are separated from those of the nation: the first public functionary of a free nation is made a party-leader, and, by this horrible policy, the odium of all the evils that afflict France is thrown upon him.

Ah! what can be the success of the foreign powers, even though, by means of their intervention, the authority of the King should be enlarged, and a new form given to the government! Is it not evident that those who have entertained the idea of this congress, have sacrificed to their prejudices, to their private interest, the very interest of the monarch; that the success of these manœuvres would impart a character of usurpation to powers which the nation alone delegates, and which nothing but its confidence can uphold? Why have they not perceived that the force which should bring about this change would long be necessary for its conservation; and that there would thus be sown in the bosom of the kingdom the seed of dissensions and discord, which the lapse of several ages could alone stifle?

Alike sincerely and invariably attached to the interests of the nation, from which we never shall separate those of the King so long as he does not separate them himself, we think that the only way of preventing the evils with which the empire is threatened and to restore tranquillity, would be for the King, by his conduct, to put an end to all cause for alarm, to speak out by facts in the most frank and unequivocal manner, and to surround himself, in short, with the confidence of the people, which alone constitutes his strength and can alone constitute his happiness.

It is not at this time of day that he can accomplish this by new protestations; they would be derisory, and in the present circumstances they would assume a character of irony, which, so far from dispelling alarm, would only increase the danger.

There is only one from which any effect could be expected; namely, a most solemn declaration that in no case would the King accept any augmentation of power that was not voluntarily granted by the French people, without the concurrence and intervention of any foreign power, and freely discussed according to the constitutional forms.

On this head it is even remarked that several members of the National Assembly know that such a declaration was proposed to the King, when he submitted the proposition for war against the King of Hungary, and that he did not think fit to make it.

But it might perhaps suffice to re-establish confidence, if the King were to prevail on the coalesced powers to acknowledge the independence of the French nation, to put an end to all hostilities, and to withdraw the cordons of troops which threaten the frontiers.

It is impossible for a very great part of the nation to help feeling convinced that the King has it in his power to dissolve this coalition; and, so long as it shall endanger the public liberty, we must not flatter ourselves that confidence can revive.

If the efforts of the King for this purpose were unavailing, he ought at least to assist the nation, by all the means in his power, to repel the external attack, and not neglect anything to remove from himself the suspicion of encouraging it.

In this supposition, it is easy to conceive that suspicion and distrust originate in unfortunate circumstances, which it is impossible to change.

To make a crime of these, when the danger is real and cannot be mistaken, is the readiest way to increase suspicion: to complain of exaggeration, to attack the clubs, to inveigh against agitators,

the letter of the law, the observance of that letter was of little consequence. It behoved him not to compromise the thing itself by calling in foreigners.

To the hopes entertained by the Girondins that their counsels would be followed must no doubt be attributed the moderation which they displayed when it was proposed to take up the question of the forefeiture of the crown—a question daily discussed in the clubs, among the groups out of doors, and in petitions. Whenever they came, in the name of the commission of twelve, to speak of the danger of the country and the means of preventing it, they were met by the cry of "Go back to the cause of the danger"—"To the cause," repeated the tribunes. Vergniaud, Brissot, and the Girondins, replied that they had their eyes upon the cause, and that in due time it should be unveiled; but for the moment it behoved them not to throw down a fresh apple of discord.

In consequence of an entertainment given to the federalists, the insurrectional committee resolved that its partisans should meet on the morning of the 26th of July, for the purpose of proceeding to the palace, and that they should march with the red flag, bearing this inscription: "*Those who fire upon the columns of the people shall instantly be put to death.*" The intention was to make the King prisoner, and to confine him at Vincennes. The national guard of Versailles had been requested to second this movement; but the application had been made so late, and there was so little concert with that corps, that its officers came on the very same morning to the mayor's residence at Paris, to inquire how they were to

when the effervescence and agitation are the natural effect of circumstances, is to give them new strength, to augment the perturbation of the people by the very means that are employed to calm it.

Whilst there shall be a subsisting and known action against liberty, reaction is inevitable, and the development of both will be equally progressive.

In so arduous a situation, tranquillity can be restored only by the absence of all danger; and, until this happy period shall arrive, it is of the utmost importance to the nation and to the King that these unhappy circumstances be not imbittered by conduct, at least equivocal, on the part of the agents of the executive power.

1. Why does not the King choose his ministers from among those who are most decided in favour of the Revolution? Why, in the most critical moments, is he surrounded only by men who are unknown or suspected? If it could be advantageous to the King to increase the distrust and to excite the people to commotions, could he pursue a more likely course to foment them?

The selection of ministers has been at all times one of the most important prerogatives of the power with which the King is invested; it is the thermometer according to which the public opinion has always judged of the dispositions of the court; and it is easy to conceive what might be at this day the effect of that choice, which, in very different times, would have excited the most violent murmurs.

A thoroughly patriotic ministry would, therefore, be one of the best means that the King can employ to restore confidence. But he would egregiously deceive himself, who should suppose that by a single step of this kind it could be easily recovered. It is only in the course of time and by continued efforts that one can flatter oneself with the prospect of erasing impressions too deeply engraven to be removed at the instant to the very slightest vestige.

2. At a moment when all the means of defence ought to be employed, when France cannot arm all her defenders, why has not the King offered the muskets and the horses of his guard?

3. Why does not the King himself solicit a law for subjecting the civil list to a form of accountability, which can assure the nation that it is not diverted from its legitimate purpose and applied to other uses?

4. One of the best means of making the people easy respecting the personal dispositions of the King would be for him to solicit himself a law relative to the education of the prince-royal, and thus hasten the moment when the care of that young prince shall be consigned to a governor possessing the confidence of the nation.

5. Complaints are still made that the decree for disbanding the staff of the national guard is not sanctioned. These numerous refusals of sanction to legislative measures which public opinion earnestly demands, and the urgency of which cannot be mistaken, provoke the examination of the constitutional question respecting the application of the *veto* to laws of circumstance, and are not of such a nature as to dispel alarm and discontent.

6. It is of great importance that the King should withdraw the command of the army from M. Lafayette. It is at least evident that he cannot usefully serve the public cause there any longer.

We shall conclude this slight sketch with a general observation: it is this, that whatever can remove suspicion and revive confidence cannot and ought not to be neglected. The constitution is saved if the King takes this resolution with courage, and if he persists in it with firmness.

We are, &c.

act. The secret was so ill kept that the court was already apprized of it. All the royal family was stirring, and the palace was full of people. Petion, perceiving that the measures had not been judiciously taken, fearful of some treachery, and considering moreover that the Marseillais had not yet arrived, repaired in the utmost haste to the fauxbourg, to stop a movement which must have ruined the popular party if it had not succeeded.

The tumult in the fauxbourgs was tremendous. The tocsin had been ringing there all night. The rumour spread for the purpose of exciting the people was, that a quantity of arms had been collected in the palace, and they were urged to go and bring them away. Petion succeeded, with great difficulty, in restoring order, and Champion de Cicé, keeper of the seals, who also repaired to the spot, received several sabre strokes. At length the people consented to stay, and the insurrection was deferred.

The petty quarrels and wranglings which are the usual prelude to a definitive rupture, continued without intermission. The King had caused the garden of the Tuileries to be closed ever since the 20th of June. The Terrace of the Feuillans, leading to the Assembly, was alone open; and the sentries had directions not to suffer any person to pass from that terrace into the garden. D'Espremenil was there met conversing loudly with a deputy. He was hooted, pursued into the garden, and carried to the Palais Royal, where he received several wounds. The prohibition to penetrate into the garden having been violated, a motion was made for supplying its place by a decree. The decree, however, was not passed. It was merely proposed to set up a board with the words, "*It is forbidden to trespass on these grounds.*" The board was accordingly erected, and it was sufficient to prevent the people from setting foot in the garden, though the King had caused the sentries to be removed. Thus courtesy ceased to be any longer observed. A letter from Nancy, for instance, reported several civic traits which had occurred in that city. The Assembly immediately sent a copy of it to the King.

At length, on the 30th of July, the Marseillais arrived. They were five hundred in number, and their ranks comprised all the most fiery spirits that the South could produce, and all the most turbulent characters that commerce brought to the port of Marseilles. Barbaroux went to Charenton to meet them. On this occasion a new scheme was concerted with Santerre. It was proposed, upon pretext of going to meet the Marseillais, to collect the people of the fauxbourgs, and afterwards to repair in good order to the Carrousel, and there encamp without tumult, until the Assembly had suspended the King, or till he had abdicated of his own accord.

This project pleased the philanthropists of the party, who would fain have terminated the Revolution without bloodshed. It failed, however, because Santerre did not succeed in assembling the fauxbourg, and could lead only a small number of men to meet the Marseillais. Santerre immediately offered them a repast, which was served up in the Champs Elysées. On the same day, and at the same moment, a party of the national guards of the battalion of the Filles St. Thomas, and of other persons, clerks or military men, wholly devoted to the court, were dining near the spot where the Marseillais were being entertained. Most assuredly this dinner had not been prepared with the intention of disturbing that of the Marseillais, since the offer made to the latter was unexpected, for, instead of an entertainment, it was an insurrection that had been contemplated. It was, nevertheless, impossible for neighbours so adverse to finish their repast quietly. The populace insulted the royalists, who put themselves upon the defensive. The patriots, summoned to the aid of the populace, hastened with ardour to the place, and a battle ensued. It was not long, for the Marseillais, rushing upon their adversaries, put them to flight, killing one, and wounding several others. In a moment all Paris was in commotion. The federalists paraded the streets, and tore off the cockades of ribbon, saying that they ought to be made of woollen.

Some of the fugitives arrived, covered with blood at the Tuileries, where they were kindly received and attentions were paid to them which were perfectly natural, since they were regarded as friends who had suffered for their attachment. The

national guards on duty at the palace related these particulars, perhaps added to them, and this furnished occasion for fresh reports, and fresh animosity against the royal family and the ladies of the court, who, it was said, had wiped off the perspiration and the blood of the wounded. It was even concluded that the scene had been prepared, and this was the motive for a new accusation against the court.

The national guard of Paris immediately petitioned for the removal of the Marseillais; but it was hooted by the tribunes, and its petition proved unsuccessful.

Amidst these proceedings, a paper attributed to the Prince of Brunswick, and soon ascertained to be authentic, was circulated. We have already adverted to the mission of Mallet du Pan. He had furnished, in the name of the King, the idea and model of a manifesto; but this idea was soon distorted. Another manifesto, inspired by the passions of Coblentz, was signed with the name of Brunswick and distributed in advance of the Prussian army. This paper was couched in the following terms:

"Their majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia having intrusted me with the command of the combined armies assembled by their orders on the frontiers of France, I am desirous to acquaint the inhabitants of that kingdom with the motives which have determined the measures of the two sovereigns, and the intentions by which they are guided.

"After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; deranged and overthrown good order and the legitimate government in the interior; committed against the sacred person of the King and his august family outrages and attacks of violence which are still continued and renewed from day to day; those who have usurped the reins of the administration have at length filled up the measure by causing an unjust war to be declared against his majesty the emperor, and attacking his provinces situated in the Netherlands: some of the possessions of the Germanic empire have been involved in this oppression, and several others have escaped the same danger solely by yielding to the imperative menaces of the predominant party and its emissaries.

"His majesty the King of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty by the bonds of a close and defensive alliance, and himself a preponderating member of the Germanic body, has therefore not been able to forbear marching to the aid of his ally and his co-states; and it is in this twofold relation that he takes upon himself the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

"With these great interests an object equally important is joined, and which the two sovereigns have deeply at heart; namely, to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to stop the attacks directed against the throne and the altar, to re-establish the legal power, to restore to the King the security and liberty of which he is deprived, and to place him in a condition to exercise the legitimate authority which is his due.

"Convinced that the sound part of the French nation abhors the excesses of a faction which domineers over it, and that the majority of the inhabitants await with impatience the moment of succour, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors, his majesty the Emperor, and his majesty the King of Prussia, call upon and invite them to return without delay to the ways of reason and justice, of order and peace. Agreeably to these views, I, the undersigned, commander-in-chief of the two armies, declare,

"1. That the two allied courts, forced into the present war by irresistible circumstances, propose to themselves no other aim than the happiness of France, without pretending to enrich themselves by conquests;

"2. That they intend not to interfere in the internal government of France, but are solely desirous to deliver the King, the Queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure for his most Christian majesty the safety necessary to enable him to make without danger, without impediment, such convocations as he shall think proper, and labour to insure the happiness of his subjects, agreeably to his promises and in as far as it shall depend upon him;

"3. That the combined armies will protect the cities, towns, and villages, and

the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King, and that they will concur in the instantaneous re-establishment of order and police throughout France:

"4. That the national guards are summoned to watch *ad interim* over the tranquillity of the towns and of the country, and over the safety of the persons and property of all the French, till the arrival of the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, or till it shall be otherwise ordained, upon penalty of being held personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such of the national guards as shall have fought against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken in arms, shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace;

"5. That the generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers of the French troops of the line, are in like manner summoned to return to their ancient fidelity, and to submit forthwith to the King, their legitimate sovereign;

"6. That the members of the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall, in like manner, be responsible with their lives and property for all misdemeanors, fires, murders, pillage, and acts of violence which they shall suffer to be committed, or which they shall notoriously not strive to prevent, in their territory; that they shall, in like manner, be required to continue their functions *ad interim*, till his most Christian majesty, restored to full liberty, shall have made ulterior provisions, or till it shall have been otherwise ordained in his name, in the mean time;

"7. That the inhabitants of the cities, towns, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties and to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from the windows, doors, and apertures of their houses, shall be instantly punished with all the rigour of the law of war, and their houses demolished or burned. All the inhabitants, on the contrary, of the said cities, towns, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening the gates to the troops of their majesties, shall be from that moment under their immediate safeguard. Their persons, their property, their effects, shall be under the protection of the laws; and provision shall be made for the general safety of all and each of them;

"8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction are required to submit immediately and without delay to the King, to set that prince at full and entire liberty, and to insure to him, as well as to all the royal personages, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and nations renders obligatory on subjects towards their sovereigns; their imperial and royal majesties holding personally responsible with their lives for all that may happen, to be tried militarily, and without hope of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard of Paris, the justices of the peace, and all others whom it shall concern; their said majesties declaring, moreover, on their faith and word, as emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuileries is forced or insulted, that if the least violence, the least outrage, is offered to their majesties the King and Queen, and to the royal family, if immediate provision is not made for their safety, their preservation, and their liberty, they will take an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance by giving up the city of Paris to military execution and total destruction, and the rebels guilty of outrages, to the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their imperial and royal majesties on the other hand promise the inhabitants of the city of Paris to employ their good offices with his most Christian majesty to obtain pardon of their faults and misdeeds, and to take the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, if they promptly and strictly obey the above injunctions.

"Lastly, their majesties, unable to recognise as laws in France any but those which shall emanate from the King, enjoying perfect liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all the declarations which may be made in the name of his most Christian majesty, so long as his sacred person, that of the Queen, and of the whole royal family, shall not be really in safety; to the effect of which their imperial and royal majesties invite and solicit his most Christian majesty to name

the city of his kingdom nearest to its frontiers, to which he shall think fit to retire with the Queen and his family, under a good and safe escort, which shall be sent to him for this purpose, in order that his most Christian majesty may be enabled in complete safety to call around him such ministers and councillors as he shall please to appoint, make such convocations as shall to him appear fitting, provide for the re-establishment of good order, and regulate the administration of his kingdom.

"Finally, I again declare and promise in my own private name, and in my aforesaid quality, to make the troops placed under my command observe good and strict discipline, engaging to treat with kindness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall show themselves peaceful and submissive, and not to employ force unless against such as shall be guilty of resistance or hostility.

For these reasons, I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the strongest and the most earnest manner, not to oppose the march and the operations of the troops which I command, but rather to grant them everywhere free entrance and all goodwill, aid, and assistance, that circumstances may require.

"Given at the head-quarters at Coblentz, the 25th of July, 1792.

"(Signed) CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg."

What appeared surprising in this declaration was that, dated on the 25th of July, at Coblentz, it should be in Paris on the 28th, and be printed in all the royalist newspapers. It produced an extraordinary effect.* Promises poured in from all quarters to resist an enemy whose language was so haughty and whose threats were so terrible. In the existing state of minds, it was natural that the King and the court should be accused of this new fault. Louis XVI. lost no time in disavowing the manifesto by a message, and he could no doubt do so with the utmost sincerity, since this paper was so different from the model which he had proposed; but he must already have seen, from this example, how far his intentions would be exceeded by his party, should that party ever be victorious. Neither his disavowal, nor the expressions with which it was accompanied, could satisfy the Assembly. Adverting to the people whose happiness had always been so dear to him, he added, "How many sorrows might be dispelled by the slightest mark of its return to loyalty!"

These impressive words no longer excited the enthusiasm which they had in times past the gift of producing. They were regarded as the language of deceit, and many of the deputies voted for their being printed, in order, as they said, to render public the contrast which existed between the words and the conduct of the King. From that moment, the agitation continued to increase, and circumstances became more and more aggravated. Intelligence was received of a resolution (*arrêté*) by which the department of the Bouches du Rhône withheld the taxes for the purpose of paying the troops which it had sent against the forces of Savoy, and charged the measures taken by the Assembly with insufficiency. This was the effect of the instigations of Barbaroux. The resolution was annulled by the Assembly, but its execution could not be prevented. It was rumoured, at the same time, that the Sardinians, who were advancing, amounted to fifty thousand. The minister for foreign affairs was obliged to repair in person to the Assembly, to assure it that the troops collected did not exceed at the utmost eleven or twelve thousand men. This report was followed by another. It was asserted that the small number of federalists who had at that time proceeded to Soissons, had been poisoned with glass mixed up with the bread. It was even affirmed that one hundred and sixty were already dead, and eight hundred ill. Inquiries were made, and it was ascertained that the flour was kept in a church, the windows of which

* "Had this manifesto been couched in more moderate language, and followed up by a rapid and energetic military movement, it might have had the desired effect; but coming, as it did, in a moment of extreme public excitation, and enforced, as it was, by the most feeble and inefficient military measures, it contributed in a signal manner to accelerate the march of the Revolution, and was the immediate cause of the downfall of the throne."—*Alison.* E.

had been broken, and a few bits of glass had been found in the bread. There was, however, not one person either dead or ill.

On the 25th of July, a decree had rendered all the sections of Paris permanent. They had met and had directed Petion to propose in their name the dethronement of Louis XVI. On the morning of the 3d of August, the mayor of Paris, emboldened by this commission, appeared before the Assembly to present a petition in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris. He reviewed the conduct of Louis XVI. ever since the commencement of the Revolution; he recapitulated, in the language of the time, the benefits conferred by the nation on the King, and the return which the King had made for them. He expatiated on the dangers by which all minds were struck, the arrival of the foreign armies, the total inadequacy of the means of defence, the revolt of a general against the Assembly, the opposition of a great number of the departmental directories, and the terrible and absurd threats issued in the name of Brunswick. In consequence, he concluded by proposing the dethronement of the King, and prayed the Assembly to insert that important question in the order of the day.

This important proposition, which had as yet been made only by clubs, federalists, and communes, assumed a very different character on being presented in the name of Paris, and by its mayor. It was received rather with astonishment than favour in the morning sitting. But in the evening the discussion commenced, and the ardour of one part of the Assembly was displayed without reserve.* Some were for taking up the question forthwith, others for deferring it. It was, however, adjourned till Thursday, the 9th of August, and the assembly continued to receive and to read petitions, expressing, with still greater energy than that of the mayor, the same wish and the same sentiments.

The section of Mauconseil, more violent than the others, instead of merely demanding the King's dethronement, pronounced it of its own authority. It declared that it no longer acknowledged Louis XVI. as King of the French, and that it should soon come to ask the legislative body if it at length meant to save France. Moreover, it exhorted all the sections of the empire—for it avoided the use of the term kingdom—to follow its example.

The Assembly, as we have already seen, did not follow the insurrectional movement so promptly as the inferior authorities, because, being specially charged with the maintenance of the laws, it was obliged to pay them more respect. Thus it found itself frequently outstripped by the popular bodies, and saw the power slipping out of its hands. It therefore annulled the resolution of the section of Mauconseil. Vergniaud and Cambon employed the most severe expressions against that act, which they called a usurpation of the sovereignty of the people. It appears, however, that it was not so much the principle as the precipitation which they condemned in this resolution, and particularly the indecorous language applied in it to the Assembly.

A crisis was now approaching. On the same day a meeting was held of the insurrectional committee of the federalists, and of the King's friends, who were preparing for his flight. The committee deferred the insurrection till the day when the dethronement should be discussed, that is, till the evening of the 9th of August, or the morning of the 10th. The King's friends, on their part, were deliberating respecting his flight in the garden of M. de Montmorin. Messrs. de Liancourt and de Lafayette renewed their offers Everything was arranged for departure. Money, however, was wanting. Bertrand de Molleville had uselessly exhausted the civil list by paying royalist clubs, spouters in tribunes, speakers to groups, pretended bribers, who bribed nobody, but put the funds of the court into their own pockets. The want of money was supplied by loans which generous persons eagerly offered to the King. The offers of M. de Liancourt have already been mentioned. He gave all the gold that he was able to procure. Others furnished as much as they

* "The question of abdication was discussed with a degree of phrensy. Such of the deputies as opposed the motion were abused, ill-treated, and surrounded by assassins. They had a battle to fight at every step they took; and at length they did not dare to sleep in their houses."—*Montjoie.* E.

possessed. Devoted friends prepared to accompany the carriage that was to convey the royal family, and, if it were necessary, to perish by its side.

Everything being arranged, the councillors who had met at the house of Montmorin decided upon the departure, after a conference which lasted a whole evening. The King, who saw them immediately afterwards, assented to this resolution, and ordered them to arrange with Messrs. de Montciel and de Sainte-Croix. Whatever might be the opinions of those who agreed to this enterprise, it was a great joy to them to believe for a moment in the approaching deliverance of the monarch.*

But the next day everything was changed. The King directed this answer to be given, that he should not leave Paris, because he would not begin a civil war. All those who, with very different sentiments, felt an equal degree of anxiety for him, were thunderstruck. They learned that the real motive was not that assigned by the King. The real one was, in the first place, the arrival of Brunswick, announced as very near at hand; in the next, the adjournment of the insurrection; and, above all, the refusal of the Queen to trust the constitutionalists. She had energetically expressed her aversion, saying that it would be better to perish than to put themselves into the hands of those who had done them so much mischief.†

Thus all the efforts made by the constitutionalists, all the dangers to which they had exposed themselves, were useless. Lafayette had seriously committed himself. It was known that he had prevailed on Luckner to march, in case of need, to the capital. The latter, summoned before the Assembly, had confessed everything to the extraordinary committee of twelve. Old Luckner was weak and fickle. When he passed out of the hands of one party into those of another, he suffered the avowal of all that he had heard or said on the preceding day to be wrung from him, and afterwards alleged, in excuse of these confessions, that he was unacquainted with the French language, wept, and complained that he was surrounded by factious persons only. Guadet had the address to draw from him a confession of Lafayette's proposals, and Bureau de Puzy, accused of having been the intermediate agent, was summoned to the bar. He was one of the friends and officers of Lafayette. He denied everything with assurance, and in a tone which persuaded

* The following paper is one of those quoted by M. de Lally-Tollendal in his letter to the King of Prussia:

Copy of the Minute of a sitting held on the 4th of August, 1792, in the handwriting of Lally-Tollendal.

August 4.

M. de Montmorin, late minister of foreign affairs—M. Bertrand, late minister of the marine—M. de Clermont-Tonnerre—M. de Lally-Tollendal—M. Malouet—M. de Gouvernet—M. de Gilliers.

Three hours' deliberation in a sequestered spot in M. de Montmorin's garden. Each reported what he had discovered. I had received an anonymous letter, in which the writer informed me of a conversation at Santerre's, announcing the plan of marching to the Tuileries, killing the King in the fray, and seizing the prince-royal, to do with him whatever circumstances should require; or, if the King was not killed, to make all the royal family prisoners. We all resolved that the King should leave Paris, at whatever risk, escorted by the Swiss, and by ourselves and our friends, who were pretty numerous. We reckoned upon M. de Liancourt, who had offered to come to Rouen to meet the King, and also upon M. de Lafayette. As we were finishing our deliberations, M. de Malesherbes arrived; he came to urge Madame de Montmorin and her daughter, Madame de Beaumont, to depart, saying that the crisis was at hand, and that Paris was no longer a fit place for women. In consequence of the news brought us by M. de Malesherbes, we agreed that M. de Montmorin should go immediately to the palace to inform the King of what we had learned and resolved. The King seemed to assent in the evening, and told M. de Montmorin to confer with M. de Sainte-Croix, who, with M. de Montciel, was also engaged in devising a plan for the King's departure. We went next day to the palace; I had a long conversation with the Duke de Choiseuil, who was entirely of our opinion, and anxious that the King should depart at any risk whatever, as he would rather *expose himself to every danger than commence a civil war*. We were informed that the deposition would be pronounced on the Thursday following. I knew of no other resource than the army of M. de Lafayette. I sent off on the 8th the rough draught of a letter, which I advised him to write to the Duke of Brunswick, as soon as he should receive the first news of the deposition, &c.

† See Mémoires de Madame Campan, tome ii., p. 125.

the committee that the negotiations of his general were unknown to him. The question whether Lafayette should be placed under accusation was adjourned.

The day fixed for the discussion of the dethronement approached. The plan of the insurrection was settled and known. The Marseillais, whose barracks were at the farthest extremity of Paris, had repaired to the section of the Cordeliers, where the club of that name was held. They were in the heart of Paris and close to the scene of action. Two municipal officers had had the boldness to order cartridges to be distributed among the conspirators. In short, everything was ready for the 10th.

On the 8th, the question concerning Lafayette was discussed. It was decided by a strong majority that there was not sufficient ground for an accusation. Some of the deputies, irritated at this acquittal, insisted on a division; and, on this new trial, four hundred and forty-six members had the courage to vote in favour of the general against two hundred and eighty. The people, roused by this intelligence, collected about the door of the hall, insulted the deputies as they went out, and particularly maltreated those who were known to belong to the right side of the Assembly, such as Vaublanc, Girardin, Dumas, &c. From all quarters abuse was poured forth against the national representation, and the people loudly declared that there was no longer any safety with an Assembly which could absolve the *traitor* Lafayette.*

On the following day, August 9th, an extraordinary agitation prevailed among the deputies. Those who had been insulted the day before complained personally or by letter. When it was stated that M. Beaucaron had narrowly escaped being hanged, a barbarous peal of laughter burst from the tribunes; and when it was added that M. de Girardin had been struck, even those who knew how and where, ironically put the question to him. "What!" nobly replied M. de Girardin, "know you not that cowards never strike but behind one's back?" At length a member called for the order of the day. The Assembly, however, decided that Rœderer, the *procureux syndic* of the commune,† should be summoned to the bar, and enjoined, upon his personal responsibility, to provide for the safety and the inviolability of the members of the Assembly.

It was proposed to send for the mayor of Paris, and to oblige him to declare, yes or no, whether he could answer for the public tranquillity. Guadet answered this proposition by another for summoning the King also, and obliging him in his turn to declare, yes or no, whether he could answer for the safety and inviolability of the territory.

Amidst these contrary suggestions, however, it was easy to perceive that the Assembly dreaded the decisive moment, and that the Girondins themselves would rather have brought about the dethronement by a deliberation, than recur to a doubtful and murderous attack. During these proceedings Rœderer arrived, and stated that one section had determined to ring the tocsin, and to march upon the Assembly and the Tuileries, if the dethronement were not pronounced. Petion entered, in his turn. He did not speak out in a positive manner, but admitted the existence of sinister projects. He enumerated the precautions taken to prevent the threatened commotions, and promised to confer with the department, and to adopt its measures, if they appeared to him better than those of the municipality.

Petion, as well as all his Girondin friends, preferred a declaration of dethronement by the Assembly to an uncertain combat with the palace. Being almost sure of a majority for the dethronement, he would fain have put a stop to the plans of

* "Lafayette was burnt in effigy by the Jacobins, in the gardens of the Tuileries."—*Prudhomme.* E.

† "P. L. Rœderer, deputy from the *tiers-état* of the bailiwick of Metz, embraced the cause of the Revolution. On the 10th of August, he interested himself in the fate of the King, gave some orders for his safety; and at last advised him to repair to the Assembly, which completed the ruin of Louis, and compromised Rœderer. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he devoted himself to editing the Journal of Paris; and in conjunction with Volney, Talleyrand, and others, helped to bring on the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, 1799. He was an able journalist, temperate in his principles, and concise and vigorous in his style."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

the insurrectional committee. He repaired, therefore, to the committee of *surveillance* of the Jacobins, and begged Chabot to suspend the insurrection, telling him that the Girondins had resolved upon the dethronement and the immediate convocation of a national convention ; that they were sure of a majority, and that it was wrong to run the risk of an attack, the result of which was doubtful. Chabot replied that nothing was to be hoped for from an assembly which had absolved the *scoundrel* Lafayette ; that he, Petion, allowed himself to be deceived by his friends ; that the people had at length resolved to save themselves ; and that the tocsin would be rung that very evening in the fauxbourgs. "Will you always be wrong-headed, then ?" replied Petion. "Wo betide us if there is a rising ! . . . I know your influence, but I have influence too, and will employ it against you."—"You shall be arrested and prevented from acting," rejoined Chabot.

People's minds were in fact too highly excited for the fears of Petion to be understood, and for him to be able to exercise his influence. A general agitation pervaded Paris. The drum beat the call in all quarters. The battalions of the national guard assembled, and repaired to their posts, with very discordant dispositions. The sections were filled, not with the greater number, but with the most ardent of the citizens. The insurrectional committee had formed at three points. Fournier and some others were in the fauxbourg St. Marceau ; Santerre and Westermann occupied the fauxbourg St. Antoine ; lastly, Danton, Camille Des-Moulins, and Carra, were at the Cordeliers with the Marseilles battalion. Barbaroux, after stationing scouts at the Assembly and the palace, had provided couriers ready to start for the South. He had also provided himself with a dose of poison, such was the uncertainty of success, and awaited at the Cordeliers the result of the insurrection. It is not known where Robespierre was. Danton had concealed Marat in a cellar belonging to the section, and had then taken possession of the tribune of the Cordeliers. Every one hesitated, as on the eve of a great resolution ; but Danton, with a daring proportionate to the importance of the event, raised his thundering voice. He enumerated what he called the crimes of the court. He expatiated on the hatred of the latter to the constitution, its deceitful language, its hypocritical promises, always belied by its conduct, and lastly, its evident machinations for bringing in foreigners. "The people," said he, "can now have recourse but to themselves, for the constitution is insufficient, and the Assembly has absolved Lafayette. You have, therefore none left to save you but yourselves. Lose no time, then ; for, this very night, satellites concealed in the palace are to sally forth upon the people and to slaughter them, before they leave Paris to repair to Coblentz. Save yourselves, then ! To arms ! to arms !"

At this moment a musket was fired in the Cour du Commerce. The cry *To arms !* soon became general, and the insurrection was proclaimed. It was then half-past eleven. The Marseillais formed before the door of the Cordeliers, seized some pieces of cannon, and were soon reinforced by a numerous concourse, which ranged itself by their side. Camille Desmoulins and others ran out to order the tocsin to be rung ; but they did not find the same ardour in the different sections. They strove to rouse their zeal. The sections soon assembled and appointed commissioners to repair to the Hôtel de Ville, for the purpose of superseding the municipality and taking all the authority into their own hands. Lastly, they ran to the bells, made themselves masters of them by main force, and the tocsin began to ring. This dismal sound pervaded the whole extent of the capital. It was wafted from street to street, from building to building. It called the deputies, the magistrates, the citizens, to their posts. At length it reached the palace, proclaiming that the terrible night was come ; that fatal night, that night of agitation and blood, destined to be the last which the monarch should pass in the palace of his ancestors !*

* "At midnight a cannon was fired, the tocsin sounded, and the *générale* beat to arms in every quarter of Paris. The survivors of the bloody catastrophe, which was about to commence, have portrayed in the strongest colours the horrors of that awful night, when the oldest monarchy in Europe tottered to its fall. The incessant clang of the tocsin, the roll of the drums, the rattling of artillery and ammunition-wagons along the streets, the cries of the insurgents, the march of the columns, rung in their ears for long after, even in the moments of festivity and rejoicing."—*Alison.* E.

Emissaries of the court came to apprize it that the moment of the catastrophe was at hand. They reported the expression used by the President of the Cordeliers, who had told his people that this was not to be, as on the 20th of June, a mere civic promenade; meaning that, if the 20th of June had been the threat, the 10th of August was the decisive stroke. On that point, in fact, there was no longer room for doubt. The King, the Queen, their two children, and their sister, Madame Elizabeth, had not retired to bed, but had gone after supper into the council-chamber, where all the ministers and a great number of superior officers were deliberating, in dismay, on the means of saving the royal family. The means of resistance were feeble and had been almost annihilated, either by decrees of the Assembly, or by the false measures of the court itself.

The constitutional guard, dissolved by a decree of the Assembly, had not been replaced by the King, who had chosen rather to continue its pay to it than to form a new one. The force of the palace was thus diminished by eighteen hundred men.

The regiments whose disposition had appeared favourable to the King at the time of the last Federation had been removed from Paris by the accustomed expedient of decrees.

The Swiss could not be removed, owing to their capitulations, but their artillery had been taken from them; and the court, when it had, for a moment, decided upon flight to Normandy, had sent thither one of those faithful battalions, upon pretext of guarding supplies of corn that were expected. This battalion had not yet been recalled. Some Swiss only, in barracks at Courbevoie, had been authorized by Petion to come back, and they amounted altogether to no more than eight or nine hundred men.

The gendarmerie had recently been composed of the old soldiers of the French guards, the authors of the 14th of July.

Lastly, the national guard had neither the same officers, nor the same organization, nor the same attachment, as on the 6th of October, 1789. The staff, as we have seen, had been reconstituted. A great number of citizens had become disgusted with the service, and those who had not deserted their post were intimidated by the fury of the populace. Thus the national guard was, like all the bodies of the state, composed of a new revolutionary generation. It was divided, with the whole of France, into constitutionalists and republicans. The whole battalion of the Filles St. Thomas, and part of that of the Petits Pères, were attached to the King. The others were either indifferent or hostile. The gunners, in particular, who composed the principal strength, were decided republicans. The fatigues incident to the duty of the latter had deterred the wealthy citizens from undertaking it. Locksmiths and blacksmiths were thus left in possession of the guns, and almost all of them, belonging to the populace, partook of its dispositions.

Thus the King had left him about eight or nine hundred Swiss, and rather more than one battalion of the national guard.

It will be recollected that the command of the national guard, after Lafayette's removal, had been transferred to six commanders of legions in rotation. It had fallen, on that day, to the commandant Mandat, an old officer, displeasing to the court for his constitutional opinions, but possessing its entire confidence, from his firmness, his intelligence, and his attachment to his duties. Mandat, general-in-chief on that fatal night, had hastily made the only possible dispositions.

The floor of the great gallery leading from the Louvre to the Tuileries had already been cut away for a certain space, to prevent the passage of the assailants. Mandat, in consequence, took no precautions for protecting that wing, but directed his attention to the side next to the courts and the garden. Notwithstanding the signal by drum, few of the national guards had assembled. The battalions remained incomplete. The most zealous of them proceeded singly to the palace, where Mandat had formed them into regiments and posted them conjointly with the Swiss, in the courts, the garden, and the apartments. He had placed one piece of cannon in the court of the Swiss, three in the central court, and three in that of the princes.

These guns were unfortunately consigned to gunners of the national guard, so that the enemy was actually in the fortress. But the Swiss, full of zeal and loyalty, watched them narrowly, ready at the first movement to make themselves masters of their guns, and to drive them out of the precincts of the palace.

Mandat had moreover placed some advanced posts of gendarmerie at the colonnade of the Louvre and the Hôtel de Ville; but this gendarmerie, as we have already shown, was composed of old French guards.

To these defenders of the palace must be added a great number of old servants, whose age or whose moderation had prevented them from emigrating, and who, in the moment of danger, had come forward, some to absolve themselves for not having gone to Coblentz, others to die generously by the side of their prince. They had hastily provided themselves with all the weapons that they could procure in the palace. They were armed with swords, and pistols fastened to their waists by pocket-handkerchiefs. Some had even taken tongs and shovels from the fire-places.* Thus there was no want of jokes at this awful moment, when the court ought to have been serious at least for once. This concourse of useless persons, instead of rendering it any service, merely obstructed the national guard, which could not reckon upon it, and tended only to increase the confusion, which was already too great.

All the members of the departmental directory had repaired to the palace. The virtuous Duke de Larochefoucauld was there. Rœderer, the *procureur syndic*, was there, too. Petion was sent for, and he repaired thither with two municipal officers. Petion was urged to sign an order for repelling force by force, and he did sign it, that he might not appear to be an accomplice of the insurgents. Considerable joy was felt in having him at the palace, and in holding, in his person, an hostage so dear to the people. The Assembly, apprized of this intention, summoned him to the bar by a decree. The King, who was advised to detain him, refused to do so, and he therefore left the Tuileries without impediment.

The order to repel force by force once obtained, various opinions were expressed relative to the manner of using it. In this state of excitement, more than one silly project must necessarily have presented itself. There was one sufficiently bold, and which might probably have succeeded: this was to prevent the attack by dispersing the insurgents, who were not yet very numerous, and who, with the Marseillais, formed at most a few thousand men. At this moment, in fact, the fauxbourg St. Marceau was not yet formed; Santerre hesitated in the fauxbourg St. Antoine; Danton alone, and the Marseillas had ventured to form at the Cordeliers, and they were waiting with impatience at the Pont St. Michel for the arrival of the other assailants.

A vigorous sally might have dispersed them, and, at this moment of hesitation, a movement of terror would infallibly have prevented the insurrection. Another course, more safe and legal, was that proposed by Mandat, namely, to await the march of the fauxbourgs; but, as soon as they should be in motion, to attack them at two decisive points. He suggested, in the first place, that when one party of them should debouch upon the Place of the Hôtel de Ville, by the arcade of St. Jean, they should be suddenly charged; and that, at the Louvre, those who should come by the Pont Neuf, along the quay of the Tuileries, should be served in the same manner. He had actually ordered the gendarmerie posted at the colonnade to suffer the insurgents to file past, then to charge them in the rear, while the gendarmerie, stationed at the Carrousel, were to pour through the wickets of the Louvre, and attack them in front. The success of such plans was almost certain. The necessary orders had already been given by Mandat to the commandants of the different posts, and especially to that of the Hôtel de Ville.

We have already seen that a new municipality had just been formed there. Among the members of the former, Danton and Manuel only were retained. The

* "M. de St. Souplet, one of the King's equerries, and a page, instead of muskets, carried upon their shoulders the tongs belonging to the King's antechamber, which they had broken, and divided between them."—*Madame Campan.* E.

order was shown to this insurrectional municipality. It immediately summoned the commandant to appear at the Hôtel de Ville. The summons was carried to the palace. Mandat hesitated; but those about him and the members of the department themselves, not knowing what had happened, and not deeming it right yet to infringe the law by refusing to appear, exhorted him to comply. Mandat then decided. He put into the hands of his son, who was with him at the palace, the order signed by Petion to repel force by force, and obeyed the summons of the municipality. It was about four o'clock in the morning. On reaching the Hôtel de Ville, he was surprised to find there a new authority. He was instantly surrounded and questioned concerning the order which he had issued. He was then dismissed, and in dismissing him the president made a sign which was equivalent to sentence of death. No sooner had the unfortunate commandant retired than he was seized and shot with a pistol. The murderers stripped him of his clothes, without finding about him the order, which he had delivered to his son, and his body was thrown into the river, whither it was soon to be followed by so many others.

This sanguinary deed paralyzed all the means of defence of the palace, destroyed all unity, and prevented the execution of the plan of defence. All, however, was not yet lost, and the insurrection was not completely formed. The Marseillais had impatiently waited for the fauxbourg St. Antoine, which did not arrive, and for a moment they concluded that the plan had miscarried. But Westermann had pointed his sword to the body of Santerre, and forced him to march. The fauxbourgs had then successively arrived, some by the Rue St. Honoré, others by the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, and the wickets of the Louvre. The Marseillais marched at the head of the columns, with the Breton federalists, and they had pointed their pieces towards the palace. The great number of the insurgents, which increased every moment, was joined by a multitude attracted by curiosity; and thus the enemy appeared stronger than they really were. While they were proceeding to the palace, Santerre had hurried to the Hôtel de Ville, to get himself appointed commander-in-chief of the national guard, and Westermann had remained on the field of battle to direct the assailants. Everything was therefore in the utmost confusion, so much so, that Petion, who, according to the preconcerted plan, was to have been kept at home by an insurrectional force, was still waiting for the guard that was to screen his responsibility by an apparent constraint. He sent, himself, to the Hôtel de Ville, and at last a few hundred men were placed at his door that he might seem to be in a state of arrest.

The palace was at this moment absolutely besieged. The assailants were in the Place; and by the dawning light they were seen through the old doors of the courts and from the windows. Their artillery was discovered pointed at the palace, and their confused shouts and threatening songs were heard. The plan of anticipating them had been anew proposed; but tidings of Mandat's death had just been received, and the opinion of the ministers, as well as of the department, was, that it was best to await the attack and suffer themselves to be forced within the limits of the law.

Rœderer had just gone through the ranks of this little garrison, to read to the Swiss and the national guards the legal proclamation, which forbade them to attack, but enjoined them to repel force by force. The King was solicited to review in person the servants who were preparing to defend him. The unfortunate prince had passed the night in listening to the conflicting opinions that were expressed around him; and, during the only moments of relaxation, he had prayed to Heaven for his royal consort, his children, and his sister, the objects of all his fears. "Sire," said the Queen to him with energy, "it is time to show yourself." It is even asserted that, snatching a pistol from the belt of old d'Affry, she presented it angrily at the King. The eyes of the princess were inflamed with weeping; but her brow appeared lofty, her nostrils dilated, with indignation and pride.*

* "The behaviour of Marie Antoinette was magnanimous in the highest degree. Her majestic air, her Austrian lip, and aquiline nose, gave her an air of dignity, which can only be conceived by those who beheld her in that trying hour."—*Peltier*. E.

"The King ought then to have put himself at the head of his troops, and opposed his enemies.

As for the King, he feared nothing for his own person; nay, he manifested great coolness in this extreme peril; but he was alarmed for his family, and sorrow at seeing it thus exposed had altered his looks. He nevertheless went forward with firmness. He had on a purple suit of clothes, wore a sword, and his hair, which had not been dressed since the preceding day, was partly in disorder. On stepping out upon the balcony, he perceived, without agitation, many pieces of artillery pointed against the palace. His presence still excited some remains of enthusiasm. The caps of the grenadiers were all at once uplifted on the points of swords and bayonets; the old cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" rang for the last time beneath the vaults of the paternal palace. A last spark of courage was rekindled. Dejected hearts were cheered. For a moment there was a gleam of confidence and hope, but at that instant some fresh battalions of the national guard arrived, which had been formed later than the others, and came agreeably to the order previously issued by Mandat. They entered at the moment when the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" rang in the court. Some joined those who thus hailed the presence of the monarch; others, holding different sentiments, fancied themselves in danger, and, calling to mind all the popular fables that had been circulated, imagined that they were about to be given up to the knights *of the dagger*. They immediately cried out that they were betrayed by that villain Mandat, and raised a kind of tumult. The gunners, following their example, turned their pieces against the front of the palace. A

The Queen was of this opinion, and the courageous counsel she gave on this occasion does honour to her memory."—*Madame de Staël.* E.

"This invasion of the 10th of August was another of those striking occasions, on which the King, by suddenly changing his character and assuming firmness, might have recovered his throne. Had he ordered the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers to be shut up, dissolved the Assembly, and seized on the factions, that day had restored his authority. But this weak prince chose rather to expose himself to certain death, than give orders for his defence."—*Dumont.* E.

"Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne Antoinette, of Lorraine, Archduchess of Austria, and Queen of France, born at Vienna in the year 1755, was daughter of the Emperor Francis I. and of Maria Theresa. She received a careful education, and nature had bestowed on her an uncommon share of grace and beauty. Her marriage with the dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) at Versailles, in 1770, had all the appearance of a triumph. It was subsequently remarked that, immediately after the ceremony, a fearful thunder-storm, such as had scarcely ever before been witnessed, took place at Versailles. Anxious minds indulged in yet more fearful forebodings, when at the festivity which the city of Paris prepared in celebration of the royal nuptials, through the want of judicious arrangements, a great number of people in the Rue Royale were trodden down in the crowd. Fifty-three persons were found dead, and about three hundred dangerously wounded. In 1788 Marie Antoinette drew upon herself the hatred of the court party, who used every means to make her odious to the nation. Her lively imagination often gave her the appearance of levity, and sometimes of intrigue and dissimulation. A national restlessness, too, led her on a constant search after novelty, which involved her in heavy expenses. It was still more to her disadvantage that she injured her dignity by neglecting the strict formality of court manners. About this time her enemies spread a report about that she was still an Austrian at heart, and an extraordinary occurrence added fuel to the flame of calumny, and subjected the Queen to a disgraceful law-suit. Two jewellers demanded the payment of an immense price for a necklace, which had been purchased in the name of the Queen. In the examination, which she demanded, it was proved that she had never authorized the purchase. A lady of her size and complexion had impudently passed herself off for the Queen, and, at midnight, had a meeting with a cardinal in the park of Versailles. Notwithstanding, her enemies succeeded in throwing a dark shade over her conduct. When Louis XVI. informed her of his condemnation to death, she congratulated him on the approaching termination of an existence so painful. After his execution, she asked nothing of the Convention but a mourning dress, which she wore for the remainder of her days. Her behaviour during the whole term of her imprisonment was exemplary in the highest degree. On the 3d of October, 1793, she was brought before the revoluntionary tribunal, and replied to all the questions of her judges satisfactorily, and with decision. When Hebert accused her of having seduced her own son, she answered, with a noble burst of indignation, 'I appeal to every mother here whether such a crime be possible!' She heard her sentence with perfect calmness, and the next day ascended the scaffold. The beauty for which she was once so celebrated was gone; grief had distorted her features, and in the damp, unhealthy prison, she had almost lost one of her eyes. When she reached the place of execution, she cast back one fond, lingering look at the Tuileries, and then mounted the scaffold. When she came to the top, she flung herself on her knees, and exclaimed, 'Farewell, my dear children, for ever—I go to your father!' Thus died the Queen of France, October 16, 1794, towards the close of the thirty-eighth year of her age."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

quarrel instantly ensued with the loyal battalions. The gunners were disarmed and consigned to a detachment, and the new comers were despatched towards the gardens.

At this moment, the King, after showing himself in the balcony, went down stairs to review the troops in the courts. His coming having been announced, every one had resumed his place in the ranks. He walked through them with a tranquil countenance, and cast upon them expressive looks which penetrated all hearts. Addressing the soldiers, he said, with a firm voice, that he was touched by their attachment, that he should be by their side, and that, in defending him, they were defending their wives and their children. He then proceeded through the vestibule, with the intention of going to the garden, but at that moment he heard shouts of "Down with the *Veto!*" raised by one of the battalions which had just entered. Two officers, who were at his side, were then anxious to prevent him from continuing the review in the garden, others begged him to go and inspect the post at the Pont Tournant. He courageously complied. But he was obliged to pass along the Terrace of the Feuillans, which was crowded with people. During this walk, he was separated from the furious multitude merely by a tricoloured ribbon. He nevertheless advanced, in spite of all sorts of insults and abuse ;* he even saw the battalions file off before his face, traverse the garden, and leave it with the intention of joining the assailants in the Place du Carrousel.

This desertion, that of the gunners, and the shouts of "Down with the *Veto!*" had extinguished all hope in the King. At the same moment, the gendarmes, assembled at the colonnade of the Louvre and other places, had either dispersed or joined the populace. The national guard, which occupied the apartments, and which could, it was conceived, be relied upon, was on its part dissatisfied at being with the gentlemen, and appeared to distrust them. The Queen strove to encourage it. "Grenadiers," cried she, pointing to those gentlemen, "these are your comrades; they are come to die by your side." In spite, however, of this apparent courage, her soul was overwhelmed with despair. The review had ruined everything, and she lamented that the King had shown no energy. That unfortunate prince, we cannot forbear repeating, feared nothing for himself. He had, in fact, refused to wear a buckler, as on the 14th of July, saying that on the day of battle it behoved him to be uncovered, like the meanest of his servants.† He was not, therefore, deficient in courage, and he afterwards displayed a truly noble and elevated courage; but he lacked the boldness requisite for offensive operations. He lacked also consistency, and ought not, for example, to have dreaded the effusion of blood, when he consented to the invasion of France by foreigners. It is certain, as has frequently been observed, that, had he mounted a horse and charged at the head of his adherents, the insurrection would have been quelled.

At this moment, the members of the department, seeing the general confusion in the palace, and despairing of the success of resistance, went to the King and besought him to retire into the bosom of the Assembly. This advice, so frequently calumniated, like all that is given to kings, when not successful, recommended the only suitable course at the moment. By this retreat, all bloodshed was likely to be prevented, and the royal family preserved from a death that was almost certain if the palace should be taken by storm. In the existing state of things, the success of the assault was not doubtful, and, had it been, the very doubt was sufficient to make one avoid exposing oneself to it.

* "I was at a window looking on the garden. I saw some of the gunners quit their posts, go up to the King, and thrust their fists in his face, insulting him in the most brutal language. He was as pale as a corpse. When the royal family came in again, the Queen told me that all was lost; that the King had shown no energy; and that this sort of review had done more harm than good."—*Madame Campan.* E.

† "The Queen told me that the King had just refused to put on the under-waistcoat of mail which she had prepared for him; that he had consented to wear it on the 14th of July, because he was merely going to a ceremony, where the blade of an assassin was to be apprehended; but that on a day on which his party might have to fight against the revolutionists, he thought there was something cowardly in preserving his life by such means."—*Madame Campan.* E.

The Queen vehemently opposed this plan.* "Madam," said Rœderer, "you endanger the lives of your husband and children. Think of the responsibility which you take upon yourself." The altercation grew very warm. At length the King decided to retire to the Assembly. "Let us go," said he, with a resigned look, to his family and to those around him. "Sir," said the Queen to Rœderer, "you answer for the lives of the King and of my children."—"Madam," replied the *procureur syndic*, "I answer for it that I will die by their side, but I promise nothing more."

They then set out, to proceed to the Assembly by the garden, the Terrace of the Feuillans and the court of the Riding-house. All the gentlemen and servants rushed forward to follow the King, though it was possible that they might compromise him by irritating the populace and exciting the ill-will of the Assembly by their presence. Rœderer strove in vain to stop them, and loudly declared that they would cause the royal family to be murdered. He at length succeeded in keeping back a great number, and the royal party set out. A detachment of Swiss and of the national guard accompanied the royal family. A deputation of the Assembly came to receive and to conduct it into its bosom. At this moment, the concourse was so great that the crowd was impenetrable. A tall grenadier took hold of the dauphin, and, lifting him up in his arms, forced his way through the mob, holding him over his head. The Queen, at this sight, conceived that her child was going to be taken from her and gave a shriek; but she was soon set right; for the grenadier entered, and placed the royal infant on the bureau of the Assembly.

The King and his family then entered, followed by two ministers. "I come," said Louis XVI., "to prevent a great crime, and I think, gentlemen, that I cannot be safer than in the midst of you."

Vergniaud, who presided, replied to the monarch that he might rely on the firmness of the National Assembly, and that its members had sworn to die in defence of the constituted authorities.

The King seated himself beside the president; but on the observation of Chabot, that his presence might affect the freedom of deliberation, he was placed in the box of the writer appointed to report the proceedings. The iron railing was removed, that, in case a forcible entry should be made into the box, he might with his family take shelter without impediment in the Assembly. In this operation the prince assisted with his own hands. The railing was pulled down, and thus insults and threats could the more freely reach the dethroned monarch in his last asylum.†

Rœderer then gave an account of what had happened. He described the fury of the multitude, and the danger which threatened the palace, the courts of which were already in the possession of the mob. The Assembly ordered twenty of its commissioners to go and pacify the populace. The commissioners departed. A discharge of cannon was all at once heard. Consternation pervaded the hall. "I assure you," said the King, "that I have ordered the Swiss to be forbidden to fire." But the report of cannon was again heard, mingled with the sound of musketry. The agitation was at its height. Intelligence was soon brought that the commissioners deputed by the Assembly had been dispersed. At the same moment, the door of the hall was attacked, and rang with tremendous blows. Armed citizens appeared at one of the entrances. "We are stormed!" exclaimed a municipal officer. The president put on his hat; and a multitude of deputies rushed from their seats to keep back the assailants. At length the tumult was appeased, and, amidst the un-

* "The Queen felt at once all the dishonour of throwing themselves as suppliants on the protection of a body which had not shown even a shadow of interest in their favour. Ere she consented to such infamy, she said she would willingly be nailed to the walls of the palace. She accompanied, however, her husband, his sister, and his children, and on her way to the Assembly, was robbed of her watch and purse."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "An ordinary workman of the suburbs, in a dress which implied abject poverty, made his way into the place where the royal family were seated, demanding the King by the name of Monsieur Veto. 'So you are here,' he said, 'beast of a Veto! There is a purse of gold I found in your house yonder; if you had found mine, you would not have been so honest.'"—*Barbaroux's Memoirs.* —Lacretelle denies the truth of this anecdote. E.

interrupted reports of the musketry and cannon, the deputies shouted, "The nation, liberty, equality for ever!"

At this moment, in fact, a most sanguinary combat was raging at the palace. The King having left it, it was naturally supposed that the people would not persist in their attack on a forsaken dwelling; besides, the general agitation had prevented any attention from being paid to the subject, and no order had been issued for its evacuation. All the troops that were in the courts had merely been withdrawn into the interior of the palace, and they were confusedly mingled in the apartments with the domestics, the gentlemen, and the officers. The crowd at the palace was immense, and it was scarcely possible to move there, notwithstanding its vast extent.

The rabble, probably ignorant of the King's departure, after waiting a considerable time before the principal wicket, at length attacked the gate, broke it open with hatchets, and rushed into the Royal Court. They then formed in column, and turned against the palace the guns imprudently left in the court after the troops had been withdrawn. The assailants, however, yet forebore to attack. They made amicable demonstrations to the soldiers at the windows. "Give up the palace to us," said they, "and we are friends." The Swiss professed pacific intentions, and threw cartridges out of the windows. Some of the boldest of the besiegers, venturing beyond the columns, advanced beneath the vestibule of the palace. At the foot of the staircase had been placed a piece of timber in the form of a barrier, and behind it were intrenched, pell-mell, some Swiss and national guards. Those who from the outside had pushed in thus far, resolved to advance still farther and to gain possession of the barrier. After a struggle of considerable length, which, however, did not end in a battle, the barrier was taken. The assailants then forced their way up the staircase, repeating that the palace must be given up to them.

It is asserted that, at this moment, men armed with pikes, who had remained in the court, caught hold with hooks the Swiss sentries stationed outside, and murdered them. It is added that a musket-shot was fired at a window, and that the Swiss, enraged at it, replied by a volley. A tremendous discharge immediately pealed in the palace, and those who had penetrated into it fled, crying that they were betrayed. It is difficult to ascertain, amidst this confusion, by which side the first shots were fired. The assailants have alleged that they advanced amicably, and that, when they had once entered the palace, they were treacherously surprised and fired upon. It is very improbable, for the Swiss were not in a situation to provoke a conflict. As, after the King's departure, it was no longer their duty to fight, they must naturally have thought only of saving themselves, and treachery was not the way to do that. Besides, if even aggression could change anything in the moral character of these events, it must be admitted that the first and real aggression, that is, the attack of the palace, proceeded from the insurgents. The rest was but an inevitable accident, to be imputed to chance alone.

Be this as it may, those who had succeeded in forcing their way into the vestibule and upon the great staircase suddenly heard the discharge, and, whilst retreating, and upon the staircase itself, they received a shower of balls. The Swiss then descended in good order, and, on reaching the last steps, debouched by the vestibule into the Royal Court. There they made themselves masters of one of the pieces of cannon which were in the court; and, in spite of a terrible fire, turned and discharged it at the Marseillais, killing a great number of them. The Marseillais then fell back, and, the fire continuing, they abandoned the court. Terror instantly seized the populace, who fled on all sides and regained the fauxbourgs. If the Swiss had at this moment followed up their advantage; if the gendarmes stationed at the Louvre, instead of deserting their post, had charged the repulsed besiegers, the business would have been decided, and victory would have belonged to the palace.

But at this moment the King's order arrived, sent through M. d'Hervilly, forbidding the Swiss to fire. M. d'Hervilly had reached the vestibule at the moment when the Swiss had just repulsed the besiegers. He stopped them, and enjoined

them in the name of the King to follow him to the Assembly. The Swiss, in considerable number, then followed M. d'Hervilly to the Feuillans amidst the most galling discharges. The palace was thus deprived of the greater portion of its defenders. Still, however, a considerable number were left, either on the staircase, or in the apartments. These the order had not reached, and they were soon destined to be exposed, without means of resistance, to the most awful dangers.

Meanwhile the besiegers had rallied. The Marseillais, united to the Bretons, were ashamed of having given way. They took courage again, and returned to the charge boiling with fury. Westermann, who afterwards displayed genuine talents, directed their efforts with intelligence. They rushed forward with ardour, fell in great numbers, but at length gained the vestibule, passed the staircase, and made themselves masters of the palace. The rabble, with pikes, poured in after them, and the rest of the scene was soon but one general massacre.* The unfortunate Swiss in vain begged for quarter, at the same time throwing down their arms. They were butchered without mercy. The palace was set on fire; the servants who filled it were pursued; some escaped, others were sacrificed.† Among the

* "It was no longer a battle, but a massacre. The enraged multitude broke into the palace, and put to death every person found within it. The fugitives, pursued into the gardens of the Tuileries, were murdered under the trees, amidst the fountains, and at the feet of the statues. Some wretches climbed up the marble monuments which adorn that splendid spot. The insurgents refrained from firing, lest they should injure the statuary, but pricked them with their bayonets till they came down, and then slaughtered them at their feet: an instance of taste for art, mingled with revolutionary cruelty unparalleled in the history of the world."—*Alison.* E.

† "The populace had no sooner become masters of the palace than they exerted their fury against every soul in it without distinction. The gentlemen ushers of the chambers, the pages of the back-stairs, the doorkeepers, even persons in the lowest and most servile employments were all alike butchered. Streams of blood flood everywhere from the roofs to the cellars. It was impossible to set foot on a single spot without treading upon a dead body. Stripped, many of them, as soon as they were murdered, their lifeless bodies presented in addition to the ghastliness of death, the shocking spectacle of a mutilation which the mind may conceive, but which modesty forbids me to describe. And among the perpetrators of these atrocious deeds, were found women! Seven hundred and fifty Swiss perished on that dreadful day! Nine officers survived, only to be butchered a few days after in a more cruel manner. The instant the mob rushed into the palace, they forced their way into, and plundered every corner. Bureaus were burst open; furniture was broken to pieces, and flung out of window; even the cellars were ransacked; in short, the whole presented nothing but scenes of devastation and death. The mob spared only the paintings in the state-room. The butchery did not cease for hours; but the aristocrats were no longer the only victims. Some of the rioters were massacred by other rioters. Rapine, drunkenness, and impunity increased the numbers of the populace; the day seemed to be made the revel of carnage; and the mangled bodies of the Swiss were covered with fresh heaps of the self-destroyed rabble!—*Peltier.* E.

"In about half an hour after the royal family had gone to the Assembly, I saw four heads carried on pikes along the terrace of Feuillans towards the building where the legislative body was sitting; which was, I believe, the signal for attacking the palace; for at the same instant there began a dreadful fire of cannon and musketry. The palace was everywhere pierced with balls and bullets. I ran from place to place, and finding the apartments and staircases already strewed with dead bodies, I took the resolution of leaping from one of the windows in the Queen's room down upon the terrace. I continued my road till I came to the dauphin's garden-gate, where some Marseillais who had just butchered several of the Swiss were stripping them. One of them came up to me with a bloody sword in his hand, saying, 'How, citizen, without arms! Here, take this sword, and help us to kill!' However, luckily, another Marseillais seized it, and being dressed in a plain frock I succeeded in making my escape. Some of the Swiss who were pursued, took refuge in an adjoining stable. I concealed myself in the same place. They were soon cut to pieces close to me. On hearing their cries, the master of the house ran up, and I seized that opportunity of going in, where, without knowing me, M. le Dreux and his wife invited me to stay till the danger was over. Presently a body of armed men came in, to see if any of the Swiss were concealed there. After a fruitless search, these fellows, their hands dyed with blood, stopped and coolly related the murders of which they had been guilty. I remained in this asylum from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon; having before my eyes a view of all the horrors that were perpetrated at the Place de Louis Quinze. Of the men, some were still continuing the slaughter, and others cutting off the heads of those who were already slain; while the women, lost to all sense of shame, were committing the most indecent mutilations on the dead bodies from which they tore pieces of flesh, and carried them off in triumph. Towards evening I took the road to Versailles, and crossed the Pont Louis Seize which was covered with the naked carcasses of men already in a state of putrefaction from the great heat of the weather."—*Clery.* E.

"The 10th of August was a day I shall never forget. It was the day of my fête, and hitherto I

number, there were generous conquerors. "Spare the women," cried one of them; "do not dishonour the nation!" and he saved the Queen's ladies, who were on their knees, with swords uplifted over their heads. There were courageous victims; there were others who displayed ingenuity in saving, when they had no longer the courage to defend themselves. Among those furious conquerors there were even feelings of honesty, and, either from popular vanity, or from that disinterestedness which springs from enthusiasm, the money found in the palace was carried to the Assembly.

The Assembly had anxiously awaited the issue of the combat. At length, at eleven o'clock, were heard shouts of victory a thousand times repeated. The doors yielded to the pressure of a mob intoxicated with joy and fury. The hall was filled with wrecks that were brought thither, and with the Swiss who had been made prisoners, and whose lives had been spared, in order to do homage to the Assembly by this act of popular clemency. Meanwhile, the King and his family, confined within the narrow box of a reporter, witnessed the ruin of their throne and the joy of their conquerors.* Vergniaud had for a moment quitted the chair,

had always spent it happily. It was now a day of mourning. In the streets the cries of the people mingled with the thundering of artillery, and the groans of the wounded. About noon my brother entered with one of his companions in arms, who was wrapped in a great-coat. The young royalist had tasted nothing for forty hours, and he had just escaped from the pursuit of those who would have massacred him if they could have found him. The young gentleman was carefully concealed in my little apartment. My father was out, and my brother went frequently to the gate to look for him. The storm seemed to be subsiding, but the firing of musketry was still heard at intervals. Night was drawing on, and my father had not yet returned. My brother again went to the gate to look for him, and he saw a man quickly turn the corner of our hotel. He immediately recognised my father, who desired him to leave the door open, observing that he was merely going round the corner to fetch a person who was in the arcade of the mint. He returned, bringing with him a gentleman who was scarcely able to walk. He was leaning on the arm of my father, who conducted him silently to a bedchamber. It was M. de Bevy. He was pale and faint, and the blood was flowing copiously from his wounds. The horrors of that awful day are never to be forgotten!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

* "For fifteen hours the royal family were shut up in the short-hand writers' box. At length at one in the morning, they were transferred to the Feuillans. When left alone, Louis prostrated himself in prayer."—*Lacretelle.* E.

"The royal family remained three days at the Feuillans. They occupied a small suite of apartments consisting of four cells. In the first were the gentlemen who had accompanied the King. In the second we found the King; he was having his hair dressed; he took two locks of it, and gave one to my sister, and one to me. In the third was the Queen, in bed, and in an indescribable state of affliction. We found her attended only by a bulky woman, who seemed tolerably civil; she waited upon the Queen, who, as yet, had none of her own people about her. I asked her majesty what the ambassadors of foreign powers had done under existing circumstances. She told me that they could do nothing, but that the lady of the English ambassador had just given her a proof of the private interest she took in her welfare by sending her linen for her son."—*Madame Campan.* E.

"At this frightful period, Lady Sutherland (the present Duchess and Countess of Sutherland) then English ambassadress at Paris, showed the most devoted attentions to the royal family."—*Madame de Staël.* E.

"It was in this prison (the reporters' box) six feet square and eight feet high, the white walls of which reflected the rays of the sun, and increased their ardour, that the King and his family spent fourteen hours together in the course of a day that was burning hot. As the mob kept tumultuously crowding round the hall, it was found advisable to destroy an iron railing, which separated this lodge from the National Assembly, that the King might be able to get into the Assembly in case the lodge should be attacked. Four of the ministers and the King himself were obliged to pull down this iron railing without any instrument but the strength of their hands and arms. The King then sat down and remained in his chair, with his hat off, during the debate that followed, keeping his eyes constantly fixed on the Assembly, and taking no refreshment for the whole time but a peach and a glass of water."—*Peltier.* E.

"One circumstance may serve as a proof of the illusion in which the Queen was, with respect to her situation, even when she was in the reporters' box. When the cannons were firing upon the palace, and in the midst of the violent petitions for dethroning the King, her majesty, relying upon the president's speech to the King at his entrance, turned to Count d'Hervilly, who was standing behind her, and said, 'Well, M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?'—'I wish, with all my heart, madam,' answered the count, 'that your majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence!'"—*Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

"For many long hours the King and his family were shut up in the reporters' box. Exhausted

for the purpose of drawing up the decree of dethronement. He returned, and the Assembly passed that celebrated decree, to this effect:

Louis XVI. is, for the time being, suspended from royalty;

A plan of education is directed for the prince royal;

A national convention is convoked.

Was it then a plan long resolved upon to overthrow the monarchy, since they only suspended the King and provided an education for the prince? With what fear, on the contrary, did they not lay hands on that ancient power! With what a kind of hesitation did they not approach that aged tree, beneath which the French generations had been alternately fortunate or unfortunate, but under which at least they had lived!

The public mind, however, is prompt. It needed but a short interval to throw off the relics of an ancient veneration; and the monarchy suspended, was soon to become the monarchy destroyed. It was doomed to perish, not in the person of a Louis XI., a Charles IX., a Louis XIV., but in that of Louis XVI., one of the most honest kings that ever sat upon a throne.

by fatigue, the infant dauphin at length dropped off into a profound sleep in his mother's arms; the princess royal and Madame Elizabeth, with their eyes streaming with tears, sat on each side of her. At last they were transferred to the building of the Feuillans. Already the august captives felt the pangs of indigence; all their dresses and effects had been pillaged or destroyed; the dauphin was indebted for a change of linen to the wife of the English ambassador; and the Queen was obliged to borrow twenty-five louis from Madame Anguie, one of the ladies of the bedchamber."—*Alison.* E.

CONCLUSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The Swiss had courageously defended the Tuileries, but their resistance had proved unavailing: the great staircase had been stormed and the palace taken. The people, thenceforward victorious, forced their way on all sides into this abode of royalty, to which they had always attached the notion of immense treasures, unbounded felicity, formidable powers, and dark projects. What an arrear of vengeance to be wreaked at once upon wealth, greatness, and power!

Eighty Swiss grenadiers, who had not had time to retreat, vigorously defended their lives and were slaughtered without mercy. The mob then rushed into the apartments and fell upon those useless friends who had assembled to defend the King, and who, by the name of *knights of the dagger*, had incurred the highest degree of popular rancour. Their impotent weapons served only to exasperate the conquerors, and to give greater probability to the plans imputed to the court. Every door that was found locked was broken open. Two ushers, resolving to defend the entrance to the great council-chamber and to sacrifice themselves to etiquette, were instantly butchered. The numerous attendants of the royal family fled tumultuously through the long galleries, threw themselves from the windows, or sought in the immense extent of the palace some obscure hiding-place wherein to save their lives. The Queen's ladies betook themselves to one of her apartments, and expected every moment to be attacked in their asylum. By direction of the Princess of Tarentum, the doors were unlocked, that the irritation might not be increased by resistance. The assailants made their appearance and seized one of them. The sword was already uplifted over her head. "Spare the women!" exclaimed a voice; "let us not dishonour the nation!" At these words the weapon dropped; the lives of the Queen's ladies were spared; they were protected and conducted out of the palace by the very men who were on the point of sacrificing them, and who, with all the popular fickleness, now escorted them and manifested the most ingenious zeal to save them.

After the work of slaughter followed that of devastation. The magnificent furniture was dashed in pieces, and the fragments scattered far and wide. The rabble penetrated into the private apartments of the Queen and indulged in the most obscene mirth. They pried into the most secret recesses, ransacked every depository of papers, broke open every lock, and enjoyed the twofold gratification of curiosity and destruction. To the horrors of murder and pillage were added those of conflagration. The flames, having already consumed the sheds contiguous to the outer courts, began to spread to the edifice, and threatened that imposing abode of royalty with complete ruin. The desolation was not confined to the melancholy circuit of the palace; it extended to a distance. The streets were strewed with wrecks of furniture and dead bodies. Every one who fled, or was supposed to be fleeing, was treated as an enemy, pursued, and fired at. An almost incessant report of musketry succeeded that of the cannon, and was every moment the signal of fresh murders. How many horrors are the attendants of victory, be the vanquished, the conquerors, and the cause for which they have fought, who and what they may!

The executive power being abolished by the suspension of Louis XVI., only two other authorities were left in Paris, that of the commune and that of the Assembly. As we have seen in the narrative of the 10th of August, deputies of the sections had assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, expelled the former magistrates,

seized the municipal power, and directed the insurrection during the whole night and day of the 10th. They possessed the real power of action. They had all the ardour of victory, and represented that new and impetuous revolutionary class, which had struggled during the whole session against the inertness of the other more enlightened but less active class of men, of which the Legislative Assembly was composed.

The first thing the deputies of the sections did was to displace all the high authorities, which, being closer to the supreme power, were more attached to it. They had suspended the staff of the national guard, and, by withdrawing Mandat from the palace, had disorganized its defence. Santerre had been invested by them with the command of the national guard. They had been in not less haste to suspend the administration of the department, which, from the lofty region wherein it was placed, had continually curbed the popular passions, in which it took no share.

As for the municipality, they had suppressed the general council, substituted themselves in the place of its authority, and merely retained Petion, the mayor, Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, and the sixteen municipal administrators. All this had taken place during the attack on the palace. Danton had audaciously directed that stormy sitting; and when the grape-shot of the Swiss had caused the mob to fall back along the quays, he had gone out saying, "Our brethren call for aid; let us go and give it to them." His presence had contributed to lead the populace back to the field of battle, and to decide the victory.

When the combat was over, it was proposed that Petion should be released from the guard placed over him and reinstated in his office of mayor. Nevertheless, either from real anxiety for his safety, or from fear of giving themselves too scrupulous a chief during the first moments of the insurrection, it had been decided that he should be guarded a day or two longer, under pretext of putting his life out of danger. At the same time, they had removed the busts of Louis XVI., Bailly, and Lafayette, from the hall of the general council. The new class which was raising itself thus displaced the first emblems of the Revolution, in order to substitute its own in their stead.

The insurgents of the commune had to place themselves in communication with the Assembly. They reproached it with wavering, nay, even with royalism; but they regarded it as the only existing sovereign authority, and were not at all disposed to undervalue it. On the morning of the 10th, a deputation appeared at the bar, to acquaint it with the formation of the insurrectional commune, and to state what had been done. Danton was one of the deputies. "The people who send us to you," said he, "have charged us to declare that they still think you worthy of their confidence, but that they recognise no other judge of the extraordinary measures to which necessity has forced them to recur, than the French nation, our sovereign and your's, convoked in the primary assemblies." To these deputies the Assembly replied, through the medium of its president, that it approved all that had been done, and that it recommended to them order and peace. It moreover communicated to them the decrees passed in the course of the day, and begged that they would circulate them. After this, it drew up a proclamation for the purpose of enjoining the respect due to persons and property, and commissioned some of its members to convey it to the people.

Its first attention, at this moment, was naturally directed to the supply of a substitute for royalty, which had been destroyed. The ministers, assembled under the name of the executive council, were charged by it, *ad interim*, with the duties of the administration and the execution of the laws. The minister of justice, the keeper of the seal of state, was to affix it to the decrees, and to promulgate them in the name of the legislative power. It was then requisite to select the persons who should compose the ministry. The first idea was to reinstate Roland, and Clavières, and Servan, who had been removed on account of their attachment to the popular cause; for the new Revolution could not but favour all that royalty had disapproved. Those three ministers were, therefore, unanimously reappointed; Roland to the interior, Servan to the war-department, and Clavières to the finances.

It was requisite also to appoint a minister of justice, of foreign affairs, and of the marine. Here the choice was free, and the wishes formerly conceived in favour of obscure merit and patriotism, ardent, and for that reason disagreeable to the court, could be realized without impediment. Danton, who possessed such influence over the multitude, and who had exerted it with such effect during the last forty-eight hours, was deemed necessary; and, though he was disliked by the Girondins as a delegate of the populace, he was nominated minister of justice by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two votes out of two hundred and eighty-four. After this satisfaction given to the people, and this post conferred on energy, care was taken to place a man of science at the head of the marine. This was Monge, the mathematician, known to and appreciated by Condorcet, and chosen at his suggestion. Lastly, Lebrun* was placed at the head of the foreign affairs, and in his person was recompensed one of those industrious men who had before performed all the labour of which the ministers reaped the honour.

Having thus reconstituted the executive power, the Assembly declared that all the decrees to which Louis XVI. had affixed his *veto* should receive the force of law. The formation of a camp below Paris, the object of one of these decrees, and the cause of such warm discussions, was immediately ordered, and the gunners were authorized that very day to commence esplanades on the heights of Montmarte. After effecting a revolution in Paris, it was requisite to insure its success in the departments, and, above all, in the armies, commanded as they were by suspected generals. Commissaries, selected from among the members of the Assembly, were directed to repair to the provinces and to the armies, to enlighten them respecting the events of the 10th of August; and they were authorized to remove, in case of need, all the officers, civil and military, and to appoint others.

A few hours had been sufficient for all these decrees; and, while the Assembly was engaged in passing them, it was constantly interrupted by the necessity of attending to other matters. The valuables carried off from the Tuileries were deposited within its precincts. The Swiss, the servants of the palace, and all those who had been apprehended in their flight, or saved from the fury of the people, were conducted to its bar as to a sanctuary. A great number of petitioners came, one after another, to report what they had done or seen, and to relate their discoveries concerning the supposed plots of the court. Accusations and invectives of all kinds were brought forward against the royal family, which heard all this from the narrow space to which it was confined. That place was the box of the short-hand writer. Louis XVI. listened with composure to all the speeches, and conversed at times with Vergniaud and other deputies, who were placed close to him. Shut up there for fifteen hours, he asked for some refreshment, which he shared with his wife and his children; and this circumstance called forth ignoble observations on the fondness for the table which had been imputed to him. Every one knows how far victorious parties are disposed to spare misfortune. The young dauphin was lying on his mother's lap, fast asleep, overcome by the oppressive heat. The young princess and Madame Elizabeth,† their eyes red with weeping, were by the side of the Queen. At the back of the box were several gentlemen devotedly attached to the King, who had not abandoned misfortune. Fifty men, belonging to the troops which had escorted the royal family from the palace to the Assembly, served as a guard for this spot, from which the deposed monarch beheld the spoils of his

* "Lebrun passed for a prudent man, because he was destitute of any species of enthusiasm; and for a clever man, because he was a tolerable clerk; but he had no activity, no talent, and no decision."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

† "Madame Elizabeth Philippine Marie Helene, sister to Louis XVI., was born at Versailles in the year 1764. She was the youngest child of Louis, Dauphin of France, and Marie Josephine of Saxony. At the commencement of the Revolution Madame Elizabeth saw with terror the convocation of the States-general; but when it was found to be inevitable, she devoted herself from that moment entirely to the welfare of her brother and the royal family. She was condemned to death in 1794, and ascended the scaffold with twenty-four other victims, not one of whom she knew. She was thirty years old at the time of her execution, and demeaned herself throughout with courage and resignation."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

palace, and witnessed the dismemberment of his ancient power, and the distribution of its relics among the various popular authorities.

The tumult continued to rage with extreme violence, and, in the opinion of the people, it was not sufficient to have suspended royalty, it behoved them to destroy it. Petitions on this subject poured in; and, while the multitude, in an uproar, waited outside the hall for an answer, they inundated the avenues, beset the doors, and twice or thrice attacked them with such violence as nearly to burst them open, and to excite apprehensions for the unfortunate family of which the Assembly had taken charge. Henri Larivière, who was sent, with other commissioners, to pacify the people, returned at that moment, and loudly exclaimed, "Yes, gentlemen, I know it, I have seen it; I assure you that the mass of the people is determined to perish a thousand times rather than disgrace liberty by an act of inhumanity; and most assuredly there is not one person here present—and everybody must understand me," he added, "who cannot rely upon French honour." These cheering and courageous words were applauded. Vergniaud spoke in his turn, and replied to the petitioners, who insisted that the suspension should be changed into dethronement. "I am gratified," said he, "that I am furnished with an occasion of explaining the intention of the Assembly in presence of the citizens. It has decreed the suspension of the executive power, and appointed a convention which is to decide irrevocably the great question of the dethronement. In so doing, it has confined itself within its powers, which did not allow it to constitute itself the judge of royalty; and it has provided for the welfare of the state, by rendering it impossible for the executive power to do mischief. It has thus satisfied all wants, and at the same time kept within the limits of its prerogatives." These words produced a favourable impression, and the petitioners themselves, pacified by their effect, undertook to enlighten and to appease the people.

It was requisite to bring this long sitting to a close. It was therefore ordered that the effects brought from the palace should be deposited with the commune; that the Swiss and all other persons apprehended should either be guarded at the Feuillans or carried to different prisons; lastly, that the royal family should be guarded in the Luxembourg till the meeting of the National Convention, but that, while the necessary preparations were making there for its reception, it should lodge in the building appropriated to the Assembly. At one o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 11th, the royal family was removed to the quarters which had been prepared for them, and which consisted of four cells of the ancient Feuillans. The gentlemen who had not quitted the King took possession of the first, the King of the second, the Queen, her sister, and her children, of the two others. The keeper's wife waited on the princesses, and supplied the place of the numerous train of ladies, who, but the preceding day, were disputing the honour of attending upon them.

The sitting was suspended at three o'clock in the morning. Paris was still in an uproar. To prevent disturbance, the environs of the palace were illuminated, and the greater part of the citizens were under arms.

Such had been that celebrated day, and the results which it had produced. The King and his family were prisoners at the Feuillans; the three dismissed ministers were reinstated in their functions; Danton, buried the preceding day in an obscure club, was minister of justice; Petion was guarded in his own residence, but to his name, shouted with enthusiasm, was added the appellation of *Father of the People.* Marat had issued from the dark retreat where Danton had concealed him during the attack, and now, armed with a sword, paraded through Paris at the head of the Marseilles battalion. Robespierre, who has not been seen figuring during these terrible scenes—Robespierre was haranguing at the Jacobins, and expatiating to some of the members who remained with him on the use to be made of the victory, and on the necessity of superseding the existing Assembly and of impeaching Lafayette.

The very next day it was found necessary again to consider how to pacify the excited populace, who still continued to murder such persons as they took for

fugitive aristocrats. The Assembly resumed its sitting at seven in the morning. The royal family was replaced in the short-hand writer's box, that it might again witness the decisions about to be adopted, and the scenes that were to occur in the legislative body. Petion, liberated and escorted by a numerous concourse, came to make a report of the state of Paris, which he had visited, and where he had endeavoured to restore tranquillity. A body of citizens had united to protect his person. Petion was warmly received by the Assembly, and immediately set out again to continue his pacific exhortations. The Swiss, sent the preceding day to the Feuillans, were threatened. The mob, with loud shouts, demanded their death, calling them accomplices of the palace and murderers of the people. They were at length appeased by the assurance that the Swiss should be tried, and that a court-martial should be formed to punish those who were afterwards called the conspirators of the 10th of August. "I move," cried the violent Chabot, "that they be conducted to the Abbaye to be tried. . . . . In the land of equality, the law ought to smite all heads, even those that are seated on the throne." The officers had already been removed to the Abbaye, whither the soldiers were conveyed in their turn. This was a task of infinite difficulty, and it was necessary to promise the people that they should speedily be brought to trial.

Already, as we see, did the idea of taking revenge on all the defenders of royalty, and punishing them for the dangers that had been incurred, possess people's minds; and it was soon destined to produce cruel dissensions. In following the progress of the insurrection, we have already remarked the divisions that began to arise in the popular party. We have already seen the Assembly, composed of sedate and cultivated men, placed in opposition to the clubs and the municipalities, in which were collected men inferior in education and in talants, but from their position, their less dignified manners, their aspiring ambition, disposed to act and to hurry on events. We have seen that the night before the 10th of August, Chabot had differed in opinion from Petion, who, in unison with the majority of the Assembly, recommended a decree of dethronement in preference to an attack by main force. Those men who had been advocates for the utmost possible violence were, therefore, on the following day, in presence of the Assembly, proud of a victory won almost in spite of that body, and reminding it with expressions of equivocal respect that it had absolved Lafayette, and that it must not again compromise the welfare of the people by its weakness. They filled the commune, where they were mingled with ambitious tradesmen, with subaltern agitators, and with members of clubs. They occupied the halls of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and some of them had seats on the extreme benches of the legislative body. Chabot, the Capuchin, the most ardent of them, passed alternately from the tribune of the Assembly to that of the Jacobins, constantly holding forth threats of pikes and the tocsin.

The Assembly had voted the suspension, and the clubs were for dethronement. In appointing a governor for the dauphin, the former had presupposed the continuance of royalty, and the latter were for a republic. The majority of the Assembly thought, that it behoved it to make an active defence against foreigners, but to spare the vanquished. The clubs, on the contrary, maintained that it was right not only to defend themselves against foreign foes, but to deal severely with those who, intrenched in the palace, had intended to massacre the people and to bring the Prussians to Paris. Rising in their ardour to extreme opinions, they declared that there was no need for electoral bodies to form the new Assembly, that all the citizens ought to be deemed qualified to vote; nay, one Jacobin even proposed to give political rights to the women. Lastly, they loudly insisted that the people ought to come in arms to manifest their wishes to the legislative body.

Marat excited this agitation of minds and provoked people to vengeance, because he thought, according to his atrocious system, that France required purging. Robespierre, not so much from a system of purification, nor from a bloodthirsty disposition, as from envy of the Assembly, excited against it reproaches of weakness and royalism. Extolled by the Jacobins, proposed, before the 10th of August, as the dictator who was wanted, he was now proclaimed as the most eloquent and

the most incorruptible defender of the rights of the people.* Danton, taking no pains either to gain praise or to gain a hearing, having never aspired to the dictatorship, had nevertheless decided the result of the 10th of August by his boldness. Even still neglecting all display, he thought only of ruling the executive council, of which he was a member, by controlling or influencing his colleagues. Incapable of hatred or envy, he bore no ill-will to those deputies whose lustre eclipsed Robespierre; but he neglected them as inactive, and preferred to them those bold spirits of the lower classes on whom he relied more for maintaining and completing the Revolution.

Nothing was yet known of these divisions, especially out of Paris. All that the public of France in general had yet perceived of them was the resistance of the Assembly to wishes that were too ardent, and the acquittal of Lafayette, pronounced in spite of the commune and the Jacobins. But all this was imputed to the royalist and Feuillantine majority. The Girondins were still admired. Brissot and Robespierre were equally esteemed; but Petion, in particular, was adored, as the mayor who had been so ill treated by the court: and it was not known that Petion appeared too moderate to Chabot, that he wounded the pride of Robespierre, that he was regarded as an honest but useless man by Danton, and as a conspirator doomed to purification by Marat. Petion, therefore, still enjoyed the respect of the multitude; but, like Bailly, after the 14th of July, he was destined soon to become troublesome and odious by disapproving the excesses which he was unable to prevent.

The principal coalition of the new revolutionists was formed at the Jacobins and the commune. All that was to be done was proposed and discussed at the Jacobins; and the same persons then went to the Hôtel de Ville, to execute, by means of their municipal powers, what they could only plan in their club. The general council of the commune composed of itself a kind of assembly, as numerous as the legislative body, having its tribunes, its bureaux, its much more tumultuous plaudits, and a power *de facto* much more considerable. The mayor was its president, and the *procureur syndic* was the official speaker, whose duty it was to make all the necessary requisitions. Petion had already ceased to appear there, and confined his attention to the supply of the city with provisions. Manuel, the *procureur*, suffering himself to be borne along by the revolutionary billows, raised his voice there every day. But the person who most swayed this assembly was Robespierre. Keeping aloof during the first three days that followed the 10th of August, he had repaired thither after the insurrection had been consummated, and, appearing at the bureau to have his powers verified, he seemed rather to take possession of it than to come for the purpose of submitting his titles. His pride, so far from creating displeasure, only increased the respect that was paid him. His reputation for talents, incorruptibility, and perseverance, made him a grave and respectable personage, whom these assembled tradesmen were proud of having among them. Until the Convention, to which he was sure of belonging, should meet, he came thither to exercise a more real power than that of opinion which he enjoyed at the Jacobins.

The first care of the commune was to get the police into its hands; for, in time of civil war, to imprison and to persecute enemies is the most important and the most envied of powers. The justices of the peace, charged with the exercise of it in part, had given offence to public opinion by their proceedings against the popular agitators; and, either from sentiment, or from a necessity imposed by their functions, they had set themselves in hostility against the patriots. It was recollected, in particular, that one of them had, in the affair of Bertrand de Molleville and Carra, the journalist, dared to summon two deputies. The justices of the peace were therefore removed, and such of their functions as related to the police were transferred to the municipal authorities. In unison, in this instance, with the com-

* "When speaking at the clubs, Robespierre had a trick of addressing the people in such honeyed terms as 'Poor people!'—'Virtuous people!'—which never failed of producing an effect on his ferocious audience."—*Lacretelle.* E.

mune of Paris, the Assembly decreed that the police, called the police *of general safety*, should be assigned to the departments, districts, and municipalities. It consisted in inquiring into all misdemeanors threatening the internal and external welfare of the state, in making a list of the citizens suspected for their opinions or their conduct, in apprehending them for a time, and in even dispersing and disarming them, if it were necessary. It was the councils of the municipalities that performed these duties; and the entire mass of the citizens was thus called upon to watch, to denounce, and to secure, the hostile party. It is easy to conceive how active, but rigorous and arbitrary, this police, democratically exercised, must have been. The entire council received the denunciation, and a committee of *surveillance* examined it, and caused the accused to be apprehended. The national guards were in permanent requisition, and the municipalities of all towns containing more than twenty thousand souls had power to add particular regulations to this law *of general safety*. Assuredly the Legislative Assembly had no notion that it was thus paving the way to the sanguinary executions which not long afterwards took place; but, surrounded by enemies at home and abroad, it called upon all the citizens to watch them, as it had called upon them all to attend to the civil administration, and to fight.

The commune of Paris eagerly availed itself of these new powers, and caused many persons to be apprehended. Here we see the conquerors, still exasperated by the dangers of the preceding day and the still greater dangers of the morrow, seizing their enemies, now cast down, but soon likely to rise again by the aid of foreigners. The committee of *surveillance* of the commune of Paris was composed of the most violent men. Marat, who in the Revolution had made such audacious attacks on persons, was at the head of this committee; and in such an office, he of all men was most to be dreaded.

Besides this principal committee, the commune of Paris instituted a particular one in each section. It ordered that passports should not be delivered till after the deliberation of the assemblies of sections; that travellers should be accompanied, either to the municipality or to the gates of Paris, by two witnesses, who should attest the identity of the person who had obtained the passport with him who made use of it for the purpose of departing. It thus strove, by all possible means, to prevent the escape of suspected persons under fictitious names. It then directed a list of the enemies of the Revolution to be made, and enjoined the citizens, in a proclamation, to denounce all who had shared in the guilt of the 10th of August. It ordered those writers who had supported the royal cause to be apprehended, and gave their presses to patriotic writers. Marat triumphantly obtained the restitution of four presses, which, he said, had been taken from him by order of the *traitor Lafayette*. Commissioners went to the prisons to release those who were confined for shouts or language hostile to the court. Lastly, the commune, always ready to interfere in everything, sent deputies, after the example of the Assembly, to enlighten and to convert the army of Lafayette, which excited some uneasiness.

To the commune was assigned moreover a last and not least important duty—the custody of the royal family. The Assembly had at first ordered its removal to the Luxembourg, but, upon the observation that this palace was difficult to guard, it had preferred the hotel of the ministry of justice. But the commune, which had already in its hands the police of the capital, and which considered itself as particularly charged with the custody of the King, proposed the Temple, and declared that it could not answer for his safe custody, unless the tower of that ancient abbey were selected for his dwelling. The Assembly assented, and committed the custody of the illustrious prisoners to the mayor and Santerre, the commandant-general, upon their personal responsibility. Twelve commissioners of the general council were to keep watch, without interruption, at the Temple. It had been converted by outworks into a kind of fortress. Numerous detachments of the national guard alternately formed the garrison, and no person was allowed to enter without permission from the municipality. The Assembly had decreed that five hundred thousand francs should be taken from the treasury for the maintenance of the royal family till the approaching meeting of the National Convention.

The functions of the commune were, as we see, very extensive. Placed in the

centre of the state where the great powers are exercised, and impelled by its energy to do of its own accord whatever seemed to it to be too gently done by the high authorities, it was hurried into incessant encroachments. The Assembly, convinced of the necessity of keeping it within certain limits, ordered the re-election of a new departmental council, to succeed that which had been dissolved on the day of the insurrection. The commune, perceiving that it was threatened with the yoke of a superior authority, which would probably restrain its flights, as the former department had done, was incensed at this decree, and ordered the sections to suspend the election which had already commenced. Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, was immediately despatched from the Hôtel de Ville to the Feuillans, to present the remonstrances of the municipality. "The delegates of the citizens of Paris," said he, "have need of unlimited powers. A new authority placed between them and you would only serve to sow the seeds of dissension. It is requisite that the people, in order to deliver themselves from that power destructive to their sovereignty, should once more arm themselves with their vengeance."

Such was the menacing language which men already had the hardihood to address to the Assembly. The latter complied with the demand; and, whether it believed it to be impossible or imprudent to resist, or that it considered it to be dangerous to fetter at that moment the energy of the commune, it decided that the new council should have no authority over the municipality, and be nothing more than a commission of finance, charged with the superintendence of the public contributions in the department of the Seine.

Another more serious question engaged the public mind, and served to demonstrate more forcibly the difference of sentiment prevailing between the commune and the Assembly. The punishment of those who had fired upon the people, and who were ready to show themselves as soon as the enemy should draw near, was loudly demanded. They were called by turns "the conspirators of the 10th of August," and "the traitors." The court-martial appointed on the 11th to try the Swiss did not appear sufficient, because its powers were limited to the prosecution of the Swiss soldiers. The criminal tribunal of the Seine was thought to be fettered by too slow formalities, and, besides, all the authorities anterior to the 10th of August were suspected. The commune therefore prayed the erection of a tribunal which should be empowered to take cognizance of the *crimes of the 10th of August*, and have sufficient latitude to reach all who were called the *traitors*. The Assembly referred the petition to the extraordinary commission appointed in the month of July to propose the means of safety.

On the 14th, a fresh deputation of the commune was sent to the legislative body, to demand the decree relative to the extraordinary tribunal, declaring that, as it was not yet passed, they were directed to wait for it. Gaston, the deputy, addressed some severe observations to this deputation, which withdrew. The Assembly persisted in refusing to create an extraordinary tribunal, and merely assigned to the established tribunals *the cognizance of the crimes of the 10th of August.*

At this intelligence, violent agitation spread through Paris. The section of the Quinze-Vingts repaired to the general council of the commune, and intimated that the tocsin would be rung in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, if the decree applied for were not immediately passed. The general council then sent a fresh deputation, at the head of which was Robespierre. He spoke in the name of the municipality, and made the most insolent remonstrances to the deputies. "The tranquillity of the people," said he, "depends on the punishment of the guilty, and yet you have done nothing to reach them. Your decree is insufficient. It does not explain the nature and the extent of the crimes to be punished, for it specifies only the *crimes of the 10th of August*, and the crimes of the enemies of the Revolution extend far beyond the 10th of August and Paris. With such an expression, the traitor Lafayette would escape the vengeance of the law. As for the form of the tribunal, the people can no longer tolerate that which you have retained. The twofold degree of jurisdiction causes numberless delays, and, besides, all the old authorities are suspected; new ones are required; it is necessary that the tribunal demanded

be composed of deputies taken from the sections, and that it be empowered to try the guilty, sovereignly, and without appeal."

This imperative petition appeared still more harsh from the tone of Robespierre. The Assembly answered the people of Paris in an address, in which it rejected any proposal for an extraordinary commission and *chambre ardente*, as unworthy of liberty, and fit only for despotism.

These reasonable observations produced no effect. They served only to increase the irritation. Nothing was talked of in Paris but the tocsin; and, the very next day, a representative of the commune appeared at the bar, and said to the Assembly, "As a citizen, as a magistrate of the people, I come to inform you that at twelve o'clock this night the tocsin will be rung and the alarm beaten. The people are weary of not being avenged. Beware lest they do themselves justice. I demand," added the audacious petitioner, "that you forthwith decree that a citizen be appointed by each section to form a criminal tribunal."

This threatening apostrophe roused the Assembly, and particularly the deputies Choudieu and Thuriot, who warmly reprimanded the envoy of the commune. A discussion, however, ensued, and the proposal of the commune, strongly supported by the hotheaded members of the Assembly, was at length converted into a decree. An electoral body was to assemble, to choose the members of an extraordinary tribunal, destined to take cognizance of crimes committed on the 10th of August, and *other crimes and circumstances connected with it.* This tribunal, divided into two sections, was to pronounce sentence finally and without appeal. Such was the first essay of the revolutionary tribunal, and the first spur given by vengeance to the forms of justice. This tribunal was called the tribunal of the 17th of August.

The effect produced on the armies by the recent revolution, and the manner in which they had received the decrees of the 10th, were still unknown. This was the most important point, and the fate of the new revolution depended upon it. The frontier was still divided into three armies, the army of the North, the army of the centre, and the army of the South. Luckner commanded the first, Lafayette the second, and Montesquiou the third. Since the unfortunate affairs at Mons and Tournay, Luckner, urged by Dumouriez, had again attempted the offensive against the Netherlands, but had retreated, and, in evacuating Courtray, had burned the suburbs, which was made a serious charge against the ministry the day before the dethronement. The armies had since remained in a state of complete inactivity, living in intrenched camps, and confining themselves to slight skirmishes. Dumouriez, after resigning the ministry, had gone as lieutenant-general under Luckner, and been unfavourably received by the army, where the spirit of Lafayette's party predominated. Luckner, wholly under this influence for a moment, sent Dumouriez to one of these camps, that of Maulde, and there left him, with a small number of troops, to amuse himself with intrenchments and skirmishes.

Lafayette, wishing, amidst the dangers that encompassed the King, to be nearer to Paris, had been desirous of taking the command of the North. He was, nevertheless, unwilling to quit his troops, by whom he was greatly beloved, and he agreed with Luckner to change positions, each with his division, and to decamp, the one for the North, the other for the centre. This operation, in the presence of an enemy, might have been attended with danger, if, very luckily, the war had not been so completely inactive. Luckner had therefore repaired to Metz, and Lafayette to Sedan. During this cross-movement, Dumouriez, who was directed to follow with his little corps the army of Luckner, to which he belonged, halted suddenly in presence of the enemy, who had threatened to attack him; and he was obliged to remain in his camp, lest he should lay open the entry to Flanders to the Duke of Saxe-Teschen. He assembled the other generals who occupied separate camps near him; he concerted with Dillon,* who came up with a portion of Lafayette's

* "The Count Arthur de Dillon, a general officer in the French service, was deputed from Martinique to the States-general, and embraced the revolutionary party. In 1792 he took one of the chief commands in the army of the North. In the year 1794 he was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal as a conspirator. He was forty-three years old, and was born at Berwick in England."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

army, and insisted on a council of war at Valenciennes, for the purpose of justifying, by the necessity of the case, his disobedience to Luckner. Meanwhile Luckner had arrived at Metz, and Lafayette at Sedan; and, but for the events of the 10th of August, Dumouriez would probably have been put under arrest, and brought to a military trial for his refusal to advance.

Such was the situation of the armies when they received tidings of the overthrow of the throne. The first point to which the Legislative Assembly turned its attention was, as we have seen, to send three commissioners to carry its decrees and to make the troops take the new oath. The three commissioners, on their arrival at Sedan, were received by the municipality, which had orders from Lafayette to cause them to be apprehended. The mayor questioned them concerning the scene of the 10th of August, required an account of all the circumstances, and declared, agreeably to the secret instructions which he had received from Lafayette, that evidently the Legislative Assembly was no longer free when it decreed the suspension of the King; that its commissioners were but the envoys of a factious cabal; and that they should be put into confinement in the name of the constitution. They were actually imprisoned, and Lafayette, to exonerate those who executed his order, took upon himself the sole responsibility. Immediately afterwards, he caused his army to take anew the oath of fidelity to the law and to the King; and ordered the same to be done by all the corps under his command. He reckoned upon seventy-five departments, which had adhered to his letter of the 16th of June, and he purposed to attempt a contrary movement to that of the 10th of August. Dillon, who was at Valenciennes, under the orders of Lafayette, and who held a superior command to Dumouriez, obeyed his general-in-chief, caused the oath of fidelity to the law and to the King to be taken, and enjoined Dumouriez to do the same in his camp at Maulde. Dumouriez, judging more correctly of the future, and exasperated moreover against the Feuillans, under whose control he was, seized the occasion to resist them, and to ingratiate himself with the new government, by refusing either to take the oath himself, or to allow it to be taken by his troops.

On the 17th, the very day on which the new tribunal was so simultaneously established, a letter arrived, stating that the commissioners sent to the army of Lafayette had been apprehended by his orders, and that the legislative authority was denied. This intelligence produced more irritation than alarm. The outcry against Lafayette was more vehement than ever. His accusation was demanded, and the Assembly was reproached with not having ordered it before. A decree was instantly passed against the department of the Ardennes; fresh commissioners were despatched with the same powers as their predecessors, and with directions to cause the three prisoners to be liberated. Other commissioners were sent to Dillon's army. On the morning of the 19th, the Assembly declared Lafayette a traitor to the country, and passed a decree of accusation against him.

The circumstance was serious, and if this resistance were not overcome, the new revolution would prove abortive. France, divided between the republicans in the interior and the constitutionalists of the army, would be exposed to invasion and to a terrible reaction. Lafayette could not but detect in the revolution of the 10th of August the abolition of the constitution of 1791, the accomplishment of all his aristocratic prophecies, and the justification of all the reproaches which the court addressed to liberty. In this victory of democracy he must have beheld nothing but a sanguinary anarchy and an endless confusion. For us this confusion has had an end, and our soil at least has been defended against foreigners; but to Lafayette the future was unknown and alarming; the defence of the soil was scarcely to be presumed amidst political convulsions; and he could not but feel a desire to withstand this chaos, by arming himself against the two foes within and without. But his position was beset with difficulties, which it would have been beyond the power of any man to surmount. His army was devoted to him, but armies have no personal will, and cannot have any but what is communicated to them by the superior authority. When a revolution bursts forth with the violence of that of 1789, then, hurried blindly on, they desert the old authority, because the new impulse is the stronger of the two. But this was not the case in this instance. Lafayette, pro-

scribed, stricken by a decree, could not, by his mere military popularity excite his troops against the authority of the interior, and by his personal energy counteract the revolutionary energy of Paris. Placed between two enemies, and uncertain respecting his duty, he could not but hesitate. The Assembly, on the contrary, not hesitating, sending decree after decree, and supporting each by energetic commissioners, could not fail to triumph over the hesitation of the general, and to decide the army. Accordingly, the troops of Lafayette were successively shaken, and appeared to be forsaking him. The civil authorities, being intimidated, yielded to the new commissioners. The example of Dumouriez, who declared himself in favour of the revolution of the 10th of August, completed the defection; and the opposing general was left alone with his staff, composed of Feuillans or constitutional officers.

Bouillé, whose energy was not doubtful, Dumouriez, whose great talents could not be disputed, could not do otherwise at different periods, and were obliged to betake themselves to flight. Lafayette was destined to be equally unfortunate. Writing to the different civil authorities which had seconded him in his resistance, he took upon himself the responsibility of the orders issued against the commissioners of the Assembly, and left his camp on the 20th of August, with a few officers, his friends and his companions in arms and in opinion. He was accompanied by Bureau de Puzy, Latour-Maubourg, and Lameth. They quitted the camp, taking with them only a month's pay, and were followed by a few servants. Lafayette left everything in order in his army, and had taken care to make the necessary dispositions in case of attack. He sent back some horse who attended him, that he might not rob France of one of her defenders; and, on the 21st, he and his friends took the road to the Netherlands. On reaching the Austrian advanced posts, after a journey which exhausted their horses, these first emigrants of liberty were arrested, contrary to the right of nations, and treated as prisoners of war. Great was the joy when the name of Lafayette rang in the camp of the allies, and it was known that he was a captive to the aristocratic league. To torment one of the first friends of the Revolution, to have a pretext for imputing to the Revolution itself the persecution of its first authors, and to behold the fulfilment of all its predicted excesses, diffused general satisfaction among the European aristocracy.*

Lafayette claimed for himself and his friends that liberty which was their right, but to no purpose. He was offered it on condition of recanting, not all his opinions, but only one of them—that relative to the abolition of nobility. He refused, threatening even, in case his words should be falsely interpreted, to give a formal contradiction before a public officer. He therefore accepted fetters as the price of his constancy; and, even when he looked upon liberty as lost in Europe and in France, his mind continued unshaken, and he never ceased to consider freedom as the most valuable of blessings. This he still professed, both towards the oppressors who detained him in their dungeons, and towards his old friends who remained in France.† "Continue," he wrote to the latter, "continue to love liberty, in spite

* "Lafayette was under the necessity of observing the greatest secrecy in his departure, in order to avoid increasing the number of his companions in exile, who consisted only of Latour-Maubourg and his two brothers, Bureaux de Puzy, his aides-de-camp, and staff officers in the Parisian national guard, and some friends, exposed to certain death in consequence of their participation in his last efforts against anarchy, Fifteen officers of different ranks accompanied him. On arriving at Rochefort, where the party (considerably reduced in number) were stopped, Bureaux de Puzy was compelled to go forward and obtain a pass from General Moitelle, in command at Namur. He set out accordingly, but, before he could utter a syllable of explanation, that general exclaimed, 'What, Lafayette? Lafayette?—Run instantly and inform the Duke of Bourbon of it—Lafayette?—Set out this moment," addressing one of his officers, and earry this news to his royal highness at Brussels;' and on he went, muttering to himself the word 'Lafayette.' It was not until he had given orders to write to all the princes and generals he could think of, that Puzy could put in his request for a pass, which was of course refused."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

† "However irritated they might be by Lafayette's behaviour at the outset of the Revolution, the present conduct of the monarchs towards him was neither to be vindicated by morality, the law of nations, nor the rules of sound policy. Even if he had been amenable for a crime against his own country, we know not what right Austria or Prussia had to take cognizance of it. To them he

of its storms, and serve your country." Let us compare this defection with that of Bouillé, quitting his country to return with the hostile sovereigns; with that of Dumouriez, quarrelling, not from conviction but from spite, with the Convention which he had served; and we shall do justice to the man who did not leave France till the truth in which he believed was proscribed there, and who went neither to curse nor to disavow it in the enemy's armies, but still continued to profess and maintain it in dungeons.

Let us not, however, cast too severe censure on Dumouriez, whose memorable services we shall soon have occasion to appreciate. This flexible and clever man had a just presentiment of the nascent power. After he had made himself almost independent by his refusal to obey Luckner, and to leave his camp at Maulde, after he had refused to take the oath ordered by Dillon, he was immediately recompensed for his attachment by the chief command of the armies of the North and the centre. Dillon, brave, impetuous, but blind, was at first displaced for having obeyed Lafayette; but he was reinstated in his command through the influence of Dumouriez, who, anxious to reach his goal, and to injure as few persons as possible in his progress, became his warm advocate with the commissioners of the Assembly. Dumouriez, therefore, found himself general-in-chief of the whole frontier from Metz to Dunkirk. Luckner was at Metz, with his army, formerly the army of the North. Swayed at first by Lafayette, he had shown resistance to the 10th of August; but, soon giving way to his army and to the commissioners of the Assembly, he acquiesced in the decrees, and after once more weeping, he yielded to the new impulse that was communicated to him.

The 10th of August and the advance of the season were motives sufficient to decide the coalition at length to push the war with vigour. The dispositions of the powers in regard to France were not changed. England, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, still promised a strict neutrality. Sweden, since the death of Gustavus, had sincerely adopted a similar course. The Italian principalities were most inimical to us, but fortunately quite impotent. Spain had not yet spoken out, but continued to be distracted by conflicting intrigues. Thus there were left, as decided enemies, Russia and the two principal courts of Germany. But Russia as yet went no further than unfriendly demonstrations, and confined herself to sending away our ambassador. Prussia and Austria alone carried their arms to our frontiers. Among the German states there were but the three ecclesiastical electors, and the landgraves of the two Hesses, that had taken an active part in the coalition. The others waited till they should be compelled to do so. In this state of things, one hundred and thirty-eight thousand men, excellently organized and disciplined, threatened France, which could oppose to them at the utmost but one hundred and twenty thousand, spread over an immense frontier, not forming a sufficient mass at any point, deprived of their officers, feeling no confidence in themselves or their leaders, and having as yet experienced nothing but checks in the war of posts which they had maintained.

The plan of the coalition was to invade France boldly, penetrating by the Ardennes, and proceeding by Chalons towards Paris. The two sovereigns of Prussia and Austria had repaired in person to Mayence. Sixty thousand Prussians, heirs to the traditions and the glory of the great Frederick, advanced in a single column upon our centre. They marched by Luxembourg upon Longwy. Twenty thousand Austrians, commanded by General Clairfayt, supported them on the right by occupying Stenay. Sixteen thousand Austrians, commanded by the Prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, and ten thousand Hessians, flanked the left of the Prussians. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen occupied the Netherlands and threatened the fortresses. The Prince of Condé, with six thousand French emigrants, had proceeded towards Philipsbourg. Several other corps of emigrants were attached to the different Prussian and Austrian armies. The foreign courts which, in collecting the emigrants, were still desirous to prevent their acquiring too much influence, had at first intended to

was a mere prisoner of war, and nothing further. It is very seldom that a petty, vindictive line of policy, accords with the real interest, either of great princes or of private individuals."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

blend them with the German regiments, but had at length consented to suffer them to form distinct corps, yet distributed among the allied armies. These corps were full of officers who had condescended to become privates, and they formed a brilliant body of cavalry, which, however, was more capable of displaying great valour on the day of peril, than of supporting a long campaign.

The French armies were disposed in the most unsuitable manner for withstanding such a mass of forces. Three generals, Beurnonville, Moreton, and Duval, commanded a total of thirty thousand men in three separate camps, Maulde, Maubeuge, and Lille. These were the whole of the French resources on the frontier of the North and of the Low Countries. Lafayette's army, twenty-three thousand strong, disorganized by the departure of its general, and weakened by the utmost uncertainty of sentiment, was encamped at Sedan. Dumouriez was going to take the command of it. Luckner's army, composed of twenty thousand men, occupied Metz, and, like all the others, had just had a new general given to it, namely, Kellermann.* The Assembly, dissatisfied with Luckner, had nevertheless resolved not to dismiss him; but whilst transferring his command to Kellermann, it had assigned to him, with the title of generalissimo, the duty of organizing the new army of reserve, and the purely honorary function of counselling the generals. There remain to be mentioned Custine, who with fifteen thousand men occupied Landau, and lastly, Biron, who, posted in Alsace with thirty thousand men, was too far from the principal theatre of the war to influence the issue of the campaign.

The only two corps placed on the track pursued by the grand army of the allies, were the twenty-three thousand men forsaken by Lafayette, and Kellermann's twenty thousand stationed around Metz. If the grand invading army, conforming its movements to its object, had marched rapidly upon Sedan, while the troops of Lafayette, deprived of their general, were a prey to disorder, and, not having yet been joined by Dumouriez, were without unity and without direction, the principal defensive corps would have been overwhelmed, the Ardennes would have been opened, and the other generals would have been obliged to fall back rapidly for the purpose of concentrating themselves behind the Marne. Perhaps they would not have had time to come from Lille and Metz to Châlons and Rheims. In this case Paris would have been uncovered, and the new government would have had nothing left but the absurd scheme of a camp below Paris, or flight beyond the Loire.

But if France defended herself with all the disorder of a revolution, the foreign powers attacked with all the uncertainty and discordance of views that characterize a coalition. The King of Prussia, intoxicated with the idea of an easy conquest, flattered and deceived by the emigrants, who repesented the invasion to him as a mere *military promenade*, wished it to be conducted with the boldest expedition. But there was still too much prudence at his side, in the Duke of Brunswick, to allow his presumption to have at least the happy effect of audacity and promptness. The Duke of Brunswick, who saw that the season was far advanced, the country very differently disposed from what the emigrants had represented, who, moreover, judged of the revolutionary energy by the insurrection of the 10th of August, thought that it would be better to secure a solid base of operations on the Moselle, by laying siege to Metz and Thionville, and deferring till the next spring the recommencement of the war with the advantage of the preceding conquests. This struggle between the precipitancy of the sovereign and the prudence of the general, and the tardiness of the Austrians, who sent under the command of Prince Hohenlohe but eighteen thousand men instead of fifty, prevented any decisive movement. The Prussian army, however, continued to march towards the cen-

* "Kellermann, a French general, began life as a private hussar, but was soon promoted for his skill and good conduct. I 1792 he obtained the command of the army of the Moselle, and distinguished himself at the battle of Valmy. In 1794 he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but acquitted. In 1799 he became a member of the consular senate; in 1802 he obtained the title of grand officer of the Legion of Honour; and, soon afterwards, was raised to the rank of marshal of the empire. He was father of the celebrated Kellermann, whose glorious charge decided the battle of Marengo."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

tre, and was, on the 20th, before Longwy, one of the most advanced fortresses of that frontier.

Dumouriez, who had always been of opinion that an invasion of the Netherlands would cause a revolution to break out there, and that this diversion would save France from the attacks of Germany, had made every preparation for advancing ever since the day on which he received his commission as general-in-chief of the two armies. He was already on the point of taking the offensive against the Prince of Saxe-Teschen, when Westermann, who had been so active on the 10th of August, and was afterwards sent as commissioner to the army of Lafayette, came to inform him of what was passing on the theatre of the great invasion. On the 22d, Longwy had opened its gates to the Prussians, after a bombardment of a few hours, in consequence of the disorder of the garrison and the weakness of the commandant. Elated with this conquest, and the capture of Lafayette, the Prussians were more favourably disposed than ever towards the plan of a prompt offensive. The army of Lafayette would be undone if the new general did not go to inspire it with confidence by his presence, and to direct its movements in a useful manner.

Dumouriez, therefore, relinquished his favourite plan, and repaired on the 25th, or 26th, to Sedan, where his presence at first excited nothing but animosity and reproaches among the troops. He was the enemy of Lafayette, who was still beloved by them. He was, moreover, supposed to be the author of that unhappy war, because it had been declared during his administration. Lastly, he was considered as a man possessing much greater skill in the use of the pen than of the sword. This language was in the mouths of all the soldiers, and frequently reached the ear of the general. He was not disconcerted by it. He began by cheering the troops, by affecting a firm and tranquil countenance, and soon made them aware of the influence of a more vigorous command.* Still the situation of twenty-three thousand disorganized men, in presence of eighty thousand in a state of the highest discipline, was most discouraging. The Prussians, after taking Longwy, had blockaded Thionville, and were advancing upon Verdun, which was much less capable of resistance than the fortress of Longwy.

The generals, called together by Dumouriez, were all of opinion that they ought not to wait for the Prussians at Sedan, but to retire rapidly behind the Marne, to intrench themselves there in the best manner possible, to wait for the junction of the other armies, and thus cover the capital, which would be but forty leagues distant from the enemy. They all thought that, if they should suffer a defeat in attempting to resist the invasion, the overthrow would be complete, that the discomfited army would not stop between Sedan and Paris, and that the Prussians would march directly thither at a conqueror's pace. Such was our military situation, and the opinion which our generals entertained of it.

The notions formed at Paris on the subject were not more favourable, and the irritation increased with the danger. Meanwhile, that immense capital which had never seen an enemy in its bosom, and which formed an idea of its strength proportionate to its extent and its population, could scarcely conceive it possible for a foe to penetrate within its walls. It had much less dread of the military peril, which it did not perceive, and which was still at a distance from it, than the peril of a reaction on the part of the royalists, who were quelled for the moment. Whilst on the frontiers the generals saw nothing but the Prussians; in the interior, people saw nothing but the aristocrats secretly conspiring to destroy liberty. They said that, to be sure, the King was a prisoner, but his party nevertheless existed, and that it was conspiring, as before the 10th of August, to open Paris to the foreigners. They figured to themselves all the great houses in the capital filled with armed assemblages, ready to sally forth at the first signal, to deliver Louis XVI., to seize the chief authority, and to consign France, without defence, to the sword of the emigrants and of the allies. This correspondence between the *internal* and the

* "Dumouriez, who up to this time had played but a subordinate military part, very much surpassed any expectations that could have been formed of him. He displayed a great deal of talent and enlarged views; and for some little time his patriotism was estimated by his success."—*Lafayette's Memoirs.* E.

external enemy, engrossed all minds. It behoves us, it was said, to rid ourselves of *traitors;* and already the horrible idea of sacrificing the vanquished was conceived—an idea which, with the majority, was only a movement of imagination, but which, by some few only, either more bloodthirsty, more hotheaded, or more powerfully impelled to action, could be converted into a real and meditated plan.

We have already seen that it was proposed to avenge the people for the blows inflicted upon them on the 10th, and that a violent quarrel had arisen between the Assembly and the commune, on the subject of the extraordinary tribunal. This tribunal, to which Dangremont and the unfortunate Laporte, intendant of the civil list, had already fallen victims, did not act with sufficient despatch according to the notions of a furious and heated populace, who beheld enemies on every side. It demanded forms more expeditious for punishing *traitors*, and, above all, it insisted on the trial of the persons transferred to the high court at Orleans. These were, for the most part, ministers and high functionaries, accused, as we have seen, of malversation. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, was among the number. Outcries were raised on all sides against the tardiness of the proceedings; the removal of the prisoners to Paris, and their immediate trial by the tribunal of the 17th of August, were required. The Assembly, being consulted on this point, or rather summoned to comply with the general wish, and to pass a decree for the transfer, had made a courageous resistance. The high national court was, it alleged, a constitutional establishment, which it could not change, because it did not possess the constituent powers, and because it was the right of every accused person to be tried only according to anterior laws. This question had been raised afresh by hosts of petitioners; and the Assembly had at once to resist an ardent minority, the commune, and the tumultuous sections. It had merely accelerated some of the formalities of the proceedings, but decreed that the persons accused before the high court should remain at Orleans, and not be withdrawn from the jurisdiction which the constitution had insured to them.

Thus, then, two opinions were formed: one which held that it was right to spare the vanquished without exerting less energy against foreigners; the other, which insisted that all secret enemies ought to be sacrificed, before people went to meet the armed enemies who were advancing towards Paris. This latter was not so much an opinion as a blind and ferocious sentiment, compounded of fear and rage, and which was destined to increase with the danger.

The Parisians were the more irritated the greater was the peril for their city—the focus of all the insurrections, and the principal goal to which the march of the hostile armies tended. They accused the Assembly, composed of deputies of the departments, of an intention to retire to the provinces. The Girondins, in particular, who chiefly belonged to the provinces of the South, and formed that moderate majority which was odious to the commune, were accused of a wish to sacrifice the capital, out of hatred to it. In this instance a sentiment was attributed to them which they would have been justified in harbouring. But the greater number of them loved their country and their cause too sincerely to think of leaving Paris. They had, it is true, always been of opinion that, if the North were lost, they could fall back upon the South; and, at this very moment, some of them deemed it prudent to remove the seat of government to the other side of the Loire; but no such desire as to sacrifice a hated city and to transfer the government to places where they would be its masters, ever entered their hearts. They were too high-minded, they were moreover still too powerful, and they reckoned too much on the meeting of the approaching Convention, to think so soon of forsaking Paris.

Thus they were charged at once with indulgence towards traitors and with indifference to the interests of the capital. Having to contend with the most violent men, they could do no other, even though they had numbers and reason on their side, than succumb to the activity and the energy of their adversaries. In the executive council they were five to one, for, besides the three ministers, Servan, Clavières, and Roland, selected from among them, the last two, Monge and Lebrun, were likewise of their choice. But Danton, who, without being their personal

enemy, had neither their moderation nor their opinions—Danton* singly, swayed the council and deprived them of all influence. While Clavières was striving to collect some financial resources, Servan bestirring himself to procure reinforcements for the generals, and Roland despatching the most discreet circulars to enlighten the provinces, to direct the local authorities, to prevent their encroachments on power, and to check violence of every kind, Danton was busily engaged in placing all his creatures in the administration. He sent his faithful Cordeliers to all parts, and thus attached to himself numerous supporters, and procured for his friends a share in the profits of the Revolution. Influencing or alarming his colleagues, he found no obstacle but in the inflexible principles of Roland, who frequently refused assent to the measures or subjects which he proposed. Danton was vexed at this, though he did not break with Roland, and he strove to carry as many appointments or decisions as he possibly could.

Danton, whose real sway was in Paris, was anxious to retain it, and fully determined to prevent any removal beyond the Loire. Endued with extraordinary boldness, having proclaimed the insurrection on the night preceding the 10th of August, when every one else still hesitated, he was not a man to recede, and he thought that it behoved him and his colleagues to sacrifice themselves in the capital. Master of the council, connected with Marat and the committee of *surveillance* of the commune, haranguing in all the clubs, living, in short, amidst the mob, as in an element which he agitated at pleasure, Danton was the most powerful man in Paris; and that power, founded on a violent disposition, which brought him in contact with the passions of the people, could not but be formidable to the vanquished. In his revolutionary ardour, Danton inclined to all the ideas of vengeance which the Girondins repelled. He was the leader of that Parisian party which said of itself, "We will not recede. We will perish in the capital and beneath its ruins, but our enemies shall perish before us." Thus were horrible sentiments engendered in minds, and horrible scenes were soon to be their frightful consequences.

On the 26th, the tidings of the capture of Longwy spread with rapidity and caused a general agitation in Paris. People disputed all day on its probability; at length it could be no longer contested, and it became known that the place had opened its gates after a bombardment of a few hours. The ferment excited was such that the Assembly decreed the penalty of death against any one who should propose to surrender in a besieged place. On the demand of the commune, it was decreed that Paris and the neighbouring departments should furnish, within a few days, thirty thousand men armed and equipped. The prevailing enthusiasm rendered it easy to raise this number, and the number served to dispel the apprehensions of danger. It was impossible to suppose that one hundred thousand Prussians could subdue several millions of men who were determined to defend themselves. The works at the camp near Paris were carried on with renewed activity, and the women assembled in the churches to assist in preparing necessaries for the encampment.

Danton repaired to the commune, and at his suggestion recourse was had to extreme means. It was resolved to make a list of all the indigent persons in the sections, and to give them pay and arms. It was morever determined to disarm and apprehend all suspicious persons; and all who had signed the petition against the 20th of June, and against the decree for the camp below Paris, were reputed such. In order to effect this disarming and apprehension, the plan of domiciliary visits was conceived and executed in the most frightful manner.† The barriers were to

* "Roland and Clavières formed a sort of party in the council, and were supported by Brissot and the Bordeaux members in the Assembly, and by Petion and Manuel in the municipality. Servan, Monge, and Lebrun, dared not have an opinion of their own. But the man among them who struck the greatest terror—the man who, with a frown or a single glance of his scowling eye, made all his colleagues tremble—was Danton, minister in the law department. Terror was the weapon he employed."—*Peltier*. E.

† "Let the reader fancy to himself a vast metropolis, the streets of which were a few days before alive with the concourse of carriages, and with citizens constantly passing and repassing—let him fancy to himself, I say, streets so populous and so animated, suddenly struck with the dead silence

be closed for forty-eight hours, from the evening of the 29th, and no permission to leave the city upon any account whatever was to be granted. Guard-ships were stationed on the river to prevent any escape by that outlet. The surrounding communes were directed to stop every person they should find in the fields or on the roads. The drum was to announce the visits, and at this signal every person was required to repair to his home, upon pain of being treated as one suspected of seditiously assembling, if found in the house of another. For this reason, all the sectional assemblies, and the great tribunal itself, were to suspend their meetings for those two days. Commissioners of the commune, assisted by the armed force, were empowered to pay these visits, to seize arms, and to apprehend suspected persons, that is to say, the signers of all the petitions already mentioned, the non-juring priests, such citizens as should be guilty of falsehood in their declarations, those against whom there were denunciations, &c. At ten o'clock in the evening, the streets were to be cleared of all carriages, and the city was to be illuminated during the whole night.

Such were the measures adopted for the purpose of apprehending, it was said, *the bad citizens who had concealed themselves since the 10th of August.* These visits were begun on the evening of the 29th, and one party, incurring the denunciation of another, was liable to be thrown into the prisons. All who had belonged to the late court, either by office, or by rank, or by attendance at the palace—all who had declared themselves in its favour during the various royalist movements—all who had base enemies, capable of revenging themselves by a denunciation, were consigned to the prisons, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand persons! It was the committee of *surveillance* of the commune which superintended these apprehensions, and caused them to be executed before its eyes. Those who were apprehended were first taken from their abode to the committee of their section, and from this committee to that of the commune. There they were briefly questioned respecting their sentiments and the acts which proved their greater or less energy. They were frequently examined by a single member of the committee, while the other members, exhausted with watching for several successive days and nights, were sleeping upon the chairs or the tables. The persons apprehended were at first carried to the Hôtel de Ville, and afterwards distributed among the different prisons, in which any room was left. Here were confined all the advocates of those various opinions which had succeeded one another till the 10th of August, all the ranks which had been overthrown, and plain tradesmen, who were already deemed as great aristocrats as dukes and princes.

Terror pervaded all Paris. It prevailed alike among the republicans threatened by the Prussian armies, and among the royalists threatened by the republicans. The committee of *general defence*, appointed by the Assembly to consider of the means of resisting the enemy, met on the 30th, and solicited the attendance of the

of the grave, before sunset, on a fine summer evening. All the shops are shut; everybody retires into the interior of his house, trembling for life and property; all are in fearful expectation of the events of a night in which even the efforts of despair are not likely to afford the least resource to any individual. The sole object of the domiciliary visits, it is pretended, is to search for arms, yet the barriers are shut and guarded with the strictest vigilance, and boats are stationed on the river, at regular distances, filled with armed men. Every one supposes himself to be informed against. Everywhere persons and property are put into concealment. Everywhere are heard the interrupted sounds of the muffled hammer, with cautious knock completing the hiding-place. Roofs, garrets, sinks, chimneys—all are just the same to fear, incapable of calculating any risk. One man, squeezed up behind the wainscot which has been nailed back on him, seems to form a part of the wall; another is suffocated with fear and heat between two mattresses; a third, rolled up in a cask, loses all sense of existence by the tension of his sinews. Apprehension is stronger than pain. Men tremble, but they do not shed tears; the heart shivers, the eye is dull, and the breast contracted. Women, on this occasion, display prodigies of tenderness and intrepidity. It was by them that most of the men were concealed. It was one o'clock in the morning when the domiciliary visits began. Patroles, consisting of sixty pikemen, were in every street. The nocturnal tumult of so many armed men; the incessant knocks to make people open their doors; the crash of those that were burst off their hinges; and the continual uproar and revelling which took place throughout the night in all the public-houses, formed a picture which will never be effaced from my memory."—*Peltier.* E.

executive council for the purpose of deliberating with it on the means of the public welfare. The meeting was numerous, because the members of the committee were joined by a multitude of deputies who wished to be present at this sitting. Various plans were suggested. Servan, the minister, had no confidence in the armies, and did not think it possible for Dumouriez to stop the Prussians with the twenty-three thousand men left him by Lafayette. He conceived that, between them and Paris, there was no position of sufficient strength to make head against them and to check their march. All coincided with him on this point, and, after it had been proposed that the whole population in arms should be collected under the walls of Paris, in order to combat there with desperation, it was suggested that the Assembly should retire, in case of emergency, to Saumur, to place a wider space and fresh obstacles between the enemy and the depositaries of the national sovereignty. Vergniaud and Guadet opposed the idea of quitting Paris. They were followed by Danton.

"It is proposed," said he, "that you should quit Paris. You are well aware that, in the opinion of the enemy, Paris represents France, and that to cede this point is to abandon the Revolution to them. If we give way we are undone. We must, therefore, maintain our ground by all possible means, and save ourselves by audacity.

"Among the means proposed none seems to me decisive. We must not disguise from ourselves the situation in which we are placed by the 10th of August. It has divided us into royalists and republicans. The former are very numerous, the latter far from it. In this state of weakness, we republicans are exposed to two fires—that of the enemy placed without, and that of the royalists placed within. There is a royal directory, which holds secret meetings at Paris, and corresponds with the Prussian army. To tell you where it assembles, and of whom it is composed, is not in the power of the ministers. But to disconcert it, and to prevent its baneful correspondence with foreigners, *we must—we must strike terror into the royalists.*"

At these words, accompanied by a gesture betokening extermination, horror overspread every face.

"I tell you," resumed Danton, "you must strike terror into the royalists. . . . . It is in Paris above all that it behoves you to stand your ground, and it is not by wasting yourselves in uncertain combats that you will succeed in doing so." A stupor instantly pervaded the Assembly. Not a word more was added to this speech, and every one retired, without foreseeing precisely, without daring even to penetrate, the measures contemplated by the minister.

He repaired immediately to the committee of *surveillance* of the commune, which disposed with sovereign authority of the persons of all the citizens, and over which Marat reigned. The blind and ignorant colleagues of Marat were Panis and Sergent, already conspicuous on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, and four others, named Jourdeuil, Duplain, Lefort, and Lenfant. There, in the night between the 30th and the 31st of August, horrible plans were meditated against the unfortunate persons confined in the prisons of Paris. Deplorable and dreadful instance of political excitement! Danton, who was known never to harbour hatred against personal enemies, and to be frequently accessible to pity, lent his audacity to the atrocious reveries of Marat. They two hatched a plot, of which several centuries have furnished examples, but which, at the conclusion of the eighteenth, cannot be explained by the ignorance of the times and the ferocity of manners. We have seen, three years before this, a man named Maillard* figuring at the head of the female insurgents on the famous days of the 5th and 6th of October. This Maillard,

* "Maillard, a runner belonging to the Châtelet at Paris, began, from the opening of the States-general, to signalize himself in all the tumults of the metropolis. In September, 1792, he presided in the meeting at the Abbaye to regulate the massacre of the prisoners; and it has been said that he seized on the spoils of those who were murdered by his order. He afterwards became one of the denunciators of the prisons, and, during the Reign of Terror, appeared several times at La Force, to mark the victims who were to be condemned by the revolutionary tribunal."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

who had been usher to a court of justice, an intelligent but bloodthirsty man, had formed a band of low desperadoes fit for any enterprise; such, in short, as are to be found in those classes where education has not purified the passions by enlightening the understanding. He was known as the leader of this band, and, if we may credit a recent revelation, he received notice to hold himself in readiness to act upon the first signal, to place himself where he could strike with effect and certainty, to prepare bludgeons, to take precautions for preventing the cries of the victims, to procure vinegar, holly brooms, quick lime, covered carts, &c.

From that moment vague rumours of a terrible execution were circulated. The relatives of the prisoners were upon the rack, and the plot, like that of the 10th of August, the 20th of June, and all the others, was foreshown by portentous signs. On all sides it was repeated that it was requisite to overawe by a single example the conspirators, who, in the recesses of the prisons, were corresponding with foreigners. People complained of the tardiness of the tribunal instituted to punish the culprits of the 10th of August, and with loud cries demanded speedy justice. On the 31st, Montmorin the late minister, was acquitted by the tribunal of the 17th of August, and reports were spread that there was treachery everywhere, and that impunity was insured to the guilty. On the same day, it was alleged that a condemned person had made some revelations, the purport of which was that in the night the prisoners were to break out of the dungeons, to arm and disperse themselves through the city, to wreak horrible vengeance upon it, and then to carry off the King and throw open Paris to the Prussians. The prisoners who were thus accused were meanwhile trembling for their lives; their relatives were in deep consternation; and the royal family expected nothing but death in the tower of the Temple.

At the Jacobins, in the sections, in the council of the commune, in the minority of the Assembly, were great numbers of persons who believed these pretended plots, and dared to declare it lawful to exterminate the prisoners. Assuredly nature does not form so many monsters for a single day, and it is party-spirit alone that leads astray so many men at once! Sad lesson for nations! People believe in dangers; they persuade themselves that they ought to repel them; they repeat this; they work themselves up into a frenzy; and, while some proclaim with levity that a blow must be struck, others strike with sanguinary audacity.

On Saturday, the 1st of September, the forty-eight hours fixed for the closing of the barriers and the execution of the domiciliary visits having elapsed, the communications were re-established. But, in the course of the day, all at once a rumour of the taking of Verdun was circulated. Verdun, however, was only invested; still it was believed that the place was captured, and that a fresh treachery had delivered it up like the fortress of Longwy. Under the influence of Danton the commune immediately resolved that, on the following day, September the 2d, the *générale* should be beaten, the tocsin rung, and alarm-guns fired, and that all the disposable citizens should repair armed to the Champ de Mars, encamp there for the remainder of the day, and set out on the next for Verdun. From these terrible preparations it became evident that something very different from a levy *en masse* was contemplated. Relatives hastened to make efforts to obtain the enlargement of the prisoners. Manuel, the *procureur syndic*, at the solicitation of a generous woman, liberated, it is said, two female prisoners of the family of Latrémouille. Another lady, Madame Fausse-Lendry, importunately solicited permission to accompany her uncle, the Abbé de Rastignac, in his captivity. "You are very imprudent," replied Sergent; "*the prisons are not safe.*"

Next day, the 2d of September, was Sunday, and the suspension of labour increased the popular tumult. Numerous assemblages were formed in different places, and a report was spread that the enemy was likely to be at Paris in three days. The commune informed the Assembly of the measures which it had taken for the levy *en masse* of the citizens. Vergniaud, fired with patriotic enthusiasm, immediately rose, complimented the Parisians on their courage, and praised them for having converted the zeal for motions into a more active and useful zeal—the zeal for combat. "It appears," added he, "that the plan of the enemy is to march

direct to the capital, leaving the fortress behind him. Let him do so. This course will be our salvation and his ruin. Our armies, too weak to withstand him, will be strong enough to harass him in the rear; and when he arrives, pursued by our battalions, he will find himself face to face with our Parisian army, drawn up in battle array under the walls of the capital; and there, surrounded on all sides, he will be swallowed up by that soil which he had profaned. But amidst these flattering hopes there is a danger which ought not to be disguised, that of panic terrors. Our enemies reckon upon them and distribute gold in order to produce them; and well you know it, there are men made up of so soft a clay as to be decomposed at the idea of the least danger. I wish we could pick out this species without souls but with human faces, and collect all the individuals belonging to it in one town, Longwy, for instance, which should be called the town of cowards: and there, objects of general contempt, they would communicate their own fears to their fellow-citizens alone; they would no longer cause dwarfs to be mistaken for giants, and the dust flying before a company of Hulans, for armed battalions.

"Parisians, it is high time to display all your energy! Why are not the intrenchments of the camp more advanced? Where are the pickaxes, the spades, which raised the altar of the Federation, and levelled the Champ de Mars? You have manifested great ardour for festivities: surely you will not show less for battle. You have sung—you have celebrated liberty. You must now defend it. We have no longer to overthrow kings of bronze, but living kings, armed with all their power. I move, therefore, that the National Assembly set the first example, and send twelve commissioners, not to make exhortations, but to labour themselves, to wield the spade with their own hands, in the sight of all the citizens." This suggestion was adopted with the utmost enthusiasm.

Danton followed Vergniaud. He communicated the measures which had been taken, and proposed new ones. "One portion of the people," said he, "is about to proceed to the frontiers, another is going to throw up intrenchments, and the third, with pikes, will defend the interior of our cities. But this is not enough. Commissioners and couriers must be sent forth to all parts to induce the whole of France to imitate Paris. A decree must be passed, which shall make it obligatory on every citizen to serve in person, or to give up his arms. The gun," added Danton, "which you will presently hear, is not the alarm-gun; it is the charge against the enemies of the country, What need we, in order to conquer—to annihilate them? *Courage! again courage, and nothing but courage!*"

The words and gestures of the minister made profound impression on all present. His motion was adopted. He retired and went to the committee of *surveillance*. All the authorities, all the bodies, the Assembly, the commune, the sections, the Jacobins, were sitting. The ministers, who had met at the hotel of the marine, were waiting for Danton to hold a council. The whole city was in motion. Profound terror pervaded the prisons. At the Temple, the royal family, to which any commotion threatened more serious consequences than to the other prisoners, anxiously inquired the cause of all this perturbation. The gaolers at the different prisons betrayed alarm. The keeper of the Abbaye had sent away his wife and children in the morning. The prisoners' dinner had been served up two hours before the usual time, and all the knives had been taken away from their napkins. Struck by these circumstances, they had earnestly inquired the cause of their keepers, who would not give any explanation. At length, at two o'clock, the *générale* began to beat, the tocsin rang, and the alarm-gun thundered in the capital. Troops of citizens repaired to the Champ de Mars. Others surrounded the commune and the Assembly, and filled the public places.

There were at the Hôtel de Ville twenty-four priests, who, having been apprehended on account of their refusal to take the oath, were to be removed to the hall of the depot to the prisons of the Abbaye. Whether purposely or accidentally, this moment was chosen for their removal. They were placed in six hackney-coaches, and, escorted by Breton and Marseillais federalists, they were conveyed, at a slow pace, towards the fauxbourg St. Germain, along the quays, over the Pont Neuf, and through the Rue Dauphine. They were surrounded and loaded with

abuse. "There," said the federalists, "are the conspirators, who meant to murder our wives and children while we were on the frontiers!" These words increased the tumult. The doors of the coaches were open: the unfortunate persons within strove to shut them, in order to screen themselves from the ill usage to which they were exposed; but, being prevented, they were obliged to endure blows and abuse with patience.

At length, they reached the court of the Abbaye, where an immense crowd was already collected. That court led to the prisons and communicated with the hall in which the committee of the section of the Quatre-Nations held its meetings. The first coach, on driving up to the door of the hall, was surrounded by a furious rabble. Maillard was present. The door opened. The first of the prisoners stepped forward to alight and to enter the hall, but was immediately pierced by a thousand weapons. The second threw himself back in the carriage, but was dragged forth by main force, and slaughtered like the preceding. The other two shared the same fate; and their murderers left the first coach to go to those which followed. They came up one after another into the fatal court, and the last of the twenty-four priests,* was despatched amidst the howls of an infuriated populace.

At this moment Billaud-Varennes† arrived, a member of the council of the commune, and the only one of the organizers of these massacres, who dared with cruel intrepidity to encounter the sight of them and constantly to defend them. He came, wearing his scarf. Walking in the blood and over the corpses, he addressed the crowd of murderers. "Good people," said he, "you sacrifice your enemies; you do your duty." Another voice was raised after Billaud's. It was that of Maillard. "There is nothing more to do here," cried he; "let us go to the Carmelites." His band followed him, and away they posted all together towards the church of the Carmelites, in which two hundred priests had been confined. They broke into the church, and butchered the unfortunate priests, who prayed to Heaven, and embraced each other at the approach of death. They called with loud shouts for the Archbishop of Arles;‡ they sought for, and despatched him with the stroke of a sword upon the skull. After using their swords, they employed fire-arms, and discharged volleys into the rooms and the garden, at the tops of the walls and the trees, where some of the victims sought to escape their fury.

During the completion of the massacre at the Carmelites, Maillard returned with part of his followers to the Abbaye. Covered with blood and perspiration, he went in to the committee of the section of the Quatre-Nations, and asked *for wine for the brave labourers who were delivering the nation from its enemies.* The committee shuddered, and granted them twenty-four quarts.

The wine was poured out in the court at tables surrounded by the corpses of the persons murdered in the afternoon. After it was drunk, Maillard, of a sudden pointing to the prison, cried, *To the Abbaye!* At these words, his gang followed him

* With one exception only, the Abbé Sicard, who miraculously escaped.

† "Billaud-Varennes was born at Rochelle, which place he quitted several years before the Revolution, at the age of twenty-three, from vexation that the people there had hissed a theatrical piece of his composition. He then went to Paris, where he got himself admitted a barrister, and married a natural daughter of M. de Verdun, the only one of the farmers-general who was not guillotined. In 1792 he was substitute for the attorney of the commune of Paris, and became one of the directors of the September massacres. In 1795 he was sentenced to banishment to Guiana, where he was looked upon by the people as little better than a wild beast. His principal occupation during his exile was to breeding parrots. Billaud-Varennes was the author of many dull pamphlets."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

‡ "When the assassins got to the chapel, they called, with loud cries, the Archbishop of Arles. 'Are you he?' said one of them, addressing this venerable and virtuous prelate. 'Yes, gentlemen, I am.'—'Ah, wretch,' replied the fellow, 'it is you who caused the blood of the patriots of Arles to be spilt,' and, with these words, the ruffian aimed a blow of his hanger at the prelate's forehead. He received it unmoved. A second dreadful gash was given him in the face. A third blow brought him to the ground, where he rested on his left hand without uttering a single murmur. While he lay thus, one of the assassins plunged his pike into his breast with such violence that the iron part stuck there. The ruffian then jumped on the prelate's palpitating body, trampled upon it, and tore away his watch. Thus fell that amiable archbishop, just within the chapel, at the foot of the altar, and of the cross of our Saviour."—*Peltier.* E.

and attacked the door. The trembling prisoners heard the yells—the signal for their death! The gaoler and his wife disappeared. The doors were thrown open. The first of the prisoners who were met with were seized, dragged forth by the legs, and their bleeding bodies thrown into the court. While the first comers were thus indiscriminately slaughtered, Maillard and his band demanded the keys of the different prisons. One of them, advancing towards the door of the wicket, mounted upon a stool and harangued the mob. "My friends," said he, "you wish to destroy the aristocrats, who are the enemies of the people, and who meant to murder your wives and children while you were at the frontiers. You are right, no doubt; but you are good citizens; you love justice; and you would be very sorry to steep your hands in innocent blood."—"Yes, certainly," cried the executioners.—"Well then, let me ask, when you are determined, without listening to any remonstrance, to rush like furious tigers upon men who are strangers to you, are you not liable to confound the innocent with the guilty?" The speaker was interrupted by one of the by-standers, who, armed with a sword, cried in his turn, "What! do you want to lull us to sleep, too? If the Prussians and the Austrians were at Paris, would they strive to distinguish the guilty? I have a wife and family, and will not leave them in danger. Give arms, if you please, to these *scoundrels*. We will fight them man to man, and before we set out Paris shall be cleared of them."—"He is right; we must go in," said the others, and they rushed forward. They were stopped, however, and obliged to assent to a kind of trial. It was agreed that they should take a list of the prisoners, that one of them should act as president, read the names and the causes of detention, and immediately pronounce sentence on each prisoner. "Maillard! Let Maillard be president!" cried out several voices: and forthwith he assumed the office. This terrible president seated himself at a table, placed before him a list of the prisoners, called around him a few men, taken at random, to give their opinions, sent some into the prison to bring out the inmates, and posted others at the door to consummate the massacre. It was agreed that, in order to spare scenes of anguish, he should pronounce these words, *Sir, to La Force!* when the prisoner should be taken out at the wicket, and, unaware of the fate which awaited him, be delivered up to the swords of the party posted there.

The Swiss confined in the Abbaye, and whose officers had been taken to the Conciergerie, were first brought forward. "It was you," said Maillard, "who murdered the people on the 10th of August."—"We were attacked," replied the unfortunate men, "and we obeyed our officers."—"At any rate," replied Maillard coldly, "You are only going to be taken to La Force." But the prisoners, who had caught a glimpse of the swords brandished on the other side of the wicket, were not to be deceived. They were ordered to go, but halted and drew back. One of them, more courageous, asked which way they were to go. The door was opened, and he rushed headlong amidst the swords and pikes. The others followed and met with the same fate!

The executioners returned to the prison, put all the women into one room, and brought out more prisoners. Several persons accused of forging assignats were first sacrificed. After them came the celebrated Montmorin, whose acquittal had caused so much commotion without obtaining him his liberty. Led before the blood-stained president, he declared that, being in the hands of a regular tribunal, he could not recognise any other. "Well," replied Maillard, "then you must go to La Force, to await a new trial!" The unsuspecting ex-minister applied for a carriage. He was told that he would find one at the door. He also asked for some of his effects, went to the door, and was instantly put to death.

Thierry, the King's valet-de-chambre, was then brought. "Like master, like man," said Maillard, and the unfortunate prisoner was slaughtered.* Next came

* "M. Thierry, the King's head valet, after he was condemned to die, kept crying out, 'God save the King,' even when he had a pike run through his body; and as if these words were blasphemous, the assassins in a rage, burned his face with two torches.—The Count de St. Mart, a knight of the order of St. Louis, one of the prisoners, had a spear run through both his sides. His executioners then forced him to crawl upon his knees, with his body thus skewered; and burst

Buob and Bocquillon, justices of the peace, accused of having belonged to the secret committee of the Tuileries. They were accordingly murdered. Night meanwhile was advancing, and every prisoner hearing the yells of the assassins, concluded that his last hour was at hand.

What were the constituted authorities, all the assembled bodies, all the citizens of Paris, about at this moment? In that immense capital, tranquillity and tumult, security and terror, may prevail at one and the same time, so distant is one part of it from another. It was very late before the Assembly was apprized of the atrocities perpetrating in the prisons; and, horror-struck, it had sent deputies to appease the people and to save the victims. The commune had despatched commissioners to liberate the prisoners for debt, and to separate what they called the *innocent* from the *guilty*. Lastly, the Jacobins, though met, and informed of what was passing, seemed to maintain a preconcerted silence. The ministers, assembled at the hotel of the marine to hold a council, were not yet apprized of what was being perpetrated, and awaited Danton, who was attending the committee of *surveillance*. Santerre, the commandant-general, had, so he told the commune, issued orders, but they were not obeyed, and almost all his men were engaged in guarding the barriers. It is certain that unrecognised and contradictory orders were given, and that all the signs of a secret authority, opposed to the public authority, were manifested. In the court of the Abbaye was a post of the national guard, which had instructions to suffer people to enter, but not to go out. Besides, there were posts waiting for orders, and not receiving any. Had Santerre lost his wits, as on the 10th of August, or was he implicated in the plot? While commissioners, publicly sent by the commune, came to recommend tranquillity and to pacify the people, other members of the same commune repaired to the committee of the Quatre-Nations, which was sitting close to the scene of the massacres, and said, "Is all going on right here as well as at the Carmelites? The commune sends us to offer you assistance if you need it."

The efforts of the commissioners sent by the Assembly and by the commune to put a stop to the murders had proved unavailing. They had found an immense mob surrounding the prison, and looking at the horrid sight with shouts of *Vive la nation!* Old Dusaulx, mounted on a chair, commenced an address in favour of mercy, but could not obtain a hearing. Basire, possessing more tact, had feigned a participation in the resentment of the crowd, but they refused to listen to him the moment he endeavoured to excite sentiments of compassion. Manuel, the *procureur* of the commune, filled with pity, had run the greatest risks without being able to save a single victim. At this intelligence, the commune, touched more sensibly than it had been at first, despatched a second deputation, *to pacify the people, and to enlighten their minds as to their true interests.* This deputation, as unsuccessful as the first, merely succeeded in setting at liberty a few women and debtors.

The massacre continued throughout that horrid night! The murderers succeeded each other at the tribunal and at the wicket, and became by turns judges and executioners. At the same time they continned to drink, and set down upon a table their blood-stained glasses. Amidst this carnage, however, they spared some victims, and manifested inconceivable joy in giving them their lives. A young man, claimed by a section and declared pure from aristocracy, was acquitted with shouts of

out laughing at his convulsive writhings. They at last put an end to his agony by cutting off his head."—*Peltier*. E.

"Young Massaubré, had hid himself in a chimney. As he could not be found, the assassins were resolved to make the gaoler answerable. The latter, accustomed to the tricks of prisoners, and knowing that the chimney was well secured at top by bars of iron, fired a gun up several times. One ball hit Massaubré, and broke his wrist. He had sufficient self-command to endure the pain in silence. The gaoler theu set fire to some straw in the chimney. The smoke suffocated him; he tumbled down on the burning straw; and was dragged out, wounded, burnt, and half dead. On being taken into the street, the executioners determined to complete his death in the manner in which it had been begun. He remained almost a quarter of an hour, lying in blood, among heaps of dead bodies, till the assassins could procure fire-arms. At last they put an end to his tortures by shooting him through the head five times with pistols."—*Peltier*. E.

Vive la nation! and borne in triumph in the bloody arms of the executioners. The venerable Sombreuil, governor of the Invalides, was brought forward in his turn, and sentenced to be transferred to La Force. His daughter perceived him from the prison, rushed out among pikes and swords, clasped her father in her arms, clung to him with such tenacity, besought his murderers with such a flood of tears and in such piteous accents, that even their fury was suspended. Then, as if to subject that sensibility which overpowered them to a fresh trial, "Drink," said they to this dutiful daughter, "drink the blood of the aristocrats!" and they handed to her a pot full of blood. She drank—and her father was saved! The daughter of Cazotte also instinctively clasped her father in her arms. She, too, implored for mercy, and proved as irresistible as the generous Sombreuil; but, more fortunate than the latter, she saved her father's life without having any horrible condition imposed upon her affection.* Tears trickled from the eyes of the murderers, and yet, in a moment after away they went in quest of fresh victims.

One of them returned to the prison to lead forth other prisoners to death. He was told that the wretches whom he came to slaughter had been kept without water for twenty-two hours, and he resolved to go and kill the gaoler. Another felt compassion for a prisoner whom he was taking to the wicket, because he heard him speak the dialect of his own country. "Why art thou here?" said he to M. Journiac de St. Meard. "If thou art not a traitor, the president, *who is not a fool*, will do thee justice. Do not tremble, and answer boldly." M. Journiac was brought before Maillard, who looked at the list. "Ah!" said Maillard, "it is you, M. Journiac, who wrote in the *Journal de la Cour et de la Ville.*"—"No," replied the prisoner, "it is a calumny. I never wrote in that paper."—"Beware of attempting to deceive us," rejoined Maillard, "for any falsehood here is punished with death. Have you not recently absented yourself to go to the army of the emigrants?"—"That is another calumny. I have a certificate attesting that for twenty-three months past I have not left Paris."—"Whose is that certificate? Is the signature authentic?" Fortunately for M. de Journiac, there happened to be among the sanguinary crew a man to whom the signer of the certificate was personally known. The signature was accordingly verified and declared to be genuine. "You see then," resumed M. de Journiac, "I have been slandered."—"If the slanderer were here," replied Maillard, "he should suffer condign punishment. But tell me, was there no motive for your confinement?"—"Yes," answered M. de Journiac, "I was known to be an aristocrat."—"An aristocrat!"—"Yes, an aristocrat: but you are not here to sit in judgment on opinions. It is conduct only that you have to try. Mine is irreproachable; I have never conspired; my soldiers in the regiment which I commanded adored me, and they begged at Nancy to go and take Malseigne." Struck with his firmness, the judges looked at one another, and Maillard gave the signal of mercy. Shouts of *Vive la nation!* instantly arose on all sides. The prisoner was embraced. Two men laid hold of him, and, covering him with their arms, led him safely through the threatening array of pikes and swords. M. de Journiac offered them money, but they refused it, and only asked permission to embrace him.† Another prisoner, saved in like manner, was escorted

* "After thirty hours of carnage, sentence was passed on Cazotte. The instrument of death was already uplifted. The bloody hands were stretched out to pierce his aged breast. His daughter flung herself on the old man's neck, and presenting her bosom to the swords of the assassins exclaimed, 'You shall not get at my father till you have forced your way through my heart.' The pikes were instantly checked in their murderous career; a shout of pardon is heard; and is repeated by a thousand voices. Elizabeth, whose beauty was heightened by her agitation, embraces the murderers: and covered with human blood, but triumphant, she proceeds to lodge her father safe in the midst of his family."—*Peltier.* E.

† "*At half-past two o'clock on Sunday, Sept.* 2, we prisoners saw three carriages pass by attended by a crowd of frantic men and women. They went on to the Abbey cloister, which had been converted into a prison for the clergy. In a moment after, we heard that the mob had just butchered all the ecclesiastics, who, they said, had been put into the fold there.—*Near four o'clock.* The piercing cries of a man whom they were hacking to pieces with hangers, drew us to the turret-window of our prison, whence we saw a mangled corpse on the ground opposite to the door. Another was butchered in the same manner a moment afterwards.—*Near seven o'clock.* We

home with the same attention. The executioners, dripping with blood, begged leave to witness the joy of his family, and immediately afterwards returned to the carnage. In this convulsive state, all the emotions succeeded each other in the heart of man. By turns a mild and a ferocious animal, he weeps and then slaughters. Steeped in blood, he is all at once touched by an instance of ardent affection or of noble firmness. He is sensible to the honour of appearing just, to the vanity of appearing upright or disinterested. If, in these deplorable days of September, some of those savages were seen turning at once robbers and murderers, others were seen coming to deposit on the bureau of the committee of the Abbaye the blood-stained jewels found upon the prisoners.

During this terrific night, the band had divided and carried destruction into the other prisons of Paris. At the Châtelet, La Force, the Conciergerie, the Bernardins, St. Firmin, La Salpêtrière, and the Bicêtre, the same massacres had been perpetrated, and streams of blood had flowed, as at the Abbaye.* Next morning, Monday, the 3d of September, day threw a light upon the horrid carnage of the night, and consternation pervaded all Paris. Billaud-Varennes again repaired to the Abbaye, where, on the preceding evening, he had encouraged what were called *the labourers*. He again addressed them. "My friends," said he, "by taking the lives of villains you have saved the country. France owes you everlasting gratitude, and the municipality knows not how to remunerate you. It offers you twenty four livres apiece, and you shall be paid immediately." These words were received with applause, and those to whom they were addressed then followed Billaud-Varennes to the committee to receive the pay that was promised them. "Where do you imagine," said the president to Billaud, "that we are to find funds for paying?" Billaud then pronounced a fresh eulogy on the massacres, and told the president that the minister of the interior must have money for that purpose. Messengers were sent to Roland, who, on rising, had just received intelligence of the crimes of the night, and who refused the demand with indignation. Returning to the committee, the murderers demanded, upon pain of death, the wages of their horrid labour, and every member was obliged to empty his pockets to satisfy them.†

saw two men enter our cell with drawn swords in their bloody hands. A turnkey showed the way with a flambeau, and pointed out to them the bed of the unfortunate Swiss soldier, Reding. At this frightful moment, I was clasping his hand, and endeavouring to console him. One of the assassins was going to lift him up, but the poor Swiss stopped him, by saying in a dying tone of voice, 'I am not afraid of death; pray, sir, let me be killed here.' He was, however, borne away on the men's shoulders, carried into the street, and there murdered.—*Ten o'clock, Monday morning.* The most important matter that now employed our thoughts, was to consider what posture we should put ourselves in, when dragged to the place of slaughter, in order to receive death with the least pain. We sent, from time to time, some of our companions to the turret-window, to inform us of the attitude of the victims. They brought us back word, that those who stretched out their hands, suffered the longest, because the blows of the cutlasses were thereby weakened before they reached the head; that even some of the victims lost their hands and arms, before their bodies fell; and that such as put their hands behind their backs, must have suffered much less pain. We calculated the advantages of this last posture, and advised one another to adopt it, when it should come to our turn to be butchered.—*One o'clock, Tuesday morning.* After enduring inconceivable tortures of mind, I was brought before my judges, proclaimed innocent, and set free."—*Extracted from a Journal entitled "My Thirty-eight Hours' Agony," by M. Jourgniac de Saint-Meard.*

* "The populace in the court of the Abbaye, complained that the foremost only got a stroke at the prisoners, and that they were deprived of the pleasure of murdering the aristocrats. It was in consequence agreed that those in advance should only strike with the backs of their sabres, and that the wretched victims should be made to run the gauntlet through a long avenue of murderers, each of whom should have the satisfaction of striking them before they expired. The women in the adjoining quarter made a formal demand to the commune for lights to see the massacres, and a lamp was in consequence placed near the spot where the victims issued, amid the shouts of the spectators. Benches, under the charge of sentinels, were next arranged, some "Pour les Messieurs," and others "Pour les Dames," to witness the spectacle!"—*Alison.*

† "The assassins were not slow in claiming their promised reward. Stained with blood, and bespattered with brains, with their swords and bayonets in their hands, they soon thronged the doors of the committee of the municipality, who were at a loss for funds to discharge their claims. "Do you think I have only twenty-four francs?' said a young baker armed with a massive weapon; 'why, I have slain forty with my own hands!' At midnight the mob returned threatening instant death to the whole committee if they were not forthwith paid."—*Alison.* E.

The commune undertook to pay the remainder of the debt, and there may still be seen, in the statement of its expenses, the entries of several sums paid to the executioners of September. There, too, may be seen, at the date of September the 4th, the sum of one thousand four hundred and sixty-three livres charged to the same account.

The report of all these horrors had spread throughout Paris, and produced the greatest consternation. The Jacobins continued to observe silence. Some symptoms of compassion were shown at the commune; but its members did not fail to add that the people had been just; that they had punished criminals only; and that, in their vengeance, if they had done wrong, it was merely by anticipating the sword of the law. The general council had again sent commissioners "to allay the agitation, and to bring back to right principles those who had been misled." Such were the expressions of the public authorities! People were everywhere to be found, who, whilst pitying the sufferings of the unfortunate victims, added, "If they had been allowed to live, they would have murdered us in a few days."—"If," said others, "we are conquered and massacred by the Prussians, they will at least have fallen before us." Such are the frightful consequences of the fear which parties produce in each other, and of the hatred engendered by that fear!

The Assembly, amidst these atrocious outrages, was painfully affected. Decree after decree was issued, demanding from the commune an account of the state of Paris; and the commune replied that it was doing all that lay in its power to restore order and the laws. Still the Assembly, composed of those Girondins, who proceeded so courageously against the murderers of September, and died so nobly for having attacked them—the Assembly did not conceive the idea of repairing in a body to the prisons, and placing itself between the butchers and the victims. If that generous idea did not occur to draw them from their seats and to transfer them to the theatre of the carnage, this must be attributed to surprise, to the feeling of impotence, perhaps also to that lukewarmness occasioned by danger from an enemy, and lastly, to that disastrous notion shared by some of the deputies, that the victims were so many conspirators, at whose hands death might have been expected, had it not been inflicted on themselves.

One individual displayed on this day a generous character, and exclaimed with nobly energy against the murderers. During their reign of three days, he remonstrated on the second. On Monday morning, the moment he was informed of the crimes of the night, he wrote to Petion, the mayor, who as yet knew nothing of them: he wrote to Santerre, who did not act; and addressed to both the most urgent requisitions. He also sent at the moment a letter to the Assembly, which was received with applause. This excellent man, so unworthily calumniated by the parties, was Roland. In his letter he inveighed against all sorts of disorders, against the usurpations of the commune, against the fury of the populace, and said nobly that he was ready to die at the post which the law had assigned to him. If, however, the reader wishes to form an idea of the exciting disposition of minds, of the fury which prevailed against those who were denominated *traitors*, and of the caution with which it was necessary to speak of outrageous passions, some notion of them may be conceived from the following passage. Assuredly there can be no question of the courage of the man who alone and publicly held all the authorities responsible for the massacres; and yet observe in what manner he was obliged to express himself on the subject:

"Yesterday was a day over the events of which we ought perhaps to throw a veil. I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, exercise a sort of justice in it; they do not take for their victims all whom they encounter in their fury; they direct it against those whom they consider as having been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the danger of circumstances persuades them that it is expedient to sacrifice without delay. But I know, too, that it is easy for villains, for traitors, to abuse this excitement, and that it ought to be stopped. I know that we owe to all France the declaration that the executive power could neither foresee nor prevent these excesses. I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities

to put an end to them, or to regard themselves as annihilated. I know, moreover, that this declaration exposes me to the rage of certain agitators. Let them take my life. I am not anxious to preserve it, unless for the sake of liberty and equality. If these be violated or destroyed, either by the rule of foreign despots or by the excesses of a misled people, I shall have lived long enough; but till my latest breath I shall have done my duty. This is the only good which I covet, and of which no power on earth can deprive me."

The Assembly received this letter with applause, and on the motion of Lamourette ordered the commune to give an account of the state of Paris. The commune again replied that tranquillity was restored. On seeing the courage of the minister of the interior, Marat and his committee were exasperated, and dared to issue an order for his apprehension. Such was their blind fury, that they had the hardihood to attack a minister and a man, who, at the moment, still possessed all his popularity. At this news, Danton vehemently inveighed against those members of the committee, whom he called *madmen*. Though daily thwarted by the inflexibility of Roland, he was far from harbouring animosity against him. Besides, he dreaded, in his terrible policy, all that he deemed useless, and he regarded it as extravagant to seize the minister of state in the midst of his functions. He repaired to the residence of the mayor, hastened to the committee, and launched out indignantly against Marat. Means were nevertheless found to appease him, and to reconcile him with Marat. The order for Roland's apprehension was delivered to him, and he went immediately and showed it to Petion, to whom he related what he had done. "See," said he, "what those *madmen* are capable of!—but I shall know how to bring them to reason."—"You have done wrong," coolly replied Petion; "this act could not have harmed any but its authors."

Petion, on his part, though colder than Roland, had displayed not less courage. He had written to Santerre, who, either from impotence or from being implicated in the plot, replied that his heart was rent, but that he could not enforce the execution of his orders. He had afterwards repaired in person to the different theatres of carnage. At La Force he had dragged from their bloody seat two municipal officers in scarfs, who were acting in the same capacity as Maillard had done at the Abbaye. But no sooner was he gone, to proceed to some other place, than the municipal officers returned and continued their executions. Petion, whose presence was everywhere inefficacious, returned to Roland, who was taken ill in consequence of the deep impression that had been made upon him. The only place preserved from attack was the Temple, against the inmates of which the popular fury was particularly excited. Here, however, the armed force had been more fortunate; and a tricoloured ribbon, extended between the walls and the populace, had sufficed to keep it off and to save the royal family.*

The monsters who had been spilling blood ever since Sunday, had contracted an appetite for it, and a habit which they could not immediately lay aside. They had even established a sort of regularity in their executions. They suspended them for the purpose of removing the corpses, and taking their meals. Women, carrying refreshments, even repaired to the prisons, to take dinner to their husbands, who, they said, *were at work at the Abbaye!*

At La Force, the Bicêtre, and the Abbaye, the massacres were continued longer than elsewhere. It was at La Force, that the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe was confined. She had been celebrated at court for her beauty, and her intimacy with the Queen. She was led dying to the terrible wicket. "Who are you?" asked the executioners in scarfs. "Louisa of Savoy, Princess de Lamballe."—"What part do you act at court? Are you acquainted with the plots of the palace?"—"I was never acquainted with any plot."—"Swear to love liberty and equality; swear to hate the King, the Queen, and royalty."—"I will take the first

* "One of the commissioners told me that the mob had attempted to rush in, and to carry into the Tower the body of the Princess de Lamballe, naked and bloody as it had been dragged from the prison De la Force to the Temple; but that some municipal officers had hung a tricoloured ribbon across the principal gate as a bar against them; and that for six hours it was very doubtful whether the royal family would be massacred or not."—*Clery*. E.

oath; the second I cannot take; it is not in my heart."—"Swear, however," said one of the bystanders, who wished to save her. But the unfortunate lady could no longer either see or hear. "Let Madame be *set at liberty*," said the chief of the wicket. Here, as at the Abbaye, a particular word had been adopted as the signal of death. The princess was led away, not as some writers assert, to be put to death, but for the purpose of being actually liberated. At the door, however, she was received by wretches eager after carnage. At the first stroke of a sabre on the back of her head, the blood gushed forth. She still advanced, supported by two men, who perhaps meant to save her: but a few paces further, she fell from the effect of a second blow. Her beautiful form was torn in pieces.* It was even mangled and

* "The Princess de Lamballe, having been spared on the night of the second, flung herself on her bed oppressed with every species of anxiety and horror. She closed her eyes, but only to open them in an instant, startled with frightful dreams. About eight o'clock next morning, two national guards entered her room, to inform her that she was going to be removed to the Abbaye. She slipped on her gown, and went down stairs into the sessions-room. When she entered this frightful court, the sight of weapons stained with blood, and of executioners whose hands, faces, and clothes were smeared over with the same red dye, gave her such a shock that she fainted several times. At length she was subjected to a mock examination, after which, just as she was stepping across the threshold of the door, she received on the back of her head a blow with a hanger, which made the blood spout. Two men then laid fast hold of her, and obliged her to walk over dead bodies, while she was fainting every instant. They then completed her murder by running her through with their spears on a heap of corpses. She was afterwards stripped, and her naked body exposed to the insults of the populace. In this state it remained more than two hours. When any blood gushing from its wounds stained the skin, some men, placed there for the purpose, immediately washed it off, to make the spectators take more particular notice of its whiteness. I must not venture to describe the excesses of barbarity and lustful indecency with which this corpse was defiled. I shall only say that a cannon was charged with one of the legs! Towards noon the murderers determined to cut off her head, and carry it in triumph round Paris. Her other scattered limbs were also given to troops of cannibals who trailed them along the streets. The pike that supported the head was planted under the very windows of the Duke of Orleans. He was sitting down to dinner at the time, but rose from his chair and gazed at the ghastly spectacle without discovering the least symptom of uneasiness, terror, or satisfaction."—*Peltier*. E.

"One day when my brother came to pay us a visit, he perceived, as he came along, groups of people whose sanguinary drunkenness was horrible. Many were naked to the waist, and their arms and breasts were covered with blood. Their countenances were inflamed, and their eyes haggard; in short, they looked hideous. My brother, in his uneasiness about us, determined to come to us at all risks, and drove rapidly along the Boulevard, until he arrived opposite the house of Beaumarchais. There he was stopped by an immense mob, composed also of half-naked people besmeared with blood, and who had the appearance of demons. They vociferated, sang, and danced. It was the Saturnalia of Hell! On perceiving Albert's cabriolet, they cried out, 'Let it be taken to him; he is an aristocrat.' In a moment, the cabriolet was surrounded by the multitude, and from the middle of the crowd an object seemed to arise and approach. My brother's troubled sight did not at first enable him to perceive long auburn tresses clotted with blood, and a countenance still lovely. The object came nearer and nearer, and rested upon his face. My unhappy brother uttered a piercing cry. He had recognised the head of the Princess de Lamballe!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"It is sometimes not uninstructive to follow the career of the wretches who perpetrate such crimes, to their latter end. In a remote situation on the sea-coast, lived a middle-aged man, in a solitary cottage, unattended by any human being. The police had strict orders from the First Consul to watch him with peculiar care. He died of suffocation produced by an accident which had befallen him when eating, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and in the midst of frightful tortures. He had been the principal actor in the murder of the Princess de Lamballe."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Madame de Lamballe's sincere attachment to the Queen was her only crime. In the midst of our commotions she had played no part; nothing could render her suspected by the people, to whom she was only known by repeated acts of beneficence. When summoned to the bar of La Force, many among the crowd besought pardon for her, and the assassins for a moment stood doubtful, but soon murdered her. Immediately they cut off her head and her breasts; her body was opened, her heart torn out; and the tigers who had so mangled her, took a barbarous pleasure in going to show her head and heart to Louis XVI. and his family, at the Temple. Madame de Lamballe was beautiful, gentle, obliging, and moderate."—*Mercier*. E.

"Marie Therese Louise de Savoie Carignan Lamballe, widow of Louis Alexander Joseph Stanislas de Bourbon Penthièvre, Prince de Lamballe, was born in September, 1749, and was mistress of the household to the Queen of France, to whom she was united by bonds of the tenderest affection."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

mutilated by the murderers, who divided the fragments among them. Her head, her heart, and other parts of her body, were borne through Paris on the point of pikes! "We must," said the wretches, in their atrocious language, "*carry them to the foot of the throne.*" They ran to the Temple, and with shouts awoke the unfortunate prisoners. They inquired in alarm what was the matter. The municipal officers wished to prevent them from seeing the horrible crew under the window, and the bloody head uplifted on the point of a pike. At length one of the national guards said to the Queen, "It is the head of Lamballe which they are anxious to keep you from seeing." At these words, the Queen fainted. Madame Elizabeth, the King, and Clery, the valet-de-chambre, carried away the unfortunate princess, and for a considerable time afterwards, the shouts of the ferocious rabble rang around the walls of the Temple.

The whole day of the 3d, and the succeeding night continued to be sullied by these massacres. At the Bicêtre, the carnage was longer and more terrible than anywhere else.* There some thousands of prisoners were confined, as everybody knows, for all sorts of misdemeanors. They were attacked, endeavoured to defend themselves, and cannon were employed to reduce them. A member of the general council of the commune even had the audacity to apply for a force to reduce the prisoners, who were defending themselves. He was not listened to. Petion repaired again to the Bicêtre, but to no purpose. The thirst for blood urged on the multitude. The fury of fighting and murdering had superseded political fanaticism, and it killed for the sake of killing. There the massacre lasted till Thursday the 5th of September.†

* "The Bicêtre Hospital was the scene of the longest and the most bloody carnage. This prison might be called the haunt or receptacle of every vice; it was an hospital also for the cure of the foulest and most afflicting diseases. It was the sink of Paris. Every creature there was put to death. It is impossible to calculate the number of victims, but I have heard them calculated at six thousand. The work of death never ceased for an instant during eight days and nights. Pikes, swords, and guns, not being sufficient for the ferocity of the murderers, they were obliged to have recourse to cannon. Then, for the first time, were prisoners seen fighting for their dungeons and their chains. They made a long and deadly resistance, but were all eventually assassinated."—*Peltier.* E.

† Subjoined are some valuable details respecting the days of September, which exhibit those horrid scenes under their genuine aspect. It was at the Jacobins that the most important disclosures were made, in consequence of the disputes which had arisen in the Convention:

Sitting of Monday, October 29, 1792.

"*Chabot*—This morning Louvet made an assertion, which it is essential to contradict. He told us that it was not the men of the 10th of August who were the authors of the 2d of September, and I, as an eyewitness, can tell you that it was the very same men. He told us that there were not more than two hundred persons acting, and I will tell you that I passed under a steel arch of ten thousand swords. For the truth of this I appeal to Bazire, Colon, and the other deputies who were with me: from the Cour des Moines to the prison of the Abbaye, people were obliged to squeeze one another to make a passage for us. I recognised for my part one hundred and fifty federalists. It is impossible that Louvet and his adherents should not have been present at these popular executions. Yet a man who can coolly deliver a speech such as Louvet's, cannot have much humanity. At any rate, I know that, since that speech, I would not lie down by him for fear of being assassinated. I summon Petion to declare if it be true that there were not more than two hundred men at that execution; but it was to be expected that intriguers would fall foul of that day, respecting which all France is not yet enlightened. . . . . They want to destroy the patriots in detail. They want decrees of accusation against Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and Santerre. They will soon attack Bazire, Merlin, Chabot, Montaut, and even Grangeneuve, if he had not reconciled himself with them; they will then propose a decree against the whole fauxbourg St. Antoine, and against the forty-eight sections, and there will be eight hundred thousand of us decreed under accusation: but let them beware of miscalculating their strength, since they demand the ostracism."

Sitting of Monday, November 5.

"Fabre d'Eglantine made some observations on the events of the 2d of September. He declared that it was the men of the 10th of August who broke into the prisons of the Abbaye, of Orleans, and of Versailles. He said that in these moments of crisis he had seen the same men come to

At length almost all the victims had perished; the prisons were empty. The infuriated wretches still demanded blood, but the dark directors of so many murders began themselves to be accessible to pity. The expressions of the commune assumed a milder tone. Deeply moved, it said, by the rigour exercised against the prisoners, it issued fresh orders for stopping them; and this time it was better obeyed. There were, however, but very few unhappy individuals left to benefit by its pity! All the reports of the time differ in their estimate of the number of the victims. That estimate varies from six to twelve thousand in the prisons of Paris.*

Danton's, and express their satisfaction by rubbing their hands together: that one of them even desired that Morande might be sacrificed: he added, that he had seen in the garden of the minister for foreign affairs, Roland, the minister, pale, dejected, with his head leaning against a tree, demanding the removal of the Convention to Tours or Blois. The speaker added, that Danton alone displayed the greatest energy of character on that day; that Danton never despaired of the salvation of the country; that by stamping upon the ground he made ten thousand defenders start from it; and that he had sufficient moderation not to make a bad use of the species of dictatorship with which the National Assembly had invested him, by decreeing that those who should counteract the ministerial operations should be punished with death. Fabre then declared that he had received a letter from Madame Roland, in which the wife of the minister of the interior begged him to lend a hand to an expedient devised for the purpose of carrying some decrees in the Convention. The speaker proposed that the society should pass a resolution for drawing up an address comprehending all the historical details of the events which had occurred from the acquittal of Lafayette to that day."

"*Chabot*—These are facts which it is of importance to know. On the 10th of August, the people, in their insurrection, designed to sacrifice the Swiss. At that time, the Brissotins did not consider themselves as the men of the 10th of August, for they came to implore us to take pity on them—such was the very expression of Lasource. On that day I was a god, I saved one hundred and fifty Swiss. Single-handed, I stopped at the door of the Feuillans the people eager to penetrate into the hall, for the purpose of sacrificing those unfortunate Swiss to their vengeance. The Brissotins were then apprehensive lest the massacre should extend to them. After what I had done on the 10th of August, I expected that, on the 2d of September, I should be deputed to the people. Well, the extraordinary commission under the presidency of the supreme Brissot, did not choose me. Whom did it choose? Dussaulx, with whom, it is true, Bazire was associated. At the same time, it was well known what men were qualified to influence the people, and to stop the effusion of blood. The deputation was passing me; Bazire begged me to join it, and took me along with him. . . . . Had Dussaulx private instructions? I know not, but this I know, that he would not allow any one to speak. Amidst an assemblage of ten thousand men, among whom were one hundred and fifty Marseillais, Dussaulx mounted a chair; he was extremely awkward: he had to address men armed with daggers. When he at length obtained silence, I said hastily to him, 'If you manage well, you will put a stop to the effusion of blood: tell the Parisians that it is to their interest that the massacres should cease, that the departments may not be alarmed for the safety of the National Convention, which is about to assemble in Paris.' Dussaulx heard me; but, whether from insincerity or the pride of age, he would not do what I told him; and this is that M. Dussaulx who is proclaimed the only worthy man in the deputation of Paris! A second fact not less essential is, that the massacre of the prisoners of Orleans was not committed by the Parisians. This massacre ought to appear much more odious, because it was farther distant from the 10th of August, and was perpetrated by a smaller number of men. The intriguers, nevertheless, have not mentioned it; they have not said a word about it, and why? Because there perished an enemy of Brissot, the minister for foreign affairs, who had ousted his *protégé*, Narbonne. . . . . If I alone, at the door of the Feuillans, stopped the people who wanted to sacrifice the Swiss, how much greater is the probability that the Legislative Assembly might have prevented the effusion of blood! If, then, there be any guilt, to the Legislative Assembly it must be imputed, or rather to Brissot, who was then its leader."

* "Recapitulation of the persons massacred in the different prisons at Paris, from Sunday, the 2d, till Friday, the 7th of September, 1792:

244 at the Convent of the Carmelites, and at Saint Firmin's Seminary;
180 at the Abbey of St. Germain;
73 at the Cloister of the Bernardins;
45 at the Hospital of La Salpêtrière;
85 at the Conciergerie;
214 at the Châtelet;
164 at the Hôtel de la Force.

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To these should be added the poor creatures who were put to death in the Hospital of Bicêtre, and in the yards at La Salpêtrière; those who were drowned at the Hôtel de la Force; and all those

But if the executions spread consternation, the audacity which could avow and recommend the imitation of them, excited not less surprise than the executions themselves. The committee of *surveillance* dared to address a circular to all the communes of France, which history ought to preserve, together with the names of the seven persons who did not hesitate to sign it. From this document the reader may form some conception of the fanaticism produced by the public danger.

"Paris, September 2, 1792.

"Brethren and friends,

"A horrid plot, hatched by the court, to murder all the patriots of the French empire, a plot in which a great number of members of the National Assembly are implicated, having, on the 9th of last month, reduced the commune of Paris to the cruel necessity of employing the power of the people to save the nation, it has not neglected anything to deserve well of the country. After the testimonies which the National Assembly itself had just given, could it have been imagined that fresh plots were hatching in secret, and that they would break forth at the very moment when the National Assembly, forgetting its recent declaration that the commune of Paris had saved the country, was striving to cashier it as a reward for its ardent patriotism? At these tidings, the public clamour raised on all sides rendered the National Assembly sensible of the urgent necessity for joining the people, and restoring to the commune, with reference to the decree of destitution, the power with which it had invested it.

"Proud of enjoying in the fullest measure the national confidence, which it will strive to deserve more and more, placed in the focus of all conspiracies, and determined to perish for the public welfare, it will not boast of having done its duty till it shall have obtained your approbation, which is the object of all its wishes, and of which it will not be certain till all the departments have sanctioned its measures for the public weal. Professing the principles of the most perfect equality, aspiring to no other privilege than that of being the first to mount the breach, it will feel anxious to reduce itself to the level of the least numerous commune of the empire as soon as there shall be nothing more to dread.

"Apprized that barbarous hordes are advancing against it, the commune of Paris hastens to inform its brethren in all the departments that part of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons has been put to death by the people—acts of justice which appear to it indispensable for repressing by terror the legions of traitors encompassed by its walls at the moment when they were about to march against the enemy; and no doubt the nation, after the long series of treasons which have brought it to the brink of the abyss, will eagerly adopt this useful and necessary expedient; and all the French will say, like the Parisians—We are marching against the enemy and we will not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and our children.

"(Signed) DUPLAIN, PANIS, SERGENT, LENFANT, MARAT, LEFORT, JOURDEUIL, Administrators of the Committee of *Surveillance*, constituted at the *Mairie*."

who were dragged out of the dungeons of the Conciergerie and the Châtelet, to be butchered on the Pont-au-Change, the number of whom it will ever be impossible wholly to ascertain, but which may, without exaggeration, be computed at eight thousand individuals!"—*Peltier*. E.

"The small number of those who perpetrated these murders in the French capital under the eyes of the legislature is one of the most instructive facts in the history of revolutions. The number actually engaged in tho massacres did not exceed 300; and twice as many more witnessed and encouraged their proceedings: yet this handful of men governed Paris and France with a despotism, which 300,000 armed warriors afterwards strove in vain to effect. The immense majority of the well-disposed citizens, divided in opinion, irresolute in conduct, and dispersed in various quarters, were incapable of arresting the progress of assassination. It is not less worthy of observation, that these atrocities took place in the heart of a city where above fifty thousand men were enrolled in the national guard, and had arms in their hands! When the murders had ceased, the remains of the victims were thrown into trenches previously prepared by the municipality for their reception. They were subsequently conveyed to the catacombs, where they were built up; and still remain the monument of crimes unfit to be thought of, and which France would gladly bury in oblivion."—*Alison*.

Dumouriez, as we have seen, had already held a council of war at Sedan. Dillon had there proposed to fall back to Châlons, for the purpose of placing the Marne in our front, and of defending the passage of that river. The disorder prevailing among the twenty-three thousand men left to Dumouriez; their inability to make head against eighty thousand Prussians, perfectly organized and habituated to war; the intention attributed to the enemy of making a rapid invasion without stopping at the fortresses—these were the reasons which led Dillon to conceive it to be impossible to keep the Prussians in check, and that no time should be lost in retiring before them, in order to seek stronger positions which might make amends. The council was so struck by these reasons that it coincided unanimously in Dillon's opinion, and Dumouriez, to whom, as general-in-chief, the decision belonged, replied that he would consider of it.

This was on the evening of the 28th of August. A resolution was here taken which saved France. Several persons dispute the honour of it. Everything proves that it is due to Dumouriez. The execution, at any rate, renders it entirely his own, and ought to earn for him all the glory of it. France, as every reader knows, is defended on the east by the Rhine and the Vosges, on the north by a chain of fortresses created by the genius of Vauban, and by the Meuse, the Moselle, and various streams, which, combined with the fortified towns, constitute a sum total of obstacles sufficient to protect that frontier. The enemy had penetrated into France from the north, and had directed his march between Sedan and Metz, leaving the attack of the fortresses of the Netherlands to the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, and masking Metz and Lorraine by a body of troops. Consistently with this plan, he ought to have marched rapidly, profited by the disorganization of the French, struck terror into them by decisive blows, and even taken Lafayette's twenty-three thousand men, before a new general had again given them unity and confidence. But the struggle between the presumption of the King of Prussia and the prudence of Brunswick forbade any resolution, and prevented the allies from being either bold or prudent. The reduction of Verdun inflamed still more the vanity of Frederick-William and the ardour of the emigrants, but without giving greater activity to Brunswick, who was far from approving of the invasion, with the means which he possessed, and with the disposition of the invaded country. After the capture of Verdun, on the 2d of September, the allied army spread itself for some days over the plains bordering the Meuse, and contented itself with occupying Stenay, without advancing a single step. Dumouriez was at Sedan, and his army encamped in the environs.

From Sedan to Passavant a forest extends, the name of which ought to be for ever famous in our annals. This is the forest of Argonne, which covers a space of from thirteen to fifteen leagues, and which, from the inequalities of the ground, and the mixture of wood and water, is absolutely impenetrable to an army, except by some of the principal passes. Through this forest the enemy must have penetrated, in order to reach Châlons and afterwards take the road to Paris. With such a plan it is astonishing that he had not yet thought of occupying the principal passes, and thus have anticipated Dumouriez, who, from his position at Sedan, was separated from them by the whole length of the forest. The evening after the council of war, the French general was considering the map with an officer, in whose talents he had the greatest confidence. This was Thouvenot. Pointing with his finger to the Argonne and the tracks by which it is intersected,—"That," said he, "is the Thermopylæ of France. If I can but get thither before the Prussians, all will be saved.

Thouvenot's genius took fire at this expression, and both fell to work upon the details of this grand plan. Its advantages were immense. Instead of retreating, and have nothing but the Marne for a last line of defence, Dumouriez would, by its adoption, cause the enemy to lose valuable time, and oblige him to remain in Champagne, the desolate, muddy, sterile soil of which could not furnish supplies for an army: neither would he give up to the invaders, as would happen if he retired to Châlons, the Trois-Evêchés, a rich and fertile country, where they might winter very comfortably, in case they should not have forced the Marne. If the

enemy, after losing some time before the forest, attempted to turn it, and directed his course towards Sedan, he would meet with the fortresses of the Netherlands, and it was not to be supposed that he could reduce them. If he tried the other extremity of the forest, he would come upon Metz and the army of the centre. Dumouriez would then set out in pursuit of him, and, by joining the army of Kellermann, he might form a mass of fifty thousand men, supported by Metz and several other fortified towns. At all events, this course would disappoint him of the object of his march, and cause him to lose this campaign; for it was already September, and, at this period, people began at that season to take up winter quarters. This plan was excellent, but the point was to carry it into execution; and the Prussians ranged along the Argonne, while Dumouriez was at one of its extremities, might have occupied its passes. Thus then the issue of this grand plan and the fate of France depended on accident and a fault of the enemy.

The Argonne is intersected by five defiles, called Chêne-Populeux, Croix-aux-Bois, Grand-Prey, La Chalade and Islettes. The most important are those of Grand-Prey and Islettes; and unluckily these were the farthest from Sedan and the nearest to the enemy. Dumouriez resolved to proceed thither with his whole force. At the same time, he ordered General Dubouquet to leave the department of the Nord, and to occupy the pass of Chêne-Populeux, which was of great importance, but very near Sedan, and the occupation of which was less urgent. Two routes presented themselves to Dumouriez for marching to Grand-Prey and Islettes. One was in the rear of the forest, the other in front of it, and in face of the enemy. The first, passing in the rear of the forest was the safer, but the longer of the two. It would reveal our designs to the enemy, and give him time to counteract them. The other was shorter, but this too would betray our intentions, and expose our march to the attacks of a formidable army. It would in fact oblige the French general to skirt the woods, and to pass in front of Stenay, where Clairfayt* was posted with his Austrians. Dumouriez, nevertheless, preferred the latter route, and conceived the boldest plan. He concluded that, with Austrian prudence, the general would not fail, on the appearance of the French, to intrench himself in the excellent camp of Brouenne, and that he might in the meantime give him the slip and proceed to Grand-Prey and Islettes.

Accordingly, on the 30th, Dillon put himself in motion, and set out with eight thousand men for Stenay, marching between the Meuse and the forest. He found Clairfayt occupying both banks of the river, with twenty-five thousand Austrians. General Miaczinsky, with fifteen hundred men, attacked Clairfayt's advanced posts, while Dillon, posted in rear, marched to his support with his whole division. A brisk firing ensued, and Clairfayt, immediately recrossing the Meuse, marched for Brouenne, as Dumouriez had most happpily foreseen. Meanwhile Dillon boldly proceeded between the Meuse and the Argonne. Dumouriez followed him closely with the fifteen thousand men composing his main body, and both advanced towards the posts which were assigned to them. On the 2d Dumouriez was at Beffu, and he had but one march more to make in order to reach Grand-Prey. Dillon was on the same day at Pierremont, and kept advancing with extreme boldness towards Islettes. Luckily for him, General Galbaud, sent to reinforce the garrison of Verdun, had arrived too late and fallen back upon Islettes, which he thus occupied beforehand. Dillon came up on the 4th, with his ten thousand men, established himself there, and moreover occupied La Chalade, another secondary pass, which was committed to his charge. Dumouriez, at the same time, reached

* "Count de Clairfayt, a Walloon officer, field-marshal in the Austrian service, and knight of the Golden Fleece, served with great credit in the war with the Turks, and in 1791 was employed against France. He assisted in taking Longwy in August, and in November lost the famous battle of Jemappes. In 1793, the Prince of Coburg took the chief command of the Austrian army, yet its successes were not the less owing to Clairfayt. In 1794 he continued to command a body of men, and met Pichegru in West Flanders, with whom he fought seven important battles before he resigned the victory to him. In 1796 Clairfayt entered the aulic council of war, and died at Vienna in 1798. Military men consider him the best general that was ever opposed to the French during the revolutionary war."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

Grand-Prey, found the post vacant, and took possession of it on the 3d. Thus the third and fourth of the passes were occupied by our troops, and the salvation of France was considerably advanced.

It was by this bold march, which was at least as meritorious as the idea of occupying the Argonne, that Dumouriez placed himself in a condition to resist the invasion. But this was not enough. It was necessary to render those passes inexpugnable, and to this end to make a great number of dispositions depending on many chances.

Dillon intrenched himself at the Islettes. He made abattis, threw up excellent intrenchments, and, skilfully placing the French artillery, which was numerous and excellent, formed batteries which rendered the pass inaccessible. At the same time he occupied La Chalade, and thus made himself master of the two routes leading to St. Menehould and from St. Menehould to Chalons. Dumouriez established himself at Grand-Prey in a camp, rendered formidable both by nature and art. The site of this encampment consisted of heights rising in the form of an amphitheatre. At the foot of these heights lay extensive meadows, before which flowed the Aire, forming the *tête du camp*. Two bridges were thrown over the Aire, and two very strong advanced guards were placed there, with orders to burn them and to retire in case of attack. The enemy, after dislodging these advanced troops, would have to effect the passage of the Aire, without the help of bridges and under the fire of all our artillery. Having passed the river, he would then have to advance through a basin of meadows crossed by a thousand fires, and lastly to storm steep and almost inaccessible intrenchments. In case all these obstacles should be overcome, Dumouriez, retreating by the heights which he occupied, would descend the back of them, find at their foot the Aisne, another stream which skirted them on that side, cross two bridges which he would destroy, and thus again place a river between himself and the Prussians. This camp might be considered as impregnable, and there the French general would be sufficiently secure to turn his attention quietly to the whole theatre of the war.

On the 7th, General Dubouquet, with six thousand men, occupied the pass of Chêne-Populeux. There was now left only the much less important pass of Croix-aux-Bois, which lay between Chêne-Populeux and Grand-Prey. There Dumouriez, having first caused the road to be broken up and trees felled, posted a colonel with two battalions and two squadrons. Placed thus in the centre of the forest, and in a camp that was impregnable, he defended the principal pass with fifteen thousand men. On his right, at the distance of four leagues, was Dillon, who guarded the Islettes and La Chalade with eight thousand. On his left Dubouquet, who occupied the Chêne-Populeux with six thousand; and a colonel with a few companies watched the road of the Croix-aux-Bois, which was deemed of very inferior importance.

His whole defence being thus arranged, he had time to wait for reinforcements, and he hastened to give orders accordingly. He directed Beurnonville* to quit the frontier of the Netherlands, where the Duke of Saxe-Teschen was not attempting any thing of importance, and to be at Rethel on the 13th of September, with ten thousand men. He fixed upon Châlons as the depot for provisions and ammunition, and for the rendezvous of the recruits and reinforcements which had been sent off to him. He thus collected in his rear all the means of composing a sufficient resistance. At the same time, he informed the executive power that he had occupied the Argonne. "Grand-Prey and the Islettes," he wrote, "are our Thermopylæ;

* "Pierre Ryel de Beurnonville, was born at Champigneul in 1752, and intended for the church, but was bent on becoming a soldier. He was employed in 1792 as a general under Dumouriez, who called him his Ajax. During the war he was arrested, and conveyed to the head-quarters of the Prince of Coburg, but in 1795 he was exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. In 1797 Beurnonville was appointed to the command of the French army in Holland; and in the following year, was made inspector-general by the Directory. He was one of those who sided with Bonaparte, when the latter brought about a new revolution in 1799, and afterwards received from him the embassy to Berlin. He was at a subsequent period sent as ambassador to Madrid; and in 1805, was chosen a senator. From the year 1791 to 1793, Beurnonville was present in not less than 172 engagements."—*Biographie Moderne.*

but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas." He begged that some regiments might be detached from the army of the Rhine, which was not threatened, and that they might be joined to the army of the centre, now under the command of Kellermann. The intention of the Prussians being evidently to march upon Paris, because they masked Montmedy and Thionville, without stopping before them, he proposed that Kellermann should be ordered to skirt their left, by Ligny and Barle-Duc, and thus take them in flank and rear during their offensive march. In consequence of all these dispositions, if the Prussians should go higher up without attempting to force the Argonne, Dumouriez would be at Revigny before them, and would there find Kellermann arriving from Metz with the army of the centre. If they descended towards Sedan, Dumouriez would still follow them, fall in with Beurnonville's ten thousand men, and wait for Kellermann on the banks of the Aisne; and, in both cases, the junction would produce a total of sixty thousand men, capable of showing themselves in the open field.

The executive power omitted nothing to second Dumouriez in his excellent plans. Servan, the minister at war, though in ill health, attended without intermission to the provisioning of the armies, to the despatching of necessaries and ammunition, and to the assemblage of the new levies. From fifteen hundred to two thousand volunteers daily left Paris. A military enthusiasm seized all classes, and people hurried away in crowds to join the army. The halls of the patriotic societies, the councils of the commune, and the Assembly, were incessantly traversed by companies raised spontaneously, and marching off for Chalons, the general rendezvous of the volunteers. These young soldiers lacked nothing but discipline and familiarity with the field of battle, in which they were yet deficient, but which they were likely soon to acquire under an able general.

The Girondins were personal enemies of Dumouriez, and they had given him but little of their confidence ever since he expelled them from the ministry. They had even endeavoured to supersede him in the chief command by an officer named Grimoard. But they had again rallied round him as soon as he seemed to be charged with the destinies of the country. Roland, the best, the most disinterested of them, had written him a touching letter to assure him that all was forgotten, and that his friends all wished for nothing more ardently than to have to celebrate his victories.

Dumouriez had thus vigorously seized upon this frontier, and made himself the centre of vast movements, till then too tardy and too unconnected. He had happily occupied the defiles of the Argonne, taken a position which afforded the armies time to collect and to organize themselves in his rear; he was bringing together all the corps for the purpose of forming an imposing mass; he had placed Kellermann under the necessity of coming to receive his orders; he commanded with vigour, he acted with promptness, he kept up the spirits of his soldiers by appearing in the midst of them, by testifying great confidence in them, and by making them wish for a speedy rencounter with the enemy.

Such was the state of affairs on the 10th of September. The Prussians passed along all our posts, skirmished on the front of all our intrenchments, and were everywhere repulsed. Dumouriez had formed secret communications in the interior of the forest, by which he sent to the points that were threatened unexpected reinforcements, which caused the enemy to believe our army to be twice as strong as it really was. On the 11th there was a general attempt upon Grand-Prey; but General Miranda, posted at Mortaume, and General Stengel at St. Jouvion, repulsed all the attacks with complete success. On several points, the soldiers, encouraged by their position and the attitude of their leaders, leaped over the intrenchments and met the approaching assailants at the point of the bayonet. These combats occupied the army, which was sometimes in want of provisions, owing to the disorder inseparable from sudden service. But the cheerfulness of the general, who fared no better than his troops, produced universal resignation; and though dysentery began to make its appearance, still the camp of Grand-Prey was tolerably healthy. The superior officers only, who doubted the possibility of a long resistance, and the ministry, who had no conception of it either, talked of a

retreat behind the Marne, and annoyed Dumouriez with their suggestions. He wrote energetic letters to the ministers, and imposed silence on his officers, by telling them that, when he wanted their advice, he would call a council of war.

It is impossible for a man to escape the disadvantages incident to his qualities. Thus the extreme promptness of Dumouriez's mind frequently hurried him on to act without due reflection. In his ardour to conceive, it had already happened that he had forgotten to calculate the material obstacles to his plans; especially when he ordered Lafayette to proceed from Metz to Givet. Here he committed a capital fault, which, had he possessed less energy of mind and coolness, might have occasioned the loss of the campaign. Between the Chêne-Populeux and Grand-Prey there was, as we have stated, a secondary pass, which had been deemed of very inferior consequence, and was defended by no more than two battalions and two squadrons. Wholly engrossed by concerns of the highest importance, Dumouriez had not gone to inspect that pass with his own eyes. Having, moreover, but few men to post there, he had easily persuaded himself that some hundreds would be sufficient to guard it. To crown the misfortune, the colonel whom Dumouriez had placed there persuaded him that part of the troops at that post might be withdrawn, and that, if the roads were broken up, a few volunteers would suffice to maintain the defensive at that point. Dumouriez suffered himself to be misled by this colonel, an old officer, whom he deemed worthy of confidence.

Meanwhile, Brunswick had caused our different posts to be examined, and for a moment he entertained the design of skirting the forest as far as Sedan, for the purpose of turning it towards that extremity. It appears that, during this movement, the spies discovered the negligence of the French general. The Croix-aux-Bois was attacked by the Austrians and the emigrants commanded by the Prince de Ligne. The abattis had scarcely been made, the roads were not broken up, and the pass was occupied without resistance on the morning of the 13th. No sooner had the unpleasant tidings reached Dumouriez, than he sent General Chasot, a very brave officer, with two brigades, six squadrons, and four eight pounders, to recover possession of the pass, and to drive the Austrians from it. He ordered them to be attacked as briskly as possible with the bayonet, before they had time to intrench themselves. The 13th and 14th passed before General Chasot could execute the orders which he had received. At length, on the 15th, he attacked with vigour, and repulsed the enemy, who lost the post, and their commander, the Prince de Ligne. But, being attacked two hours afterwards by a very superior force, before he could intrench himself, he was in his turn repulsed, and entirely dispossessed of the Croix-aux-Bois. Chasot was, moreover, cut off from Grand-Prey, and could not retire towards the main army, which was thus weakened by all the troops that he had with him. He immediately fell back upon Vouziers. General Dubouquet, commanding at the Chêne-Populeux, and thus far successful in his resistance, seeing himself separated from Grand-Prey, conceived that he ought not to run the risk of being surrounded by the enemy, who, having broken the line at the Croix-aux-Bois, was about to debouch *en masse*. He resolved therefore to decamp, and to retreat by Attigny and Somme-Puis, upon Châlons. Thus the fruit of so many bold combinations and lucky accidents was lost. The only obstacle that could be opposed to the invasion, the Argonne, was surmounted, and the road to Paris was thrown open.

Dumouriez, separated from Chasot and Dubouquet, was reduced to fifteen thousand men; and if the enemy, debouching rapidly by the Croix-aux-Bois, should turn the position of Grand-Prey, and occupy the passes of the Aisne, which, as we have said, served for an outlet to the rear of the camp, the French general would be undone. Having forty thousand Prussians in front, twenty-five thousand Austrians in his rear, hemmed in with fifteen thousand men by sixty-five thousand, by two-rivers, and by the forest, he could do nothing but lay down his arms, or cause his soldiers to the very last man to be uselessly slaughtered. The only army upon which France relied would thus be annihilated, and the allies might take without impediment the road to the capital.

In this desperate situation, the general was not discouraged, but maintained an

admirable coolness. His first care was to think the very same day of retreating, for it was his most urgent duty to save himself from the Caudine forks. He considered that on his right he was in contact with Dillon, who was yet master of the Islettes and the road to St. Menehould; that, by retiring upon the rear of the latter and placing his back against Dillon's, they should both face the enemy, the one at the Islettes, the other at St. Menehould, and thus present a double intrenched front. There they might await the junction of the two generals Chasot and Dubouquet, detached from the main body, that of Beurnonville, ordered from Flanders to be at Rethel on the 13th; and lastly, that of Kellermann, who, having been more than ten days on his march, could not fail very soon to arrive with his army. This plan was the best and the most accordant with the system of Dumouriez, which consisted in not falling back into the interior, towards an open country, but in maintaining his ground in a difficult one, in gaining time there, and in placing himself in a position to form a junction with the army of the centre. If, on the contrary, he were to fall back on Châlons, he would be pursued as a fugitive; he would execute with disadvantage a retreat which he might have made more beneficially at first; and above all, he would render it impossible for Kellermann to join him. It showed great boldness, after such an accident as had befallen him at the Croix-aux-Bois, to persist in his system; and it required at the moment as much genius as energy not to give way to the oft-repeated advice to retire behind the Marne. But then again, how many lucky accidents does it not require to succeed in a retreat so difficult, so closely watched, and executed with so small a force in the presence of so powerful an enemy!*

He immediately sent orders to Beurnonville, who was already proceeding towards Rethel, to Chasot, from whom he had just received favourable tidings, and to Dubouquet, who had retired to Attigny, to repair all of them to St. Menehould. At the same time he despatched fresh instructions to Kellermann to continue his march; for he was afraid lest Kellermann, on hearing of the loss of the defiles, should determine to return to Metz. Having made these arrangements, and received a Prussian officer, who demanded a parley, and shown him the camp in the best order, he directed the tents to be struck at midnight, and the troops to march in silence towards the two bridges which served for outlets to the camp of Grand-Prey. Luckily for him, the enemy had not yet thought of penetrating by the Crois-aux-Bois, and overwhelming the French positions. The weather was stormy, and covered the retreat of the French with darkness. They marched all night on the most execrable roads, and the army, which, fortunately, had not had time to take alarm, retired without knowing the motive of this change of position.

By eight in the morning of the next day, the 16th, all the troops had crossed the Aisne. Dumouriez had escaped, and he halted in order of battle on the heights of Autry, four leagues from Grand-Prey. He was not pursued, considered himself saved, and was advancing towards Dammartin-sur-Hans, with the intention of there choosing an encampment for the day, when suddenly a number of runaways came up shouting that all was lost, and that the enemy, falling upon our rear, had put the army to the rout. On hearing this clamour, Dumouriez, hastened to the spot, returned to his rear-guard, and found Miranda, the Peruvian,† and old General

* "Never was the situation of an army more desperate than at this critical period. France was within a hair's-breadth of destruction."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

† "Dumouriez says that Miranda was born in Peru; others, that he was a native of Mexico. He led a wandering life for some years, traversed the greatest part of Europe, lived much in England, and was in Russia at the time of the French Revolution; which event opening a career to him, he went to Paris, and there, protected by Petion, soon made his way. He had good natural and acquired abilities, and was particularly skilful as an engineer. In 1792 he was sent to command the artillery in Champagne under Dumouriez, whom he afterwards accompanied into the Low Countries. While there, he intrigued against that general in the most perfidious manner, and was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, by whom, however, he was acquitted. In 1803 he was arrested at Paris, on suspicion of forming plots against the consular government, and was sentenced to transportation. The battle of Nerwinde, in 1793, was lost entirely by the folly or cowardice of Miranda, who withdrew almost at the beginning of the action, and abandoned all his artillery."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

Duval, rallying the fugitives, and with great firmness restoring order in the ranks of the army, which some Prussian hussars had for a moment surprised and broken. The inexperience of these young troops, and the fear of treachery which then filled all minds, rendered panic terrors both very easy and very frequent. All, however, was retrieved, owing to the efforts of the three generals Miranda, Duval, and Stengel, who belonged to the rear-guard. The army bivouacked at Dammartin, with the hope of soon backing upon the Islettes, and thus happily terminating this perilous retreat.

Dumouriez had been for twenty hours on horseback. He alighted at six in the evening, when, all at once he again heard shouts of *Sauve qui peut!* and imprecations against the generals who betrayed the soldiers, and especially against the commander-in-chief, who, it was said, had just gone over to the enemy. The artillery had put horses to the guns and were about to seek refuge on an eminence. All the troops were confounded. Dumouriez caused large fires to be kindled, and issued orders for halting on the spot all night. Thus they passed ten hours more in mud and darkness. More than fifteen hundred fugitives running off across the country, reported at Paris and throughout France that the army of the North, the last hope of the country, was lost and given up to the enemy.

By the following day all was repaired. Dumouriez wrote to the National Assembly with his usual assurance. "I have been obliged to abandon the camp of Grand-Prey. The retreat was accomplished, when a panic terror seized the army. Ten thousand men fled before fifteen hundred Prussian hussars. The loss amounts to no more than fifty men and some baggage. ALL IS RETRIEVED, AND I MAKE MYSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERYTHING." Nothing less was requisite to dispel the terrors of Paris and of the executive council, which was about to urge the general afresh to cross the Marne.

St. Menehould, whither Dumouriez was marching, is situated on the Aisne, one of the two rivers which encompassed the camp of Grand-Prey. Dumouriez had therefore to march along that river against the stream; but, before he reached it, he had to cross three deep rivulets which fall into it,—the Tourbe, the Bionne, and the Auve. Beyond these rivulets was the camp which he intended to occupy. In front of St. Menehould rises a circular range of heights, three-quarters of a league in length. At their foot extend low grounds, in which the Auve forms marshes before it falls into the Aisne. These low grounds are bordered on the right by the heights of the Hyron, faced by those of La Lune, and on the left by those of Gisaucourt. In the centre of the basin are several elevations, but inferior to those of St. Menehould. The hill of Valmi is one, and it is immediately opposite to the hills of La Lune. The high-road from Châlons to St. Menehould passes through this basin, almost in a parallel direction to the course of the Auve. It was at St. Menehould and above this basin that Dumouriez posted himself. He caused all the important positions around him to be occupied, and, supporting his back against Dillon, desired him to maintain his ground against the enemy. He thus occupied the high-road to Paris upon three points — the Islettes, St. Menehould, and Châlons.

The Prussians, however, if they advanced by Grand-Prey, might leave him at St. Menehould and get to Châlons. Dumouriez therefore ordered Dubouquet, of whose safe arrival at Châlons he had received intelligence, to place himself with his division in the camp of L'Epine, and there to collect all the recently-arrived volunteers, in order to protect Châlons from a *coup-de-main*. He was afterwards joined by Chasot and, lastly, by Beurnonville. The latter had come in sight of St. Menehould on the 15th. Seeing an army in good order, he had supposed that it was the enemy, for he could not suppose that Dumouriez, who was reported to be beaten, had so soon retrieved the disaster. Under this impression, he had fallen back upon Châlons, and, having there learned the real state of the case, he had returned, and on the 19th taken up the position of Maffrecourt, on the right of the camp. He had brought up these ten thousand brave fellows, whom Dumouriez had exercised for a month in the camp of Maulde, amidst a continual war of posts. Reinforced by Beurnonville and Chasot, Dumouriez could number thirty-five thou-

sand men. Thus, owing to his firmness and presence of mind, he again found himself placed in a very strong position, and enabled to temporize for a considerable time to come. But if the enemy, getting the start and leaving him behind, should hasten forward to Châlons, what then would become of his camp of St. Menehould? There was ground, therefore, for the same apprehensions as before, and his precautions in the camp of L'Epine were far from being capable of preventing such a danger.

Two movements were very slowly operating around him. That of Brunswick, who hesitated in his march, and that of Kellermann, who, having set out on the 4th from Metz, had not yet arrived at the specified point, though he had been a fortnight on the road. But if the tardiness of Brunswick was serviceable to Dumouriez, that of Kellermann compromised him exceedingly. Kellermann, prudent and irresolute though very brave, had alternately advanced and retreated, according to the movements of the Prussian army; and again on the 17th, on receiving intelligence of the loss of the defiles, he had made one march backward. On the evening of the 19th, however, he had sent word to Dumouriez, that he was no more than two leagues from St. Menehould. Dumouriez had reserved for him the heights of Gisaucourt, situated on his left, and commanding the road to Châlons and the stream of the Auve. He had sent him directions that, in case of a battle, he might deploy on the secondary heights, and advance upon Valmi, beyond the Auve. Dumouriez had not time to go and place his colleague himself. Kellermann, crossing the Auve on the night of the 19th, advanced to Valmi, in the centre of the basin, and neglected the heights of Gisaucourt, which formed the left of the camp of St. Menehould, and commanded those of La Lune, upon which the Prussians were arriving.

At this moment, in fact, the Prussians, debouching by Grand-Prey, had come in sight of the French army, and, ascending the heights of La Lune, already discovered the ground on the summit of which Dumouriez was stationed. Relinquishing the intention of a rapid march upon Châlons, they rejoiced, it is said, to find the two French generals together, conceiving that they could capture both at once. Their object was to make themselves masters of the road to Châlons, to proceed to Vitry, to force Dillon at the Islettes, thus to surround St. Menehould on all sides, and to oblige the two armies to lay down their arms.

On the morning of the 20th, Kellermann, who, instead of occupying the heights of Gisaucourt, had proceeded to the centre of the basin, to the mill of Valmi, found himself commanded in front by the heights of La Lune occupied by the enemy. On one side he had the Hyron, which the French held, but which they were liable to lose. On the other, Gisaucourt, which he had not occupied, and where the Prussians were about to establish themselves. In case he should be beaten, he would be driven into the marshes of the Auve, situated behind the mill of Valmi, and he might be utterly destroyed, before he could join Dumouriez, in the bottom of this amphitheatre. He immediately sent to his colleague for assistance. But the King of Prussia,* seeing a great bustle in the French army, and conceiving that the generals designed to proceed to Châlons, resolved immediately to close the road to it, and gave orders for the attack. On the road to Châlons, the Prussian advanced guard met that of Kellermann, who was with his main body on the hill of Valmi. A brisk action ensued, and the French who were at first repulsed, were rallied, and afterwards supported by the carbineers of General Valence. From the heights of La Lune, a cannonade was kept up against the mill of Valmi, and our artillery warmly returned the fire of the Prussians.

Kellermann's situation, however, was extremely perilous. His troops were confusedly crowded together on the hill of Valmi, and too much incommoded to fight

* "In the course of one of the Prussian marches, the King of Prussia met a young soldier with his knapsack on his back, and an old musket in his hands. 'Where are you going?' asked his majesty. 'To fight,' replied the soldier. 'By that answer,' rejoined the monarch, 'I recognise the noblesse of France.' He saluted him, and passed on. The soldier's name has since become immortal. It was F. Chateaubriand, then returning from his travels in North America, to share in the dangers of the throne in his native country."—*Chateaubriand's Memoirs.* E.

there. They were cannonaded from the heights of La Lune; their left suffered severely from the fire of the Prussians on those of Gisaucourt; the Hyron, which flanked their right, was actually occupied by the French, but Clairfayt, attacking this post, with his twenty-five thousand Austrians, might take it from them. In this case, Kellermann, exposed to a fire from every side, might be driven from Valmi into the Auve, whilst it might not be in the power of Dumouriez to assist him. The latter immediately sent General Stengel with a strong division to support the French on the Hyron, and to protect the right of Valmi. He directed Beurnonville to support Stengel with sixteen battalions, and he sent Chasot with nine battalions and eight squadrons, along the Châlons road, to occupy Gisaucourt, and to flank Kellermann's left. But Chasot, on approaching Valmi, sent to Kellermann for orders, instead of advancing upon Gisaucourt, and left the Prussians time to occupy it, and to open a destructive fire from that point upon us. Kellermann, however, supported on the right and left was enabled to maintain himself at the mill of Valmi. Unluckily a shell, falling on an ammunition-wagon, caused it to explode and threw the infantry into disorder. This was increased by the cannon of La Lune, and the first line began already to give way. Kellermann perceiving this movement, hastened through the ranks, rallied them, and restored confidence. Brunswick conceived this to be a favourable moment for ascending the height and overthrowing the French troops with the bayonet.

It was now noon. A thick fog which had enveloped the two armies had cleared off. They had a distinct view of each other, and our young soldiers beheld the Prussians advancing in three columns with the assurance of veteran troops habituated to warfare. It was the first time that they found themselves to the number of one hundred thousand men on the field of battle, and that they were about to cross bayonets. They knew not yet either themselves or the enemy, and they looked at each other with uneasiness. Kellermann went into the trenches, disposed his troops in columns with a battalion in front, and ordered them, when the Prussians should be at a certain distance, not to wait for them, but to run forward and meet them with the bayonet. Then raising his voice, he cried *Vive la nation!* His men might be brave or cowards. The cry of *Vive la nation!* however, roused their courage, and our young soldiers, catching the spirit of their commander, marched on, shouting *Vive la nation!* At this sight, Brunswick, who hazarded the attack with repugnance and with considerable apprehension for the result, hesitated, halted his columns, and finally ordered them to return to the camp.

This trial was decisive. From that moment people gave credit for valour, to those coblers and those tailors of whom the emigrants said that the French army was composed. They had seen men, equipped, clothed, and brave; they had seen officers decorated and full of experience; a General Duval, whose majestic stature and gray hair inspired respect; Kellermann, and lastly Dumouriez, displaying the utmost firmness and skill in presence of so superior an enemy. At this moment the French Revolution was appreciated, and that chaos, till then ridiculous, ceased to be regarded in any other light than as a terrible burst of energy.

At four o'clock, Brunswick ventured upon a new attack. The firmness of our troops again disconcerted him, and again he withdrew his columns. Marching from one surprise to another, and finding all that he had been told false, the Prussian general advanced with extreme circumspection, and, though fault has been found with him for not pushing the attack more briskly and overthrowing Kellermann, good judges are of opinion that he was in the right. Kellermann, supported on the right and left by the whole French army, was enabled to resist; and if Brunswick, jammed in a gorge and in an execrable country, had chanced to be beaten, he might have been utterly destroyed. Besides, he had, by the result of that day, occupied the road to Châlons. The French were cut off from their depot, and he hoped to oblige them to quit their position in a few days. He did not consider that, masters of Vitry, they were merely subjected by this circumstance to the inconvenience of a longer circuit and to some delay in the arrival of their convoys.

Such was the celebrated battle of the 20th of September, 1792, in which more than twenty thousand cannon-shot were fired, whence it has been since called the "Cannonade of Valmi."* The loss was equal on both sides, and amounted to eight or nine hundred men for each. But gaiety and assurance reigned in the French camp, reproach and regret in that of the Prussians. It is asserted that on the very same evening the King of Prussia addressed the severest remonstrances to the emigrants, and that a great diminution was perceived in the influence of Calonne, the most presumptuous of the emigrant ministers, and the most fertile in exaggerated promises and false information.

That same night Kellermann recrossed the Auve with little noise, and encamped on the heights of Gisaucourt, which he should have occupied at first, and by which the Prussians had profited in the conflict. The Prussians remained on the heights of La Lune. At the opposite extremity was Dumouriez, and on his left, Kellermann upon the heights, of which he had just taken possession. In this singular position the French, with their faces towards France, seemed to be invading it, and the Prussians, with their backs to it, appeared to be defending the country. Here commenced, on the part of Dumouriez, a new line of conduct, full of energy and firmness, as well against the enemy as against his own officers and against the French authority. With nearly seventy thousand men, in a good camp, in no want, or at least but rarely in want of provisions, he could afford to wait. The Prussians, on the contrary, ran short. Disease began to thin their army, and in this situation they would lose a great deal by temporizing. A most inclement season, amidst a wet country and on a clayey soil, did not allow them to make any long stay. If, resuming too late the energy and celebrity of the invasion, they attempted to march for Paris, Dumouriez was in force to pursue and to surround them, when they should have penetrated farther.

These views were replete with justice and sagacity : but in the camp, where the officers were tired of enduring privations, and where Kellermann was dissatisfied at being subjected to a superior authority ; at Paris, where people found themselves separated from the principal army, where they could perceive nothing between them and the Prussians, and within fifteen leagues of which Hulans were seen advancing, since the forest of Argonne had been opened, they could not approve of the plan of Dumouriez. The Assembly, the council, complained of his obstinacy, and wrote him the most imperative letters to make him abandon his position and recross the Marne. The camp of Montmarte and an army between Châlons and Paris, were the double rampart required by their terrified imaginations. "The Hulans annoy you," wrote Dumouriez; "well then, kill them. That does not concern me. I shall not change my plan for the sake of *nous ardoilles*." Entreaties and orders nevertheless continued to pour in upon him. In the camp, the officers did not cease to make observations. The soldiers alone, cheered by the high spirits of the general, who took care to visit their ranks, to encourage them, and to explain to them the critical position of the Prussians, patiently endured the rain and privations. Kellermann at one time insisted on departing, and Dumouriez, like Columbus, soliciting a few days more for his equipment, was obliged to promise to decamp if, in a certain number of days, the Prussians did not beat a retreat.

The fine army of the allies was, in fact, in a deplorable condition. It was perishing from want, and still more from the destructive effect of dysentery. To these

* "It is with an invading army as with an insurrection. An indecisive action is equivalent to a defeat. The affair of Valmi was merely a cannonade; the total loss on both sides did not exceed eight hundred men ; the bulk of the forces on neither were drawn out; yet it produced upon the invaders consequences equivalent to the most terrible overthrow. The Duke of Brunswick no longer ventured to despise an enemy who had shown so much steadiness under a severe fire of artillery; the elevation of victory, and the self-confidence which insures it, had passed over to the other side. Gifted with an uncommon degree of intelligence, and influenced by an ardent imagination, the French soldiers are easily depressed by defeat, but proportionally raised by success; they rapidly make the transition from one state of feeling to the other. From the cannonade of Valmi may be dated the commencement of that career of victory which carried their armies to Vienna and the Kremlin."—*Alison*. E.

afflictions the plans of Dumouriez had powerfully contributed. The firing in front of the camp being deemed useless, because it tended to no result, it was agreed between the two armies that it should cease; but Dumouriez stipulated that it should be suspended on the front only. He immediately detached all his cavalry, especially that of the new levy, to scour the adjacent country in order to intercept the convoys of the enemy, who, having come by the pass of Grand-Prey and proceeded along the Aisne to follow our retreat, was obliged to make his supplies pursue the same circuitous route. Our horse took a liking to this lucrative warfare, and prosecuted it with great success.

The last days of September had now arrived. The disease in the Prussian army became intolerable, and officers were sent to the French camp to parley.* They confined themselves at first to a proposal for the exchange of prisoners. The Prussians had demanded the benefit of this exchange for the emigrants also, but this had been refused. Great politeness had been observed on both sides. From the exchange of prisoners the conversation turned to the motives of the war, and on the part of the Prussians it was almost admitted that the war was impolitic. On this occasion the character of Dumouriez was strikingly displayed. Having no longer to fight, he drew up memorials for the King of Prussia, and demonstrated how disadvantageous it was to him to ally himself with the house of Austria against France. At the same time he sent him a dozen pounds of coffee, being all that was left in both camps. His memorials, which could not fail to be appreciated, nevertheless met, as might naturally be expected, with a most unfavourable reception. Brunswick replied, in the name of the King of Prussia, by a declaration as arrogant as the first manifesto, and all negotiation was broken off. The Assembly, consulted by Dumouriez, answered, like the Roman senate, that they would not treat with the enemy till he had quitted France.

These negotiations had no other effect than to bring calumny upon the general, who was thenceforth suspected of keeping up a secret correspondence with foreigners, and with a haughty monarch, humbled by the result of the war. But such was Dumouriez. With abundant courage and intelligence, he lacked that reserve, that dignity, which overawes men, while genius merely conciliates them. However, as the French general had foreseen, by the 15th of October the Prussian army, unable to struggle longer against want and disease, began to decamp. To Europe it was a subject of profound astonishment, of conjectures, of fables, to see so mighty, so vaunted an army, retreating before those raw artisans and tradesmen, who were to have been led back with drums beating to their towns, and punished for having quitted them. The sluggishness with which the Prussians were pursued, and the kind of impunity which they enjoyed in repassing the defiles of the Argonne, led to the supposition of secret stipulations and even of a bargain with the King of Prussia. The military facts will account for the retreat of the allies better than all these suppositions.

It was no longer possible for them to remain in so unfortunate a position. To continue the invasion in a season so far advanced and so inclement, would be most injudicious. The only resource of the allies then was to retreat towards Luxemburg and Lorraine, and there to make themselves a strong base of operations for recommencing the campaign in the following year. There is, moreover, reason to believe that at this moment Frederick William was thinking of taking his share of Poland; for it was then that this prince, after exciting the Poles against Russia and Austria, prepared to share the spoil. Thus the state of the season and of the coun-

* "The proposals of the King of Prussia do not appear to offer a basis for a negotiation, but they demonstrate that the enemy's distress is very great, a fact sufficiently indicated by the wretchedness of their bread, the multitude of their sick, and the langour of their attacks. I am persuaded that the King of Prussia is now heartily sorry at being so far in advance, and would readily adopt any means to extricate himself from his embarrassment. He keeps so near me, from a wish to engage us in a combat as the only means he has of escaping; for if I keep within my entrenchments eight days longer, his army will dissolve of itself from want of provisions. I will undertake no serious negotiation without your authority, and without receiving from you the basis on which it is to be conducted. All that I have hitherto done, is to gain time, and commit no one."—*Dumouriez's Despatch to the French Government.* E.

try, disgust arising from a foiled enterprise, regret at having allied himself with the house of Austria against France, and lastly, new interests in the North, were, with the King of Prussia, motives sufficient to determine his retreat. It was conducted in the best order, for the enemy who thus consented to depart was nevertheless very strong.* To attempt absolutely to cut off his retreat, and to oblige him to open himself a passage by a victory, would have been an imprudence which Dumouriez would not commit. He was obliged to content himself with harassing him, but this he did with too little activity, through his own fault and that of Kellermann.

The danger was past, the campaign was over, and each reverted to himself and his projects. Dumouriez thought of his enterprise against the Netherlands, Kellermann of his command at Metz, and the two generals did not pay to the pursuit of the Prussians, that attention which it deserved. Dumouriez sent General d'Harville to the Chêne-Populeux to chastise the emigrants; ordered General Miaczinski to wait for them at Stenay as they issued from the pass, to complete their destruction; sent Chasot in the same direction to occupy the Longwy road; placed Generals Beurnonville, Stengel, and Valence, with more than twenty-five thousand men, on the rear of the grand army, to pursue it with vigour; and at the same time directed Dillon, who had continued to maintain his ground most successfully at the Islettes, to advance by Clermont and Varennes, in order to cut off the road to Verdun.

These plans were certainly excellent, but they ought to have been executed by the general himself. He ought, in the opinion of a very sound and competent judge, M. Jomini, to have dashed straightforward to the Rhine and then to have descended it with his whole army. In that moment of success, overthrowing everything before him, he would have conquered Belgium in a single march. But he was thinking of returning to Paris, to prepare for an invasion by way of Lille. The three generals, Beurnonville, Stengel, and Valence, on their part, did not agree very cordially together, and pursued the Prussians but faintly. Valence, who was under the command of Kellermann, all at once received orders to return, to rejoin his general at Châlons, and then to take the road to Metz. This movement, it must be confessed, was a strange conception, since it brought Kellermann back into the interior, to make him thence resume the route to the Lorraine frontier. The natural route would have been forward by Vitry or Clermont, and it would have accorded with the pursuit of the Prussians, as ordered by Dumouriez. No sooner was the latter apprized of the order given to Valence than he enjoined him to continue his march, saying that, so long as the armies of the North and centre were united, the supreme command belonged to himself alone. He remonstrated very warmly with Kellermann, who relinquished his first determination and consented to take his route by St. Menehould and Clermont. The pursuit, however, was continued with as little spirit as before. Dillon alone harassed the Prussians with impetuous ardour, and, by pursuing them too vigorously, he had very nearly brought on an engagement.

The dissension of the generals, and the particular views which occupied their minds after the danger had passed, were evidently the only cause that procured the

* "The force with which the Prussians retired, was about 70,000 men, and their retreat was conducted throughout in the most imposing manner, taking position, and facing about on occasion of every halt. Verdun and Longwy were successively abandoned. On getting possession of the ceded fortresses, the commissaries of the Convention took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. Several young women who had presented garlands of flowers to the King of Prussia during the advance of his army, were sent to the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned to death. The Prussians left behind them on their route most melancholy proofs of the disasters of the campaign. All the villages were filled with the dead and dying. Without any considerable fighting, the allies had lost by dysentery and fevers more than a fourth of their numbers."—*Alison.* E.

"The Prussians had engaged in this campaign as if it had been a review, in which light it had been represented to them by the emigrants. They were unprovided with stores or provisions; instead of an unprotected country, they found daily a more vigorous resistance; the continual rains had laid open the roads; the soldiers marched in mud up to their knees; and for four days together they had no other nourishment than boiled corn."—*Mignet.* E.

Prussians so easy a retreat. It has been alleged that their departure was purchased; that it was paid for by the produce of a great robbery, of which we shall presently give an account; that it was concerted with Dumouriez; and that one of the stipulations of the bargain was the free retreat of the Prussians; and lastly, that Louis XVI. had, from the recesses of his prison, insisted upon it. We have seen what very sufficient reasons must have occasioned this retreat; but besides these, there are other reasons. It is not credible that a monarch whose vices were not those of a base cupidity would submit to be bought. We cannot see why, in case of a convention, Dumouriez should not have justified himself in the eyes of military men, for not having pursued the enemy, by avowing a convention in which there was nothing disgraceful to himself: lastly, Clery, the King's valet-de-chambre, asserts that nothing like the letter said to have been addressed by Louis XVI. to Frederick William and transmitted by Manuel, the *procureur* of the commune, was ever written and delivered to the latter.* All this then is a falsehood; and the retreat of the allies was but a natural effect of the war. Dumouriez, notwithstanding his faults, notwithstanding his distractions at Grand-Prey, notwithstanding his negligence at the moment of the retreat, was still the saviour of France, and of a revolution which has perhaps advanced Europe several centuries. It was he who, assuming the command of a disorganized, distrustful, irritated army, infusing into it harmony and confidence, establishing unity and vigour along that whole frontier, never despairing amidst the most disastrous circumstances, holding forth, after the loss of the defiles, an example of unparalleled presence of mind, persisting in his first ideas of temporizing, in spite of the danger, in spite of his army, and in spite of his government, in a manner which demonstrates the vigour of his judgment and of his character—it was he, we say, who saved our country from foreign foes and from counter-revolutionary resentment, and set the magnificent example of a man saving his fellow-citizens in spite of themselves. Conquest, however vast, is neither more glorious nor more moral.

* "It has been reported that Manuel came to the Temple, in the month of September, in order to prevail upon his majesty to write to the King of Prussia, at the time he marched his army into Champagne. I can testify that Manuel came but twice to the Temple while I was there, first on the 3d of September, then on the 7th of October; that each time he was accompanied by a great number of municipal officers; and that he never had any private conversation with the King."—*Clery*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ASSEMBLING AND OPENING OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION—INVASION OF BELGIUM.

While the French armies were stopping the march of the allies, Paris was still the theatre of disturbance and confusion. We have already witnessed the excesses of the commune, the prolonged atrocities of September, the impotence of the authorities, and the inactivity of the public force, during those disastrous days. We have seen with what audacity the committee of *surveillance* had avowed the massacres, and recommended the imitation of them to all the other communes in France. The commissioners sent by the commune had, however, been everywhere repelled, because France did not participate in that fury which danger had excited in the capital. But in the environs of Paris, all the murders were not confined to those of which we have already given an account. There had been formed in that city a band of assassins, whom the massacres of September had familiarized with blood, and who were bent on spilling more. Some hundreds of men had already set out with the intention of taking out of the prisons of Orleans the persons accused of high treason. A recent decree had directed that those unfortunate prisoners should be conveyed to Saumur. Their destination was, however, changed by the way, and they were brought towards Paris.

On the 9th of September, intelligence was received that they were to arrive on the 10th at Versailles. Whether fresh orders had been given to the band of murderers, or the tidings of this arrival was sufficient to excite their sanguinary ardour, they immediately repaired to Versailles on the night between the 9th and 10th. A rumour was instantly circulated that fresh massacres were about to be committed. The mayor of Versailles took every precaution to prevent new atrocities. The president of the criminal tribunal hastened to Paris, to inform Danton, the minister, of the danger which threatened the prisoners; but to all his representations he obtained no other answer than, "Those men are very guilty."—"Granted," rejoined Alquier, the president, "but the law alone ought to punish them."—"Do you not see," resumed Danton, "that I would already have answered you in another manner if I could? Why do you concern yourself about these prisoners? Return to your functions, and trouble your head no more with them."

On the following day the prisoners arrived at Versailles. A crowd of strange men rushed upon the carriages, surrounded and separated them from the escort, knocked Fournier, the commandant, from his horse, carried off the mayor, who had nobly determined to die at his post, and slaughtered the unfortunate prisoners, to the number of fifty-two. There perished Delessart and D'Abancour, placed under accusation as ministers, and Brissac, as commander of the constitutional guard, disbanded in the time of the Legislative Assembly. Immediately after this execution, the murderers ran to the prison of the town, and renewed the scenes of the first days of September, employing the same means, and copying, as in Paris, the judicial forms.* This event, happening within five days of the first, increased the

* "As soon as the prisoners reached the grand square at Versailles, ten or twelve men laid hold of the reins of the horses in the first wagon, crying out, "Off with their heads!" There were a

consternation which already prevailed. In Paris, the committee of *surveillance* did not abate its activity. As the prisons had been just cleared by death, it began to fill them again by issuing fresh orders of arrest. These orders were so numerous, that Roland, minister of the interior, in denouncing to the Assembly these new arbitrary acts, had from five to six hundred of them to lay on the bureau, some signed by a single individual, others by two or three at most, the greater part of them without any alleged motives, and many founded on the bare suspicions of *incivism*.

While the commune was exercising its power in Paris, it despatched commissioners to the departments, for the purpose of justifying its conduct, advising the imitation of its example, recommending to the electors deputies of its own choice, and decrying those who were averse to it in the Legislative Assembly. It afterwards secured immense funds for itself, by seizing the money found in the possession of Septeuil, the treasurer of the civil list, the plate of the churches, and the rich moveables of the emigrants, and lastly, by drawing considerable sums from the exchequer, under the pretext of keeping up the fund of aids (*caisse de secours*) and completing the works of the camp. All the effects of the unfortunate persons murdered in the prisons of Paris, and on the road to Versailles, had been sequestrated and deposited in the extensive halls of the committee of *surveillance*. Never would the commune furnish any statement either of those articles or their value, and it even refused to give any answer concerning them, either to the minister of the interior, or to the directory of the department, which, as we have seen, had been converted into a mere commission of contributions. It went still further, and began to sell on its own authority the furniture of the great mansions, to which seals had been affixed ever since the departure of the owners. To no purpose did the superior administration issue prohibitions. The whole class of the subordinate functionaries charged with the execution of its orders either belonged to the municipality, or was too weak to act. The orders, therefore, were not carried into execution.

The national guard, composed anew under the denomination of armed sections, and full of all sort of men, was in a state of complete disorganization. Sometimes it lent a hand to mischief, and at others suffered it to be committed by neglect. Posts were totally abandoned, because the men on duty, not being relieved, even at the expiration of forty-eight hours, retired, worn out with fatigue and disgust. All the peaceable citizens had withdrawn from that body, once so regular and so useful; and Santerre, its commander, possessed neither energy nor intelligence sufficient to organize it.

The safety of Paris was thus abandoned to chance, and the commune on one hand, and the populace on the other, had full scope to do what they pleased. Among the spoils of royalty, the most valuable, and consequently the most coveted, were those kept at the Garde Meuble, the rich depot of all the effects which formerly contributed to the splendour of the throne. Ever since the 10th of August, it had excited the cupidity of the multitude, and more than one circumstance had sharpened the vigilance of the inspector of the establishment. He had sent requisition after requisition for the purpose of obtaining a sufficient guard; but, whether from disorder, or from the difficulty of supplying all the posts, or lastly, from wilful negligence, he had not been furnished with the force that he demanded.

few curious spectators in the streets, but the whole escort was under arms. Fifteen assassins surrounded and attacked the first wagon, renewing the cries of death. The public functionary, who had taken this wagon under his care, was the mayor of Versailles. He attempted, but in vain, to harangue the murderers; in vain did he get up into the wagon, and use some efforts to guard and cover with his own person the two first of the prisoners who were killed. The assassins, masters of the field of slaughter, killed, one after another, with their swords and hangers, forty-seven out of fifty-three of the prisoners. This massacre lasted for at least an hour and a quarter. The dead bodies experienced the same indignities as those of the persons who had been massacred at the Abbey prison, and in the Tuileries. Their heads and limbs were cut off, and fixed upon the iron rails round the palace of Versailles. When the assassins thought they had despatched all those who were accused of treason against the state, they betook themselves to the prison at Versailles, where they killed about twelve persons."—*Peltier*. E.

One night, the Garde Meuble was robbed, and the greater part of its contents passed into unknown hands which the authorities afterwards made useless efforts to discover. This new event was attributed to the persons who had secretly directed the massacres. In this case, however, they could not have been impelled either by fanaticism or by a sanguinary policy; and the ordinary motive of theft can scarcely be ascribed to them, since they had in the stores of the commune wherewithal to satisfy the highest ambition. It has been said, indeed, that this robbery was committed for the purpose of paying for the retreat of the King of Prussia, which is absurd, and to defray the expenses of the party, which is more probable, but by no means proved. At any rate, the robbery at the Garde Meuble is of very little consequence in regard to the judgment that must be passed upon the commune and its leaders. It is not the less true that the commune, as the depository of property of immense value, never rendered any account of it; that the seals affixed upon the closets were broken without the locks being forced, which indicates a secret abstraction and not a popular pillage; and that all these valuables disappeared for ever. Part was impudently stolen by subalterns, such as Sergent, surnamed *Agate*, from a superb jewel with which he adorned himself; and another part served to defray the expense of the extraordinary government which the commune had instituted. It was a war waged against the old order of things, and every such war is sullied with murder and pillage.

Such was the state of Paris while the elections for the National Convention were going forward. It was from this new assembly that the upright citizens expected the means and energy requisite for restoring order. They hoped that the forty days of confusion and crimes which had elapsed since the 10th of August, would be but an accident of the insurrection—a deplorable but transitory accident. The very deputies, sitting with such feebleness in the National Assembly, deferred the exercise of energy till the meeting of that Convention—the common hope of all parties.

A warm interest was taken in the elections throughout France. The clubs exercised a powerful influence over them. The Jacobins of Paris had printed and distributed a list of all the votes given during the legislative session, that it might serve as a guide to the electors. The deputies who had voted against the laws desired by the popular party, and those in particular who had acquitted Lafayette, were especially distinguished. In the provinces, however, to which the animosities of the capital had not yet penetrated, Girondins, and even such of them as were most odious to the agitators of Paris, were chosen on account of the talents which they had displayed. Almost all the members of the late Assembly were re-elected. Many of the constituents, whom the decree of non-re-election had excluded from the first legislature, were called to form part of this Convention. In the number were distinguished Buzot and Petion. Among the new members naturally figured men noted in their departments for their energy or their violence, or writers who, like Louvet, had acquired reputation by their talents both in the capital and in the provinces.

In Paris, the violent faction which had domineered ever since the 10th of August, seized the control over the elections, and brought forward all the men of its choice. Robespierre and Danton were the first elected. The Jacobins and the council of the commune hailed this intelligence with applause. After them were elected Camille Desmoulins, celebrated for his writings; David, for his pictures;* Fabre-

* "J. L. David, a celebrated painter, elector of Paris in 1792, was one of the warmest friends of Robespierre. He voted for the death of Louis XVI. He contrived the Mountain on which Robespierre gave a public festival in the field of Mars. In 1794 he presided in the Convention. In 1800 the consuls made him the national artist, when he painted for the Hospital of the Invalids a picture of General Bonaparte. In 1805 he was appointed to paint the scene of the emperor's coronation. David was unquestionably the first French painter of the modern school; and this consideration had some weight in obtaining his pardon in 1794, when he had been accused of being a Terrorist. A swelling which David had in his cheeks rendered his features hideous. He was a member of the Legion of Honour; and his daughter, in 1805, married a colonel of infantry." —*Biographie Moderne*. E.

d'Eglantine,* for his comic works and an active participation in the revolutionary disturbances; Legendre, Panis, Sergent, and Billaud-Varennes for their conduct at the commune. To these were added Manuel, the *procureur syndic;* the younger Robespierre, brother of the celebrated Maximilien; Callot-d'Herbois,† formerly an actor; and the Duke of Orleans, who had relinquished his titles and called himself Philippe Egalité. Lastly, after all these names there was seen with astonishment that of old Dussaulx, one of the electors of 1789, who had so strongly opposed the fury of the mob, and shed so many tears over its atrocities, and who was re-elected from a last remembrance of 89, and as a kind inoffensive creature to all parties.

In this strange list there was only wanting the cynical and sanguinary Marat. This singular man had, from the boldness of his writings, something about him that was surprising even to those who had just witnessed the events of September. Chabot, the Capuchin, who by his energy bore sway at the Jacobins, and there sought triumphs which were refused him in the Legislative Assembly, was obliged to step forth as the apologist of Marat; and as everything was discussed beforehand at the Jacobins, his election proposed there was soon consummated in the electoral assembly. Marat, Freron,‡ another journalist, and a few more obscure individuals,

* "Fabre-d'Eglantine was a native of Carcassone. He was known at the commencement of the Revolution by works which had little success, and since that time, by comedies not destitute of merit; but, above all, by criminal conduct both as a public and a private man. Of low birth, he possessed a vanity which rendered him intolerable. He could not endure the nobility. While he was obliged to bend before it, he was content with abusing it, as he could do no more: but when the course of events had placed him in a position to crush those he hated, he rushed on them with the rage of a tiger, and tore them to pieces with delight. I have heard him say, nearly like Caligula, that he wished the nobles had but one head, that he might strike it off at a single blow. In 1793, during the trial of Louis XVI., he was solicited to be favourable to that unfortunate prince. 'You will enjoy the pleasure of doing a good action,' said the applicant. 'I know a pleasure far superior to that,' replied Fabre; 'it is the pleasure felt by a commoner in condemning a king to death."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.* E.

† "J. M. Collot-d'Herbois first appeared on the stage, and had little success. He played at Geneva, at the Hague, and at Lyons, where, having been often hissed, he vowed the most cruel vengeance against that town. The line of acting in which he played best was that of tyrants in tragedies. He went to Paris at the beginning of the Revolution, and embraced the popular cause. Possessed of a fine face, a powerful voice, and great boldness, he became one of the oracles at the Jacobin Club. He was no stranger to the September massacres. During the King's trial he sat at the top of the Mountain, by Robespierre's side, and voted for the monarch's death. It has been said of this man, who was surnamed the Tiger, that he was the most sanguinary of the Terrorists. In 1793 he took his departure for Lyons, and protested that the South should soon be purified. It is from the time of this mission that his horrible celebrity takes its rise. He sent for a column of the revolutionary army, and organized the demolitions and the employment of cannon in order to make up for the slowness of the guillotine at Lyons. The victims, when about to be shot, were bound to a cord fixed to trees, and a picket of infantry marched round the place, firing successively on the condemned. The *mitraillades*, the executions by artillery, took place in the Brotteaux. Those who were destined for this punishment were ranged two by two on the edge of the ditches that had been dug to receive their bodies, and cannons, loaded with small bits of metal, were fired upon them; after which, some troops of the revolutionary army despatched the wounded with swords or bayonets. Two women and a young girl having solicited the pardon of their husbands and brothers, Collot-d'Herbois had them bound on the scaffold where their relations expired, and their blood spouted out on them. On his return to Paris, being denounced to the National Convention by petitioners from Lyons, he answered, that 'the cannon had been fired but once on sixty of the most guilty, to destroy them with a single stroke.' The Convention approved of his measures, and ordered that his speech should be printed. In the year 1794, returning home at one o'clock in the morning, Collot was attacked by Admiral, who fired at him twice with a pistol, but missed his aim. The importance which this adventure gave him, both in the Convention of which he was nominated president, and elsewhere, irritated the self-love of Robespierre, whom Collot afterwards denounced. In 1795 he was transported to Guiana, where he endeavoured to stir up the blacks against the whites. He died in the following year of a violent fever, which was increased by his drinking a bottle of brandy. Collot published some pamphlets and several theatrical pieces, but none of them deserve notice."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

‡ "L. S. Freron was son of the journalist Freron, the antagonist of Voltaire and of the philosophic sect. Brought up at the college Louis-le-Grand with Robespierre, he became in the Revolution his friend, his emulator, and, at last, his denouncer. In 1789 he began to edit the 'Orator of the People,' and became the coadjutor of Marat. Being sent with Barras on a mission to the South, he displayed extreme cruelty and activity. On their arrival at Marseilles, in 1793, they published

completed that famous deputation, which, embracing mercantile men, a butcher, an actor, an engraver, a painter, a lawyer, three or four writers, and an abdicated prince, correctly represented the confusion and the various classes which were struggling in the immense capital of France.

The deputies arrived successively in Paris, and, in proportion as their number increased, and the days which had produced such profound terror became more remote, people began to muster courage and to exclaim against the excesses of the capital. The fear of the enemy was diminished by the attitude of Dumouriez in the Argonne. Hatred of the aristocrats was converted into pity, since the horrible sacrifice of them at Paris and Versailles. These atrocities, which had found so many mistaken approvers or so many timid censurers—these atrocities, rendered still more hideous by the robbery which had just been added to murder, excited general reprobation. The Girondins, indignant at so many crimes, and exasperated by the personal oppression to which they had been subjected for a whole month, became more firm and more energetic. Resplendent by their talents and courage in the eyes of France, invoking justice and humanity, they could not but have public opinion in their favour, and they already began loudly to threaten their adversaries with its influence.

If, however, all alike condemned the outrages perpetrated in Paris, they did not all feel and excite those personal resentments which imbitter party animosities. Possessing intelligence and talents, Brissot produced considerable effect, but he had neither sufficient personal consideration nor sufficient ability to be the leader of a party, and the hatred of Robespierre aggrandized him by imputing to him that character. When, on the days preceding the insurrection, the Girondins wrote a letter to Bose, the King's painter, the rumour of a treaty was circulated, and it was asserted that Brissot was going to set out for London laden with money. The rumour was unfounded; but Marat with whom the slightest and even the falsest reports were a sufficient ground for accusation, had nevertheless issued an order for the apprehension of Brissot, at the time of the general imprisonment of the alleged conspirators of the 10th of August. A great sensation was the consequence, and the order had not been carried into effect. The Jacobins, nevertheless, persisted in asserting that Brissot had sold himself to Brunswick. Robespierre repeated and

a proclamation announcing that Terror was the order of the day, and that to save Marseilles, and to rase Toulon, were the aims of their labours. 'Things go on well here,' wrote Freron to Moses Bayle; 'we have required twelve thousand masons to rase the town; every day since our arrival we have caused two hundred heads to fall, and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot. All the great measures have been neglected at Marseilles; if they had only shot eight hundred conspirators, as has been done here, and had appointed a committee to condemn the rest, we should not have been in the condition we now are.' It was at first intended to put to death all who had accepted any office, or borne arms, in the town during the siege. Freron consequently signified to them that they must all go, under pain of death, to the Champ de Mars. The Toulonese, thinking to obtain pardon by this submission, obeyed, and eight thousand persons were assembled at the appointed place. All the representatives (Barras, Salicetti, Ricord, Robespierre the younger, &c.) were shocked at the sight of this multitude; Freron himself, surrounded by a formidable train, saw these numerous victims with terror; at last, by the advice of Barras, a jury was appointed, and a great number of the most guilty instantly shot. The shooting with muskets being insufficient, they had afterwards recourse to the mitraillade; and it was in another execution of this nature, that Freron, in order to despatch the victims who had not perished by the first discharge, cried out, 'Let those who are still living, rise; the republic pardons them.' Some unhappy creatures trusting to this promise, he caused them to be immediately fired upon. On quitting Toulon, Freron went with his coadjutors to finish the depopulation of Marseilles, which they declared a commune without a name, and where they destroyed more than 400 individuals, by means of a criminal tribunal, and afterwards of a military committee. At the same time they caused the finest edifices of the city to be destroyed. Returning from his proconsulship, Freron soon became an object of suspicion to Robespierre, whom he attacked in return, and contributed greatly to his ruin. From this period he showed himself the enemy of the Terrorists, and pursued them with a fury worthy of a former companion. He proposed in the Convention that death should no longer be inflicted for revolutionary crimes, except for emigration, promotion of the royal cause, and military treason, and that transportation should be substituted instead. At the time of the expedition to St. Domingo in 1802, Freron was appointed prefect of the South, and went with General Leclerc; but he sunk under the influence of the climate, after an illness of six days."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

believed this, so disposed was his warped judgement to believe those guilty who were hateful to him. Louvet had equally excited his hatred for making himself second to Brissot at the Jacobins and in the *Journal de la Sentinelle*. Louvet, possessing extraordinary talent and boldness, made direct attacks upon individuals. His virulent personalities, renewed every day through the channel of a journal, made him the most dangerous and the most detested enemy of Robespierre's party.

Roland, the minister, had displeased the whole Jacobin and municipal party by his courageous letter of the 3d of September, and by his resistance to the encroachments of the commune; but he had never been the rival of any individual, and excited no other anger than that of opinion. He had personally offended none but Danton, by opposing him in the council, and there was but little danger in so doing, for, of all men living, Danton was the one whose resentment was least to be dreaded. But in the person of Roland it was his wife who was principally detested —his wife, a proud, severe, courageous, clever woman, rallying around her those highly-cultivated and brilliant Girondins, animating them by her looks, rewarding them with her esteem, and keeping up in her circle, along with republican simplicity, a politeness hateful to vulgar and obscure men. These already strove to make Roland the butt of their low ridicule. His wife, they said, governed for him, directed his friends, and even recompensed them with her favours. Marat, in his ignoble language, styled her the *Circe* of the party.*

Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, though they had shed great lustre on the Legislative Assembly, and opposed the Jacobin party, had nevertheless not yet roused all the animosity which they subsequently excited. Gaudet had even pleased the energetic republicans by his bold attacks upon Lafayette and the court. Guadet, ardent and ever ready to dash forward, could display at one moment the utmost vehemence and in the next the greatest coolness; and, master of himself in the tribune, he distinguished himself there by his seasonable and spirit-stirring harangues. Accordingly he, like all other men, could not but delight in an exercise in which he excelled, nay, even abuse it, and take too much pleasure in launching out against a party which was soon destined to stop his mouth by death.

Vergniaud had not gained so much favour with violent spirits as Guadet, because he had not shown such hostility to the court, but, on the other hand, he had run less risk of offending them, because, in his ease and carelessness, he had not jostled others so much as his friend Guadet. So little was this speaker under the sway of the passions, that they allowed him to take his nap quietly amidst the contentions of parties, and as they did not urge him to outstrip others, they exposed him but little to their hatred. He was, however, by no means indifferent. He had a noble heart, a sound and lucid understanding, and the sluggish fire of his being, kindling it at times, warmed and elevated him to the most sublime energy. He had not the same briskness of repartee as Guadet, but he became animated in the tribune, where he poured forth a torrent of eloquence; and, owing to the flexibility of an extraordinary voice, he delivered his thoughts with a facility and a fecundity of expression unequalled by any other member. The elocution of Mirabeau was, like his character, coarse and unequal; that of Vergniaud, always elegant and noble, became, with circumstances, grand and energetic. But all the exhortations of Roland's wife were not always capable of rousing this champion, frequently disgusted with mankind, frequently opposed to the imprudence of his friends, and, above all, by no means convinced of the utility of words against force.

Gensonné, full of good sense and integrity, but endowed with a moderate facility of expression, and capable only of drawing up good reports, had not as yet dis-

* "To a very beautiful person, Madame Roland united great powers of intellect; her reputation stood very high, and her friends never spoke of her but with the most profound respect. In character she was a Cornelia; and, had she been blessed with sons, would have educated them like the Gracchi. The simplicity of her dress did not detract from her natural grace and elegance: and while her pursuits were more adapted to the other sex, she adorned them with all the charms of her own. Her personal memoirs are admirable. They are an imitation of Rousseau's Confessions, and often not unworthy of the original."—*Dumont.* E.

tinguished himself in the tribune. Strong passions, however, and an obstinate character, could not but gain him considerable influence among his friends, and from his enemies that hatred which is always excited more by a man's character than by his talents.

Condorcet, once a marquis, and always a philosopher, a man of elevated mind, an unbiassed judge of the faults of his party, unqualified for the terrible agitations of democracy, and who had taken no pains to push himself forward, had as yet no direct enemy on his own account, and reserved himself for all those kinds of labour which required profound meditation.

Buzot,* endued with good sense, elevation of soul, and courage, combining a firm and simple elocution with a handsome face, awed the passions by the nobleness of his person, and exercised the greatest moral ascendency on all around him.

Barbaroux, elected by his fellow-citizens, had just arrived from the South with one of his friends, like himself a deputy to the National Convention. The name of this friend was Rebecqui. With a mind but little cultivated, he was bold and enterprising, and wholly devoted to Barbaroux. It will be recollected that the latter worshipped Roland and Petion, that he looked upon Marat, as an atrocious maniac, and Robespierre as an ambitious man, especially ever since Petion had proposed the latter to him as an indispensable dictator. Disgusted with the crimes committed during his absence, he was ready to impute them to men whom he already detested, and he spoke out, immediately after his arrival, with an energy which rendered reconciliation impossible. Inferior to his friends in the qualities of mind, but endued with intelligence and facility, handsome, heroic, he vented himself in threats, and in a few days drew upon himself as much hatred as those who, during the whole existence of the Legislative Assembly, had never ceased to wound opinions and their holders.

The person around whom the whole party rallied, and who then enjoyed universal respect, was Petion. Mayor during the legislature, he had, by his struggle with the court, gained immense popularity. He had, it is true, on the 9th of August, preferred deliberation to combat; he had since declared against the deeds of September, and had separated himself from the commune, as did Bailly, in 1790; but this quiet and silent opposition, without embroiling him stll more with the faction, had rendered him formidable to it. Possessing an enlarged understanding and a calm mind, speaking but seldom, and never pretending to rival any one in talent, he exercised over all, and over Robespierre himself, the ascendency of a cool, equitable, and universally respected reason. Though a reputed Girondin, all the parties were anxious for his suffrage. All feared him, and in the new Assembly he had in his favour not only the right side, but the whole central mass, and even many of the members of the left side.

Such then was the situation of the Girondins in presence of the Parisian faction. They possessed the public opinion, which condemned the late excesses; they had gained a great part of the deputies who were daily arriving in Paris; they had all the ministers, excepting Danton, who frequently governed the council, but did not employ his power against them; lastly, they could boast of having at their head the mayor of Paris, than whom none was at the moment more highly respected. But in Paris they were not at home. They were in the midst of their enemies, and they had to apprehend the violence of the lower classes, which were agitated

* "F. N. L. Buzot was born at Evreux in 1760, and was an advocate in that city at the time of the Revolution, which he embraced with ardour. In 1792 he was deputed by the Eure to the National Assembly. At the time of the King's trial he voted for his death, though not for his immediate execution, and he was even one of those who most warmly solicited a reprieve for him. In the March following, he more than once gave warning of the despotism of the mob of Paris, and ended one of his speeches by threatening that city with the sight of the grass growing in the streets, if confusion should reign there much longer. In April he contended against the Jacobins, who, he said, were influenced by men of blood. Having been denounced as a Girondin, he made his escape from Paris, and after wandering about some time, was found, together with Petion, dead in a field, and half-eaten by wolves."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

beneath them, and, above all, the violence of the future, which was soon to increase along with the revolutionary passions.

The first reproach levelled at them was that they wanted to sacrifice Paris. A design of seeking refuge in the departments and beyond the Loire had already been imputed to them. The wrongs done them by Paris having been aggravated since the 2d and 3d of September, they were moreover accused of an intention to forsake it; and it was alleged that they wished to assemble the Convention in some other place. These suspicions, gradually arranging themselves, assumed a more regular form. It was pretended that the Girondins were desirous to break the national unity, and to form out of the eighty-three departments as many states, all equal among themselves, and united by a mere federative compact. It was added that by this measure they meant to destroy the supremacy of Paris, and to secure for themselves a personal domination in their respective departments. Then it was that the calumny of federalism was devised. It is true that, when France was threatened with invasion by the Prussians, they had thought of intrenching themselves, in case of necessity, in the southern departments; it is likewise true that, on beholding the atrocities and tyranny of Paris, they had sometimes turned their eyes to the departments; but between this point and the plan of a federative system there was a very great distance. And, besides, as all the difference between a federative government and a single and central government consists in the greater or less energy of the local institutions, the crime of such an idea was extremely vague, if it had any existence.

The Girondins, perceiving nothing culpable in this idea, did not disavow it; and many of them, indignant at the absurd manner in which this system was condemned, asked if, after all, the new American States, Holland, and Switzerland, were not free and happy under a federative government, and if there would be any great error, any mighty crime, in preparing a similar lot for France. Buzot, in particular, frequently maintained this doctrine: and Brissot, a warm admirer of the Americans, likewise defended it, rather as a philosophic opinion than as a project applicable to France. These conversations being divulged, gave greater weight to the calumny of federalism. At the Jacobins, the question of a federal system was gravely discussed, and a thousand furious passions were kindled against the Girondins. It was alleged that they wished to destroy the fasces of the revolutionary power, to take from it that unity which constituted its strength; and this for the purpose of making themselves kings in their respective provinces.

The Girondins, on their part, replied by reproaches in which there was more reality, but which unfortunately were likewise exaggerated, and which lost in force, in proportion as they lost in truth. They reproached the commune with having made itself the supreme authority, with having by its usurpations encroached on the national sovereignty, and with having arrogated to itself alone a power which belonged only to entire France. They reproached it with a design to rule the Convention, in the same manner as it had oppressed the Legislative Assembly. They declared that it would be unsafe for the national representatives to sit beside it, and that they would be sitting amidst the murderers of September. They accused it of having dishonoured the Revolution during the forty days succeeding the 10th of August, and with having selected for deputies of Paris none but men who had signalized themselves during those horrible saturnalia.

So far all was true. But they added reproaches as vague as those which the federalists addressed to themselves. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, were loudly accused of aspiring to the supreme power: Marat, because he was daily urging in his writings the necessity for a dictator, who should lop off from society the impure members who corrupted it; Robespierre, because he had dogmatized at the commune and spoken with insolence to the Assembly, and because, on the evening before the 10th of August, Panis had proposed him to Barbaroux as dictator; lastly, Danton, because he exercised over the ministry, over the people, and wherever he appeared, the influence of a mighty being. They were called the triumvirs, and yet they had no sort of connexion with each other. Marat was but a systematic madman. Robespierre was as yet but a jealous, for he had not the

greatness of mind to be an ambitious man. Danton, finally, was an active man, zealously intent on promoting the aim of the Revolution, and who meddled with everything, rather from ardour than from personal ambition. But in none of these men was there yet either a usurper, or a conspirator, in understanding with the others; and it was imprudent to give to adversaries already stronger than the accusers, the advantage of being accused unjustly. The Girondins, however, showed much less bitterness against Danton, because there had never been anything personal between themselves and him, and they despised Marat too much to attack him directly; but they fell foul of Robespierre without mercy, because they were more exasperated by the success of what was called his virtue and his eloquence. Against him they entertained that resentment which is felt by real superiority against proud and too highly extolled mediocrity.

An attempt to bring about a better understanding was nevertheless made before the opening of the National Convention, and several meetings were held, in which it was proposed that the different parties should frankly explain themselves and put an end to mischievous disputes. Danton entered sincerely into this arrangement, because he carried with him no pride, and desired above all things the success of the Revolution. Petion showed great coolness and sound reason; but Robespierre was peevish as an injured man; the Girondins were haughty and severe as innocent persons, who feel that they have been offended, and conceive that they hold in their hands the sure power of revenge. Barbaroux said that any alliance *between crime and virtue* was utterly impossible; and all the parties were much further from a reconciliation when they separated, than before they met. All the Jacobins rallied around Robespierre; the Girondins, and the prudent and moderate mass around Petion. It was recommended by the latter and by all sensible persons to drop all accusation, since it was impossible to discover the authors of the massacres of September and of the robbery at the Garde-Meuble; to say no more about the triumvirs, because their ambition was neither sufficiently proved, nor sufficiently manifested to be punished; to despise the score of bad characters introduced into the Assembly by the elections of Paris; and lastly, to lose no time in fulfilling the object of the Convention, by forming a constitution and deciding the fate of Louis XVI.

Such were the sentiments of men of cool minds; but others less calm devised, as usual, plans which, as they could not yet be put in execution, were attended with the danger of warning and irritating their adversaries. They proposed to cashier the municipality, to remove the Convention in case of need, to transfer its seat from Paris to some other place, to constitute it a court of justice for the purpose of trying the conspirators without appeal, and lastly, to raise a particular guard for it selected from the eighty-three departments. These plans led to no result, and served only to irritate the passions. The Girondins relied upon the public feeling, which, in their opinion, would be roused by the strain of their eloquence and by the recital of the crimes which they should have to denounce. They appointed the tribune of the Convention for their place of rendezvous, for the purpose of crushing their adversaries.

At length, on the 20th of September, the deputies to the Convention met at the Tuileries, in order to constitute the new Assembly. Their number being sufficient, they constituted themselves *ad interim*, verified their powers, and immediately proceeded to the nomination of the bureau. Petion was almost unanimously proclaimed president, Brissot, Condorcet, Rabaud St. Etienne, Lasource, Vergniaud, and Camus, were elected secretaries. These appointments prove what influence the Girondin party then possessed in the Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly, which had sat permanently ever since the 10th of August, was apprized on the 21st by a deputation that the National Convention was formed and that the Legislature was dissolved. The two assemblies had but to blend themselves into one, and the Convention took possession of the hall of the Legislative Assembly.

On the 21st, Manuel, *procureur syndic* of the commune, suspended after the 20th of June with Petion, who had become highly popular in consequence of this

suspension, and who had then enlisted among the furious spirits of the commune, but afterwards withdrawn from them and joined the Girondins at the sight of the massacres at the Abbaye—Manuel made a motion which excited a strong sensation among the enemies of the Gironde. "Citizens representatives," said he, "in this place everything ought to be stamped with a character of such dignity and grandeur as to fill the world with awe. I propose that the *president of France* have the national palace of the Tuileries assigned for his residence, that he be preceded by the public force and the insignia of the law, and that the citizens rise at his appearance." At these words, Chabot the Jacobin, and Tallien, secretary of the commune, inveighed with vehemence against this ceremonial, borrowed from royalty. Chabot said that the representatives of the people ought to assimilate themselves to the citizens from whose ranks they issued, to the *sans-culottes* who formed the majority of the nation. Tallien added that they ought to go to a fifth story in quest of a president, for it was there that genius and virtue dwelt. Manuel's motion was consequently rejected, and the enemies of the Gironde allege that that party wished to decree sovereign honours to Petion, its chief.

This proposition was succeeded by a great number of others without interruption. In all quarters there was a desire to ascertain by authentic declarations the sentiments which animated the Assembly and France. It was required that the new constitution should have absolute equality for its foundation; that the sovereignty of the people should be decreed; that hatred should be sworn to royalty, to a dictatorship, to a triumvirate, to every individual authority; and that the penalty of death should be decreed against any one who should propose such a form of government. Danton put an end to all the motions by causing a decree to be passed, declaring that the new constitution should not be valid till it had been sanctioned by the people. It was added that the existing laws should continue in force *ad interim*, that the authorities not superseded should be meanwhile retained, and that the taxes should be raised as heretofore, till new systems of contribution were introduced. After these motions and decrees, Manuel, Collot-d'Herbois, and Gregoire, brought forward the question of royalty, and insisted that its abolition should be forthwith pronounced. The people, said they, has just been declared sovereign, but it will not be really so till you have delivered it from a rival authority—that of kings. The Assembly, the tribunes, rose to express their unanimous reprobation of royalty. Bazire, however, wished, he said, for a solemn discussion of so important a question. "What need is there for discussion," replied Gregoire, "when all are agreed? Courts are the hotbed of crime, the focus of corruption; the history of kings is the martyrology of nations. Since we are all equally penetrated with these truths, what need is there for discussion?"

The discussion was accordingly closed. Profound silence ensued, and, by the unanimous desire of the Assembly, the president declared that royalty was abolished in France. This decree was hailed with universal applause; it was ordered to be published forthwith, and sent to the armies and to all the municipalities.*

* "On the 21st of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Lubin, a municipal officer, attended by horsemen and a great mob, came before the Tower to make a proclamation. Trumpets were sounded, and a dead silence ensued. Lubin's voice was of the stentorian kind. The royal family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of royalty, and of the establishment of a republic. Hebert, so well known by the name of Père-Duchêne, and Destournelles, since made minister of the public contributions, were then on guard over the family. They were sitting at the time near the door, and rudely stared the King in the face. The monarch perceived it, but, having a book in his hand, continued to read, without suffering the smallest alteration to appear in his countenance. The Queen displayed equal resolution. At the end of the proclamation, the trumpets sounded again, and I went to the window. The eyes of the populace were immediately turned upon me; I was taken for my royal master, and overwhelmed with abuse. The same evening, I informed the King that curtains and more clothes were wanting for the dauphin's bed, as the weather began to be cold. He desired me to write the demand for them, which he signed. I used the same expressions that I had hitherto done—'The King requires for his son," and so forth. 'It is a great piece of assurance in you,' said Destournelles, 'thus to persist in a title, abolished by the will of the people, as you have just heard.' I replied, that I had heard a proclama-

When this institution of the republic was proclaimed, the Prussians were still threatening the French territory. Dumouriez, as we have seen, had proceeded to St. Menehould, and the cannonade of the 21st, so favourable to our arms, was not yet known in Paris. On the following day, the 22d, Billaud-Varennes proposed not to date any longer the year 4 of liberty, but the year 1 of the republic. This motion was adopted. The year 1789 was no longer considered as having commenced liberty, and the new republican era began on that very day, the 22d of September, 1792.

In the evening the news of the cannonade of Valmi arrived and diffused general joy. On the petition of the citizens of Orleans, who complained of their magistrates, it was decreed that there should be a new election of members of the administrative bodies and of the tribunals, and that the conditions of eligibility fixed by the constitution of 1791 should be considered as null. It was no longer necessary to select judges from among the lawyers, or administrators from a certain class of proprietors. The Legislative Assembly had already abolished the marc of silver, and extended the electoral qualification to all citizens who had attained the age of majority.

The Convention now removed the last demarcations, by calling all the citizens to all the functions of every kind. Thus was introduced the system of absolute equality.*

On the 23d, all the ministers were heard. Cambon, the deputy, made a report on the state of the finances. The preceding assemblies had decreed the issue of assignats to the amount of two thousand seven hundred millions; two thousand five hundred millions had been expended; there remained two hundred millions, of which one hundred and seventy-six were yet to be made, and the other twenty-four were still in the exchequer. The taxes were withheld by the departments for the purchase of corn ordered by the last Assembly; fresh extraordinary resources were required. The mass of the national property being daily increased by emigration, the Convention was not afraid to issue paper representing that property, neither did it hesitate to do so. A new creation of assignats was therefore ordered.

Roland was heard on the state of France and of the capital. Equally severe and still bolder than on the 3d of September, he expatiated with energy on the outrages in Paris, their causes, and the means of preventing them. He recommended the prompt institution of a strong and vigorous government, as the only guarantee of order in free states. His report, listened to with favour, was followed by applause, but nevertheless excited no explosion among those who considered themselves as accused where it treated of the disturbances in Paris.

But scarcely was this first survey taken of the state of France, when news arrived of the breaking out of commotions in certain departments. Roland addressed a letter to the Convention, denouncing these fresh outrages and demanding their repression. As soon as this letter was read, the deputies Kersaint and Buzot rushed to the tribune to denounce the acts of violence of all sorts that began to be everywhere committed. "The murders," said they, "are imitated in the

tion, but was unacquainted with the object of it. 'It is,' rejoined he, 'for the abolition of royalty; and you may tell the *gentleman*'—pointing to the King—'to give over taking a title, no longer acknowledged by the people.' I told him I could not alter this note which was already signed, as the King would ask me the reason, and it was not my part to tell him. 'You will do as you like,' continued Destournelles, 'but I shall not certify the demand.'"—*Clery.* E.

* "The name of citizen was now the universal salutation among all classes. Even when a deputy spoke to a shoeblack, that symbol of equality was regularly exchanged between them; and in the ordinary intercourse of society, there was a ludicrous affectation of republican brevity and simplicity. 'When thou conquerest Brussels,' said Collot-d'Herbois, the actor, to General Dumouriez, 'my wife, who is in that city, has permission to reward thee with a kiss.' Three weeks afterwards the general took Brussels, but he was ungallant enough not to profit by this flattering permission. His quick wit caught the ridicule of such an ejaculation as that which Camus addressed to him. 'Citizen-general,' said the deputy, 'thou dost meditate the part of Cæsar, but remember, I will be Brutus, and plunge a poniard into thy bosom.'—'My dear Camus,' replied the lively soldier, who had been in worse dangers than were involved in this classical threat, 'I am no more like Cæsar than you are like Brutus; and an assurance that I should live till you kill me would be equal to a brevet of immortality."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

departments. It is not anarchy that must be accused of them but tyrants of a new species, who are raising themselves above scarcely-emancipated France. It is from Paris that these fatal exhortations to crime are daily emanating. On all the walls of the capital are posted bills instigating to murder, to conflagration, to pillage, and lists of proscription, in which new victims are daily pointed out. How are the people to be preserved from the most abject wretchedness, if so many citizens are doomed to keep themselves concealed? How make France hope for a constitution, if the Convention, which ought to decree it, deliberates under uplifted daggers? A stop must, for the honour of the Revolution be put to all these excesses, and a distinction made between the civic bravery which defied despotism on the 10th of August, and the cruelty which on the 2d and 3d of September, obeyed a mute and hidden tyranny."

The speakers, in consequence, proposed the establishment of a committee for the purpose—

1. Of rendering an account of the state of the republic, and of Paris in particular;
2. Of presenting a *projet de loi* against the instigators of murder and assassination;
3. Of reporting on the means of placing at the disposal of the National Convention a public force raised in the eighty-three departments.

On this motion, all the members of the left side, on which were ranged the most ardent spirits of the new Assembly, set up tumultuous shouts. The evils prevailing in France were, according to them, exaggerated. The hypocritical complaints, which they had just heard, issued from the depths of the dungeons in which were justly immured those suspected persons who, for three years, had been invoking civil war upon their country. The evils complained of were inevitable. The people were in a state of revolution, and it was their duty to take energetic measures for their welfare. Those critical moments were now past, and the declarations just issued by the Convention would suffice to allay the disturbances. Besides, wherefore an extraordinary jurisdiction? The old laws were still in force, and were sufficient for provocations to murder. Was it a new martial law that members were desirous of establishing?

By a contradiction very common among parties, those who had demanded the extraordinary jurisdiction of the 17th of August, those who were about to demand that of the revolutionary tribunal, inveighed against a law which, they said, was a law of blood. "A law of blood!" exclaimed Kersaint; "when it is, on the contrary, the spilling of blood that I wish to prevent!" An adjournment, however, was vehemently called for. "To adjourn the repression of murders," cried Vergniaud, "is to order them. The foes of France are in arms upon our territory, and you would have the French citizens, instead of fighting them, slaughter one another like the soldiers of Cadmus!"

At length the motion of Kersaint and Buzot was adopted entire. A decree was passed that laws should be prepared for the punishment of instigators to murder, and for the organization of a departmental guard.

This sitting of the 24th had caused a great agitation in the public mind; yet no name had been mentioned, and the charges brought forward were but general. Next day, the deputies met with all the resentments of the preceding day rankling within them, the one party murmuring against the decrees that had been passed, the other regretting that it had not said enough against what it termed the *disorganizing* faction. While some thus attacked and others defended the decrees, Merlin, formerly usher and municipal officer of Thionville, afterwards a member of the Legislative Assembly, where he signalized himself among the most determined patriots—Merlin, famous for his ardour and his intrepidity, demanded permission to speak. "The order of the day," said he, "is to ascertain if, as Lasource yesterday assured me, there exists in the bosom of the National Convention a faction desirous of establishing a triumvirate or a dictatorship. Let all suspicions cease, or let Lasource point out the guilty persons, and I swear to stab them before the face of the Assembly." Lasource, thus pointedly called upon to explain himself, reported his conversation with Merlin, and again designated, but without naming them, the ambitious men who wished to exalt themselves upon the ruins of demo-

lished royalty. "It is they who have instigated to murder and plunder, who have issued orders of arrest against members of the Legislative Assembly, who point the dagger against the courageous members of the Convention, and who impute to the people the excesses perpetrated by themselves." He added that, when the time should arrive, he would tear off the veil which he had only lifted, were he even to perish under their blows.

Still, however, the triumvirs were not named. Osselin ascended the tribune, and mentioned the deputation of Paris of which he was a member. He said that it was against that body that jealousy was so studiously excited, but that it was neither profoundly ignorant enough, nor profoundly wicked enough, to have conceived plans of a triumvirate or a dictatorship; that he would take his oath to the contrary, and he called for ignominy and death against the first who should be caught meditating such plans. "Let every one," added he, "follow me to the tribune, and make the same declaration."—"Yes," exclaimed Rebecqui, the courageous friend of Barbaroux; "yes, that party charged with tyrannical projects exists, and I will name it—it is Robespierre's party. Marseilles knows this, and has sent us hither to oppose it."

This bold apostrophe produced a strong sensation in the Assembly. All eyes turned towards Robespierre. Danton hastened to speak, for the purpose of healing divisions, and of preventing accusations which he knew to be in part directed against himself. "That day," said he, "will be a glorious one for the republic, on which a frank and brotherly explanation shall dispel all jealousies. People talk of dictators, of triumvirs; but that charge is vague and ought to be signed."—"I will sign it!" again exclaimed Rebecqui, rushing to the bureau. "Good," rejoined Danton; "if there be guilty persons, let them be sacrificed, even though they were my dearest friends. For my part, my life is known. In the patriotic societies, on the 10th of August, in the executive council, I have served the cause of liberty, without any private view, and with the *energy of my disposition*. For my own person, then, I fear no accusations; but I wish to save everybody else from them. There is, I admit, in the deputation of Paris, a man who might be called the *Royou* of the republicans—that is Marat. I have frequently been charged with being the instigator of his placards; but I appeal to the president and beg him to declare if, in the communes and the committees, he has not seen me frequently at variance with Marat. For the rest, that writer, so vehemently accused, has passed part of his life in cellars and prisons. Suffering has soured his temper, and his extravagances ought to be excused. But let us leave mere individual discussions, and endeavour to render them subservient to the public welfare. Decree the penalty of death against any one who shall propose either a dictator or a triumvirate." This motion was hailed with applause.

"That is not all," resumed Danton; "there is another apprehension diffused among the public. That, too, ought to be dispelled. It is alleged that part of the deputies are meditating the federative system and the division of France into a great number of sections. It is essential that we should form one whole. Declare then by another decree the unity of France and of its government. These foundations laid, let us discard our jealousies, let us be united, and push forward to our goal."

Buzot, in reply to Danton, observed, that the dictatorship was a thing that might be assumed and was not likely to be demanded; and that to enact laws against such a demand was illusory; that, as for the federative system, nobody dreamt of it; that the plan of a departmental guard was a mean of unity, since all the departments would be called upon in common to guard the national representation; that, for the rest, it might be well to make a law on that subject, but that it ought to be maturely weighed, and in consequence the propositions of Danton ought to be referred to the committee of six decreed on the preceding day.

Robespierre, personally accused, asked leave to speak in his turn. He set out with declaring that it was not himself that he was going to defend, but the public weal, attacked in his person. Addressing Rebecqui, "Citizen," said he, "who have not been afraid to accuse me, I thank you. In your courage I recognise the celebrated city which has deputed you. The country, you, and myself, will be gainers by this accusation.

"A party," he continued, "has been pointed out as meditating a new tyranny, and I have been called its chief. The charge is vague; but thanks to all that I have done for liberty, it will be easy for me to reply to it. It was I, who, in the Constituent Assembly, for three years combated all the factions, whatever name they borrowed. It was I who combated the court, and disdained its gifts. It was I . . . . ."—"That is not the question," exclaimed several deputies. "Let him justify himself," replied Tallien. "Since I am accused of treason against the country," resumed Robespierre, "have I not a right to rebut the charge by the evidence of my whole life?" He then began again to enumerate his twofold services against the aristocracy, and the false patriots who assumed the mask of liberty. As he uttered these words, he pointed to the right side of the Convention. Osselin, himself tired of this enumeration, interrupted Robespierre, and desired him to give a frank explanation. "The question," said Lecointe-Puiravaux, "does not relate to what you have done, but to what you are charged of doing at the present moment." Robespierre then fell back upon the liberty of opinion, upon the sacred right of defence, upon the public weal, equally compromised with himself in this accusation. Again he was exhorted to be brief, but he proceeded with the same diffuseness as before. Referring to the famous decrees passed on his motion against the re-election of the Constituents, and against the nomination of deputies to places in the gift of the government, he asked if those were proofs of ambition. Then, recriminating on his adversaries, he renewed the accusation of federalism, and concluded by demanding the adoption of the decrees moved by Danton, and a serious investigation of the charge preferred against himself. Barbaroux, out of patience, hastened to the bar. "Barbaroux of Marseilles," said he, "comes to sign the denunciation made against Robespierre by Rebecqui." He then related a very insignificant and oft-repeated story, namely that, before the 10th of August, Panis took him to Robespierre's, and that, on leaving, after this interview, Panis presented Robespierre to him as the only man, the only dictator, capable of saving the public weal; and that, upon this, he, Barbaroux, replied that the Marsellais would never bow their heads before either a king or a dictator.

We have already detailed these circumstances, and the reader has had an opportunity of judging whether these vague and trivial expressions of Robespierre's friends furnished sufficient ground for an accusation. Barbaroux reviewed, one after another, the imputations thrown out against the Girondins. He proposed that federalism should be proscribed by a decree, and that all the members of the National Convention should swear to suffer themselves to be blockaded in the capital, and to die there, rather than leave it. After prolonged plaudits, Barbaroux resumed and said that, as for the design of a dictatorship, it could not be disputed; that the usurpations of the commune, the orders issued against members of the national representation, the commissioners sent into the departments, all proved a project of domination; but that the city of Marseilles watched over the safety of its deputies; that, ever prompt to anticipate beneficial decrees, it despatched the battalion of federalists, in spite of the royal *veto*, and that now it was sending off eight hundred of its citizens, to whom their fathers had given a brace of pistols, a sword, a musket, and an assignat of five hundred livres; that to these it had joined two hundred cavalry, well equipped, and that this force would serve to commence the departmental guard proposed for the safety of the Convention. As for Robespierre," added Barbaroux, "I deeply regret having accused him, for I once loved and esteemed him. Yes, we all loved and esteemed him, and yet we have accused him. Let him acknowledge his faults, and we will desist. Let him cease to complain, for, if he has saved liberty by his writings, we have defended it with our persons. Citizens, when the day of peril shall arrive, then people will be able to judge us, then we shall see if the writers of placards have the courage to die along with us!"

Numerous plaudits accompanied Barbaroux to his seat. At the word placards, Marat demanded permission to speak. Cambon also asked it and obtained the preference. He then denounced placards in which a dictatorship was proposed as indispensable, and which were signed with Marat's name. At these words, every one moved away from him, and he replied with a smile to the aversion that was manifested for him. Cambon was followed by other accusers of Marat and of the

commune. Marat long strove to obtain permission to speak; but Panis gained it before him in order to answer the allegations of Barbaroux. Panis in a clumsy manner denied reals acts but which proved little, and which it would have been better to admit and to insist on their insignificance. He was then interrupted by Brissot, who asked him the reason of the order of arrest issued against himself. Panis appealed to circumstances, which, he said, had been too readily forgotten, to the terror and confusion which then overwhelmed men's minds, to the multitude of denunciations against the conspirators of the 10th of August, to the strong rumours circulated against Brissot, and to the necessity for investigating them.

After these long explanations, every moment interrupted and resumed, Marat still insisting on being heard, at length obtained permission to speak, when it was no longer possible to refuse it. It was the first time that he had appeared in the tribune. The sight of him produced a burst of indignation, and a tremendous uproar was raised against him. "Down! down!" was the general cry. Slovenly in his dress, wearing a cap, which he laid down upon the tribune, and surveying his audience with a convulsive and contemptuous smile, "I have," said he, "a great number of personal enemies in this Assembly.". . . "All! all!" cried most of the deputies. "I have in this Assembly," resumed Marat, with the same assurance, "a great number of personal enemies. I recall them to modesty. Let them spare their ferocious clamours against a man who has served liberty and themselves more than they imagine.

"People talk of a triumvirate, of a dictatorship—a plan which they attribute to the deputation of Paris. Well; it is due to justice to declare that my colleagues, and especially Robespierre and Danton, have always been hostile to it, and that I have always had to combat them on this point. I was the first and the only one among all the political writers of France, who thought of this measure as the only expedient for crushing traitors and conspirators. It is I alone who ought to be punished; but, before you punish, you ought to hear." These words were followed by some plaudits from a few members. Marat continued: "Amidst the everlasting machinations of a perfidious King, of an abominable court, and of false patriots, who, in both Assemblies, sold the public liberty, will you reproach me for having devised the only means of salvation, and for having called down vengeance upon guilty heads? No; for the people would condemn you. It has felt that it had but this expedient left, and it is by making itself dictator that it has delivered itself from traitors.

"I have shuddered more than any other at the idea of these terrible movements, and it is that they might not prove for ever vain that I should have wished them to be directed by a just and firm hand. If, at the storming of the Bastille, the necessity of that measure had been understood, five hundred guilty heads would have fallen at my bidding, and peace would have been insured from that time. But, for want of the display of this energy, equally wise and necessary, one hundred thousand patriots have been slaughtered, and one hundred thousand more are threatened with slaughter. As a proof that it was not my wish to convert this dictator, tribune, triumvir—the name is of no consequence—into a tyrant such as stupidity might conceive, but a victim devoted to the country, whose lot no ambitious man would have envied, is, that I proposed at the same time that his authority should last for a few days only, that it should be limited to the power of condemning traitors, and even that a cannon-ball should, during that time, be fastened to his leg, that he might always be in the power of the people. My ideas, revolting as they may appear to you, tended only to the public welfare.* If you were yourselves not enlightened enough to comprehend me, so much the worse for you!"

* "There is no kind of folly which may not come into the head of a man, and, what is worse, which may not for a moment be realized. Marat had several ideas which were unalterable. The Revolution had its enemies, and, according to him, in order to insure its duration, these were to be destroyed; he thought no means more obvious than to exterminate them; and to name a dictator whose functions should be limited to proscription; he preached openly these two doctrines without cruelty, but with an air of cynicism equally regardless of the rules of decency and the lives of men; and despising as weak-minded all who styled his projects atrocious instead of regarding them as profound."—*Mignet.* E.

The profound silence which had prevailed thus far was interrupted by some burst of laughter, which did not disconcert the speaker, who was far more terrible than ludicrous. He resumed. "Such was my opinion, written, signed, and publicly maintained. If it were false, it would have been right to combat it, to enlighten me, and not to denounce me to despotism.

"I have been accused of ambition; but look at and judge me. Had I but condescended to set a price upon my silence, I might have been gorged with gold—and I am poor. Persecuted without ceasing, I wandered from cellar to cellar, and I have preached truth from a wood-pile.

"As for you, open your eyes. Instead of wasting time in scandalous discussions, perfect the declaration of rights, establish the constitution, and lay the foundations of the just and free government which is the real object of your labours."

A general attention had been paid to this strange man, and the Assembly, stupified by a system so alarming and so deeply calculated, had kept silence. Emboldened by this silence, some partisans of Marat had applauded; but their example was not followed, and Marat resumed his place without plaudits, but without any demonstrations of hostility.

Vergniaud, the purest, the most prudent, of the Girondins, deemed it right to speak in order to rouse the indignation of the Assembly. He deplored the misfortune of having to answer a man who had not cleared himself from the decrees issued against him,—a man all dripping with calumnies, gall, and blood. The murmurs were renewed; but he proceeded with firmness, and, after having distinguished in the deputation of Paris, David, Dussaulx, and some other members, he took in hand the famous circular of the commune, which we have already quoted, and read the whole of it. As, however, it was already known, it did not produce so much effect as another paper which Boileau, the deputy, read in his turn. It was a handbill printed by Marat that very day, in which he said, "A single reflection oppresses me; namely, that all my efforts to save the people will end in nothing without a fresh insurrection. From observing the temper of most of the deputies to the National Convention, I despair of the public welfare. If the bases of the constitution are not laid in the first eight sittings, expect nothing more from this Assembly. Fifty years of anarchy await you, and you will not emerge from it except by means of a dictator, a true patriot and statesman . . . . . *O prating people! if thou didst but know how to act!*"

The reading of this paper was frequently interrupted by bursts of indignation. As soon as it was finished, a great number of members fell foul of Marat. Some threatened him, and cried, "To the Abbaye! to the guillotine!"* while others loaded him with contempt. A fresh smile was his only answer to all the attacks levelled at him. Boileau demanded a decree of accusation, and the greater part of the Assembly was for putting the question to the vote. Marat coolly insisted on being heard. They refused to hear him unless at the bar. At length he obtained the tribune. According to his usual expression, he *recalled his enemies to modesty.* As for the decrees which members had not been ashamed to throw in his teeth, he gloried in them, because they were the price of his courage. Besides, the people, in sending him to this national assembly, had annulled the decrees, and decided between his accusers and himself. As for the paper which had just been read, he would not disown it; for falsehood, he said, never approached his lips, and fear was a stranger to his heart.

"To demand a recantation of me," added he, "is to require me not to see what

* "This fatal instrument was named after its inventor, of whom the *Biographie Moderne* gives the following account—'M. Guillotin, a physician at Paris, born in 1738, was appointed a member of the National Assembly and attracted attention chiefly by his great gentleness of disposition. In 1789 he made a speech on the penal code, wherein a tone of great humanity was perceptible, and which terminated by a proposal for substituting, as less cruel than the cord, that fatal machine, the guillotine, which in the end received so many victims. Some persons, carried away by the horror which this machine has excited, have considered as a monster one of the gentlest and at the same time most obscure men of the Revolution. Nobody deplored more bitterly than M. Guillotin the fatal use that has been made of his invention." E.

I do see, not to feel what I do feel, and there is no power under the sun capable of producing this reversal of ideas. I can answer for the purity of my heart, but I cannot change my thoughts. They are what the nature of things suggests to me." Marat then informed the Assembly that this paper, printed as a placard ten days before, had been reprinted against his will by his bookseller; but that he had given, in the first number of the *Journal de la République*, a new exposition of his principles, with which he was sure the Assembly would be satisfied if it would but listen to it.

The Assembly actually consented to the reading of the article, and, appeased by the moderate expressions of Marat in this article, entitled his "New March," it treated him with less severity; nay, he even obtained some tokens of approbation. But he again ascended the tribune with his usual audacity, and presumed to lecture his colleagues on the danger of giving way to passion and prejudice; saying that, if his journal had not appeared that very day to exculpate him, they would have sent him blindly to prison. "But," added he, showing a pistol which he always carried in his pocket, and which he pointed to his forehead, "I had wherewithal to remain free; and, had you decreed my accusation, I would have blown out my brains in this very tribune. Such is the fruit of my labours, my dangers, my sufferings! Well, I shall stay among you to defy your fury!" At these concluding words, his colleagues, whose indignation was rekindled, cried out that he was a madman, a villain, and a long tumult ensued.

The discussion had lasted several hours, and what had been elicited? Nothing whatever concerning the alleged plan of a dictatorship for the benefit of a triumvirate, but much relative to the character of the parties and their respective strength. The Assembly had beheld Danton easy and full of good-will for his colleagues, on condition that he should not be annoyed on account of his conduct; Robespierre, full of spleen and pride; Marat, astonishing by his cynicism and boldness, repelled even by his party, but striving to accustom minds to his atrocious systems; all three, in short, succeeding in the Revolution by different faculties and vices, not agreeing together, reciprocally disowning each other, and evidently actuated solely by that love of influence, which is natural to all men, and which is not yet a project of tyranny. The Assembly united with the Girondins in proscribing September and its horrors; it decreed them the esteem due to their talents and their integrity; but it deemed their accusations exaggerated and imprudent, and could not help perceiving in their indignation some personal feelings.

From that moment, the Assembly divided itself into a right side and a left side, as in the first days of the Constituent. On the right side were ranged all the Girondins and those who, without being also personally connected with their party, yet participated in their generous indignation. To the centre resorted, in considerable numbers, those upright and peaceable deputies, who, not being urged either by character or talent to take any other share in the struggle of parties than by their vote, sought obscurity and safety by mixing with the crowd. Their numerical influence in the Assembly, the respect, still very great, that was paid them, the anxiety shown by the Jacobin and municipal party to justify itself in their opinion—all served to encourage them. They fondly believed that the authority of the Convention would suffice in time to daunt the agitators; they were not sorry to check the energy of the Girondins, and to be able to tell them that their accusations were rash. They were still but reasonable and impartial; at times somewhat jealous of the too frequent and too brilliant eloquence of the right side; but they were soon destined to become weak and cowardly in the presence of tyranny. They were called the Plain, and by way of opposition the name of Mountain was given to the left side, where all the Jacobins were crowded together. On the benches of this Mountain were seen the deputies of Paris, and the deputies of the departments who owed their nomination to correspondence with the clubs, or who had been gained since their arrival by the idea that no quarter ought to be given to the enemies of the Revolution. It comprehended, moreover, some distinguished, but exact, severe, positive minds, who condemned the theories and the

philanthropy of the Girondins as vain abstractions. The Mountaineers, however, were still far from numerous. The Plain, united with the right side, composed an immense majority, which had conferred the presidency on Petion, and which approved of the attacks of the Girondins on September, excepting the personalities which seemed too premature and too unfounded.

The Assembly had passed to the order of the day upon the reciprocal accusations of the two parties; but the decree of the preceding day was upheld, and three points were determined upon: 1. To demand of the minister of the interior an exact and faithful report of the state of Paris; 2. To draw up a *projet de loi* against the instigators of murder and pillage; 3. To devise means for collecting around the Convention a departmental guard. As to the report on the state of Paris, it was known with what energy and in what spirit that task would be performed, since it was committed to Roland. As for the commission charged with the two *projets* against written instigations, and for the raising of a guard, the like hopes were conceived of its labours, because it was entirely composed of Girondins. Buzot, Lasource, and Kersaint, formed part of it.

It was to these two latter measures that the Mountaineers were most hostile. They asked if the Girondins meant to renew martial law and the massacres of the Champ de Mars; and if the Convention intended to surround itself with satellites and life-guards, like the last King. They again brought forward—so the Girondins alleged—all the reasons urged by the court against the camp near Paris.

Many, even of the most ardent members of the left side, were themselves, in their quality of members of the Convention, decidedly adverse to the usurpations of the commune; and, setting aside the deputies of Paris, none of them defended it when attacked, as it was every day. Accordingly, decrees briskly followed decrees. As the commune deferred renewing itself in execution of the decree prescribing the re-election of all the administrative bodies, the executive council was ordered to superintend its renewal, and to report on the subject to the Assembly within three days. A commission of six members was appointed to receive the declaration signed by all those who had deposited effects at the Hôtel de Ville, and to investigate the existence of those effects, or the use to which they had been applied by the municipality. The directory of the department, which the insurrectional commune had reduced to the title and duties of a mere administrative commission, was reinstated in all its functions, and resumed its title of directory. The communal elections, for the appointment of the mayor, the municipality, and the general council, which, by the contrivance of the Jacobins, were to have taken place *vivâ voce*, for the purpose of intimidating the weak, were again rendered secret by a confirmation of the existing law. The elections already made in this illegal manner were annulled, and the sections proceeded to new ones in the prescribed form. Lastly, all prisoners confined without any mandate of arrest were ordered to be forthwith liberated. This was a severe blow given to the committee of *surveillance*, which was particularly inveterate against persons.

All these decrees had been passed in the first days of October; and the commune, being closely pressed, found itself obliged to yield to the ascendency of the Convention. The committee of *surveillance*, however, would not suffer itself to be beaten without resistance. Its members repaired to the Assembly, saying that they came to confound their enemies. Having in their custody the papers found in the house of Laporte, intendant of the civil list, condemned, as the reader will recollect, by the tribunal of the 17th of August, they had discovered, they said, a letter, containing a statement of the sums which certain decrees passed by the preceding Assemblies had cost. They came to unmask the deputies sold to the court, and to prove the falseness of their patriotism. "Name them," cried the Assembly with indignation. "We cannot name them yet," replied the members of the committee. In order to repel the calumny, a commission of twenty-four deputies, who had not been members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, was immediately appointed to examine the papers, and to make their report on the subject. Marat, the inventor of this device, boasted in his journal that he had repaid the *Rolandists*, the accusers of the commune, *in their own coin;* and he proclaimed the pretended

discovery of a treason of the Girondins. On an examination of the papers, however, none of the existing deputies were found to be compromised, and the committee of *surveillance* was declared guilty of calumny. The papers being too voluminous for the twenty-four deputies to prosecute the examination at the Hôtel de Ville, they were removed to one of the committee-rooms of the Assembly. Marat, finding himself thus deprived of rich materials for his daily accusations, was highly incensed, and alleged in his journal that there was a design to destroy the evidences of all the treasons.

The Assembly, having thus repressed the excesses of the commune, directed its attention to the executive power, and decided that the ministers could no longer be taken from among its members. Danton, obliged to choose between the functions of minister of justice and those of member of the Convention, preferred, like Mirabeau, those which insured the tribune to him, and quitted the ministry without rendering any account of the secret expenditure, saying that he had delivered that account to the council. The fact was not exactly so; but the Assembly, without looking too closely into the matter, suffered the excuse to pass. On the refusal of François de Neufchateau, Garat,* a distinguished writer, a clever metaphysician, and who had acquired reputation by the ability with which he edited the *Journal de Paris*, accepted the post of minister of justice. Servan, weary of a laborious administration, which was above, not his faculties but his strength, preferred the command of the army of observation that was forming along the Pyrenees. Lebrun was therefore directed to take, *ad interim*, the portfolio of war, in addition to that of foreign affairs. Lastly, Roland offered his resignation, being tired of an anarchy so contrary to his integrity and his inflexible love of order. The Girondins proposed to the Assembly to request him to retain the portfolio. The Mountaineers, and Danton in particular, whom he had greatly thwarted, opposed this step as not consistent with the dignity of the Assembly. Danton complained that he was a weak man, and under the government of his wife. In reply to this charge of weakness, his opponents referred to Roland's letter of the 3d of September; and they might, moreover, have adduced the opposition which he, Danton, had experienced in the council. The Assembly, however, passed to the order of the day. Being pressed by the Girondins, and by all good men, Roland continued in the ministry. "I remain in it," he nobly wrote to the Assembly, "since calumny attacks me there, since dangers there await me, since the Convention has appeared to wish me still to be there. It is too glorious," he added, at the conclusion of his letter, "that no worse reproach can be brought against me than my union with courage and virtue."

The Assembly then divided itself into various committees. It appointed a committee of *surveillance*, composed of thirty members; a second of war, consisting of twenty-four; a third of accounts, of fifteen; a fourth, of criminal and civil legislation, of forty-eight; a fifth, of assignats, specie, and finances, of forty-two. A sixth committee, more important than all the others, was added to the preceding. It was to direct its attention to the principal object for which the Convention had assembled; namely, the preparation of a plan of constitution. It was composed of nine members, celebrated in different ways, and almost all holding the sentiments of the right side. Philosophy had its representatives there in the persons of Sieyes, Condorcet, and Thomas Payne, the American, recently elected a French citizen and a member of the National Convention; the Gironde was particularly represented by Gensonné, Vergniaud, Petion, and Brissot; the centre by Barrère,†

* "D. J. Garat, the younger, was a man of letters, a member of the Institute, and professor of history in the Lyceum of Paris. In 1792 he was appointed minister of justice, and commissioned to inform Louis of his condemnation. In the following year he became minister of the interior. Garat surrived all the perils of the Revolution, and, in 1806, he pronounced in the senate one of the most eloquent speeches that were ever made on the victories of the Emperor Napoleon. Garat published several works on the Revolution."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "I used to meet Barrère at a table d'hôte. I considered him of a mild and amiable temper. He was very well bred, and seemed to love the Revolution from a sentiment of benevolence. His association with Robespierre, and the court which he paid to the different parties he successively joined, and afterwards deserted, were less the effect of an evil disposition, than of a timid and

and the Mountain by Danton. The reader will doubtless be surprised to see this tribune so restless, but so far from speculative, placed in a committee so thoroughly philosophical; and we should think that the character of Robespierre, if not his talents, ought to have gained him this appointment. It is certain that Robespierre coveted this distinction much more, and that he was severely mortified because he failed to obtain it. It was conferred in preference on Danton, whose natural talents fitted him for anything, and whom no deep resentment had yet separated from his colleagues. It was this composition of the committee that so long delayed the completion of the plan of the constitution.

After having thus provided for the restoration of order in the capital, for the organization of the executive power, for the formation of committees and for the preparatives of the constitution, there was yet left a last subject, one of the most serious to which the Assembly had to direct its attention—the fate of Louis XVI. and his family. On this point the most profound silence had been observed in the Assembly: it was talked of everywhere, at the Jacobins, at the commune, in all places, public and private, with the single exception of the Convention. Some emigrants had been taken in arms; and they were on their way to Paris for the purpose of being made amenable to the criminal laws, On this subject, one voice was raised—and this was the first—and inquired if, instead of punishing subaltern culprits, the Assembly did not intend to think of the more exalted ones confined in the Temple.* At this question profound silence pervaded the Assembly.

versatile character, and the conceit which made it incumbent on him to appear as a public man. His talents as an orator, were by no means of the first order. He was afterwards surnamed the Anacreon of the guillotine; but when I knew him, he was only the Anacreon of the Revolution, upon which in his 'Point du Jour,' he wrote some very amorous strains."—*Durmont.* E

* "The small tower of the Temple in which the King was then confined, stood with its back against the great tower, without any interior communication, and formed a long square, flanked by two turrets. In one of these turrets there was a narrow staircase, that led from the first floor to a gallery on the platform; in the other were small rooms answering to each story of the tower. The body of the building was four stories high. The first consisted of an antechamber, a dining-room, and a small room in the turret, where there was a library containing from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes. The second story was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room was the Queen's bedchamber, in which the dauphin also slept; the second, which was separated from the Queen's by a small antechamber almost without light, was occupied by Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth. This chamber was the only way to the turret-room in this story, and the turret-room was the only place of office for this whole range of building, being in common for the royal family, the municipal officers, and the soldiers. The King's apartments were on the third story. He slept in the great room, and made a study of the turret-closet. There was a kitchen separated from the King's chamber by a small dark room, which had been successively occupied by M. de Chamilly and M. de Hue, and on which the seals were now fixed. The fourth story was shut up; and on the ground-floor, there were kitchens of which no use was made. The King usually rose at six in the morning. He shaved himself and I dressed his hair; he then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the municipal officer on duty remained in the bed-chamber with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. His majesty continued praying on his knees till five or six o'clock, and then read till nine. During that interval, after putting his chamber to rights, and preparing the breakfast, I went down to the Queen, who never opened her door till I arrived, in order to prevent the municipal officer from going into her apartment. At nine o'clock, the Queen, the children, and Madame Elizabeth, went up to the King's chamber to breakfast. At ten, the King and his family went down to the Queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in educating his son, made him recite passages from Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in colouring the maps. The Queen, on her part, was employed in the education of her daughter, and these different lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining time till noon was passed in needlework, knitting, or making tapestry. At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the royal family were conducted to the garden by four municipal officers, and a commander of a legion of the national guards. At two we returned to the tower, where I served the dinner, at which time Santerre regularly came to the Temple, attended by two aides-de-camp. The King sometimes spoke to him—the Queen, never. In the evening, the family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them from books of history, or other works proper to instruct and amuse the children. Madame Elizabeth took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. After the dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen heard him say his prayers. At nine the King went to supper, and afterwards went for a moment to the Queen's chamber; shook hands with her and her sister for the night; kissed his children; and then retired to the turret-room where he sate reading till midnight. The Queen and the princesses locked themselves in, and one of the municipal officers remained

Barbaroux was the first to speak; and insisted that, before it should be determined whether the Convention was to try Louis XVI., it ought to be decided whether the Convention should be a judicial body, for it had other culprits to try besides those in the Temple. In raising this question, Barbaroux alluded to the proposal for constituting the Convention an extraordinary court for trying itself *the agitators, the triumvirs*, &c. After some discussion, the proposition was referred to the committee of legislation, that it might examine the questions to which it gave rise.

At this moment the military situation of France was much changed. It was nearly the middle of October. The enemy was already driven out of Champagne and Flanders, and the foreign territory was invaded on three points, the Palatinate, Savoy, and the county of Nice.

We have seen the Prussians retiring from the camp of La Lune, retreating towards the Argonne, strewing the defiles with the sick and the dead, and escaping total destruction solely through the negligence of our generals, who severally pursued the enemy with a different object. The Duke of Saxe-Teschen had not been more successful in his attack on the Netherlands. While the Prussians were marching upon the Argonne, that prince was not willing to be left behind, and had deemed it his duty to attempt some brilliant enterprise. Though, however, our northern frontier had not been put into a state of defence, he was almost as destitute of means as ourselves, and had great difficulty in collecting a scanty *matériel* and fifteen thousand men. Then, feigning a false attack upon our whole line of fortresses, he occasioned the breaking up of one of our little camps, and suddenly moved towards Lille, to attempt a siege which the greatest generals could not have carried on without powerful armies and a considerable *matériel*.

In war, nothing but the possibility of success can justify cruel enterprises. The duke was only able to approach one point of the fortress, and there established batteries of howitzers, which bombarded it for six successive days, and burned more than two hundred houses. It is said that the Archduchess Christine insisted on witnessing this horrible scene. If this were the case, she could not witness anything but the heroism of the besieged and the uselessness of Austrian barbarity. The people of Lille, resisting with noble obstinacy, would not consent to surrender; and, on the 8th of October, while the Prussians were abandoning the Argonne, Duke Albert was obliged to quit Lille. General Labourdonnais, arriving from Soissons, and Beurnonville, returning from Champagne, forced him to retreat rapidly from our frontiers, and the resistance of the people of Lille, published throughout all France, served to increase the general enthusiasm.

Nearly about the same time, Custine* was attempting bold enterprises, but with results more brilliant than solid, in the Palatinate. Attached to Biron's army, which was encamped along the Rhine, he was placed, with seventeen thousand men, at some distance from Spire. The grand invading army had but feebly protected its rear, whilst advancing into the interior of France. Weak detachments covered Spire, Worms, and Mayence. Custine, perceiving this, marched for

in the little room which parted their chamber where he passed the night; the other followed his majesty. In this manner was the time passed as long as the King remained in the small tower."—*Clery*. E.

* "Count Adam Philippe Custine, born at Metz in 1740, served as captain in the seven years' war. Through the influence of the Duke of Choiseul, he obtained, in 1762, a regiment of dragoons, which was called by his name. In 1780 he exchanged this for the regiment of Saintonge, which was on the point of going to America, to the aid of the colonies. On his return, he was appointed marechal de camp. In 1789 he was deputy of the nobility of Metz, and was one of the first who declared for the popular party. He subsequently entered the army of the North, and, 1792, made himself master of the pass of Porentruy. He then received the command of the army of the Lower Rhine, and opened the campaign by taking possession of Spire. He next took Worms, then the fortress of Mentz, and then Frankfort-on-the-Maine, on which he laid heavy contributions. In 1793 he was denounced, and received his dismissal, but the Convention afterwards invested him with the command of the Northern army. But he had hardly time to visit the posts. Marat and Varennes were unceasing in their accusations against him; and the revolutionary tribunal soon afterwards condemned him to death."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

Spire, and entered it without resistance on the 30th of September. Emboldened by success, he penetrated on the 5th of October into Worms, without encountering any greater difficulties, and obliged a garrison of two thousand seven hundred men to lay down their arms. He then took Frankenthal, and immediately directed his attention to the strong fortress of Mayence, which was the most important point of retreat for the Prussians, and in which they had been so imprudent as to leave but a moderate garrison. Custine, with seventeen thousand men and destitute of *matériel*, could not attempt a siege; but he resolved to try a *coup de main*. The ideas which had roused France were agitating all Germany, and especially those cities which had universities. Mayence was one of these, and Custine contrived to establish a correspondence there. He approached the walls, withdrew on the false report of the arrival of an Austrian corps, returned, and, making great movements, deceived the enemy as to the strength of his army. Deliberations were held in the fortress. The design of capitulation was strongly supported by the partisans of the French, and on the 21st of October the gates were opened to Custine. The garrison laid down its arms, with the exception of eight hundred Austrians, who rejoined the grand army. The intelligence of these brilliant successes spread rapidly and caused an extraordinay sensation. They had certainly cost but little: at the same time, they were far less meritorious than the firmness of the people of Lill, and the magnanimous coolness displayed at St. Menehould; but people were delighted with the transition from mere resistance to conquest. Thus far all would have been right on Custine's part, if, appreciating his position, he had possessed the skill to terminate the campaign by a movement, which would have been practicable and decisive.

At this moment the three armies of Dumouriez, Kellermann, and Custine, were by the most fortunate chance so placed that they might have destroyed the Prussians, and conquered by a single march the whole line of the Rhine to the sea. If Dumouriez, less preoccupied by another idea, had kept Kellermann under his command and pursued the Prussians with his eighty thousand men; if, at the same time, Custine, descending the Rhine from Mayence to Coblentz, had fallen upon their rear, they must infallibly have been overpowered. Then, descending the Rhine to Holland, they might have taken Duke Albert in the rear, and obliged him either to lay down his arms or to fight his way through them, and the whole Netherlands would have been subdued. Treves and Luxemburg, comprised within the line which we have described, would fall of course. All would be France as far as the Rhine, and the campaign would be over in a month. Dumouriez abounded in genius, but his ideas had taken a different course. Impatient to return to Belgium, he thought of nothing but hastening thither immediately, to relieve Lille and to push Duke Albert in front. He left Kellermann, therefore, alone to pursue the Prussians. The latter general might still have marched upon Coblentz, passing between Luxemburg and Treves, while Custine would be descending from Mayence. But Kellermann, who was not enterprising, had not sufficient confidence in the capabilities of his troops, which appeared harassed, and put them into cantonments around Metz. Custine, on his part, desirous of rendering himself independent, and of making brilliant incursions, had no inclination to join Kellermann and to confine himself within the limit of the Rhine. He never thought, therefore, of descending to Coblentz. Thus this admirable plan was neglected, so ably seized and developed by the greatest of our military historians.*

Custine, though clever, was haughty, passionate, and inconsistent. His chief aim was to make himself independent of Biron and every other general, and he entertained the idea of conquering around him. If he were to take Manheim, he should violate the neutrality of the elector-palatine, which the executive council had forbidden him to do. He thought, therefore, of abandoning the Rhine, for the purpose of advancing into Germany. Frankfort, situated on the Mayne, appeared to him a prize worth seizing, and thither he resolved to proceed. Nevertheless, this free commercial city, always neuter in the different wars, and favourably dis-

* Jomini.

posed towards the French, did not deserve this mischievous preference. Being defenceless, it was easy to enter, but difficult to maintain one's-self there, and consequently it was useless to occupy it. This excursion could have but one object, that of levying contributions; and there was no justice in imposing them on a population habitually neuter, and meriting by its very disposition the good-will of France, whose principles it approved and to whom it wished success. Custine committed the fault of entering the city. This was on the 27th of October. He levied contributions, incensed the inhabitants, whom he converted into enemies of the French, and ran the risk, while proceeding towards the Mayne, of being cut off from the Rhine, either by the Prussians, if they had ascended as far as Bingen, or by the elector-palatine, if, breaking the neutrality, he had issued from Manheim.

The tidings of these incursions into the enemy's territory continued to excite great joy in France, who was astonished to find herself conquering, a few days only after she had been afraid of being conquered. The Prussians, being alarmed, threw a flying bridge across the Rhine, for the purpose of ascending along the right bank and driving away the French. Fortunately for Custine, they were twelve days in crossing the river. Discouragement, disease, and the separation of the Austrians, had reduced that army to fifty thousand men. Clairfayt, with his eighteen thousand Austrians, had followed the general movement of our troops towards Flanders, and was proceeding to the aid of Duke Albert. The corps of emigrants had been disbanded, and the brilliant soldiery which composed it had either joined the corps of Condé or passed into foreign service.

During these occurrences on the frontier of the North and of the Rhine, we were gaining other advantages on the frontier of the Alps. Montesquiou, who commanded the army of the South, invaded Savoy, and detached one of his officers to occupy the county of Nice. This general, who had displayed in the Constituent Assembly all the abilities of a statesman, and who had not had time to exhibit the qualities of a military commander, which he is asserted to have possessed, had been summoned to the bar of the Legislative to account for his conduct, which had been deemed too dilatory. He had found means to convince his accusers that the want of means and not of zeal was the cause of his tardiness, and had returned to the Alps. He belonged, however, to the first revolutionary generation, and this was incompatible with the new one. Again he was sent for, and he was on the point of being stripped of his command, when news arrived that he had entered Savoy. His dismissal was then suspended, and he was left to continue his conquest.

According to the plan conceived by Dumouriez, when, as minister of foreign affairs, he superintended the departments both of diplomacy and war, France was to push her armies to her natural frontiers, the Rhine, and the lofty chain of the Alps. To this end, it was necessary to conquer Belgium, Savoy, and Nice. France had thus the advantage, in confining herself to natural principles, of despoiling only the two enemies with whom she was at war, the house of Austria and the court of Turin. It was this plan, which failed in April in Belgium, and was deferred till now in Savoy, that Montesquiou was about to execute his portion of. He gave a division to General Anselme, with orders to pass the Var and to proceed for Nice upon a given signal: he himself, with the greater part of his army, advanced from Grenoble upon Chambery; he caused the Sardinian troops to be threatened by St. Geniès, and, marching himself from the fort Barraux upon Mont-Melian, he succeeded in dividing and driving them back into the valleys. While his lieutenants were pursuing them, he advanced upon Chambery, on the 28th of September, and made his triumphal entry into that city, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who loved liberty like true sons of the mountains, and France like men speaking the same language, having the same manners, and belonging to the same basin. He immediately convoked an assembly of Savoyards, for the purpose of deliberating upon a question which could not be doubtful—the union of Savoy with France.

At the same moment, Anselme, reinforced by six thousand Marseillais, whom he had demanded as auxiliaries, had approached the Var, an unequal torrent, like all those which descend from lofty mountains, alternately swollen and dry, and incapable even of receiving a permanent bridge. Anselme boldly crossed the Var, and

occupied Nice, which the Count St. André had just abandoned, and which the magistrates had pressed him to enter, in order to put a stop to the excesses of the populace who were committing frightful depredations. The Sardinian troops retired towards the upper valleys; Anselme pursued them; but he halted before a formidable post, that of Saorgio, from which he could not drive the Piedmontese.

Meanwhile, the squadron of Admiral Truguet, combining its movements with those of General Anselme, had obtained the surrender of Villafranca and borne away for the little principality of Oneglia. A great number of privateers were accustomed to take refuge in that port, and for this reason it would be of service to reduce it. But, while a French boat was advancing to parley, the right of nations was violated, and several men were killed by a general discharge. The admiral, laying his ships athwart the harbour, poured upon it an overwhelming fire, and then landed some troops, which sacked the town and made a great carnage among the monks, who were very numerous there, and who were said to be the instigators of this act of treachery. Such is the rigour of military law, which was inflicted without mercy on the unfortunate town of Oneglia. After this expedition, the French squadron returned off Nice, where Anselme, separated by the swelling of the Var from the rest of his army, was in a dangerous predicament. By *carefully guarding himself*, however, against the post of Saorgio, and by treating the inhabitants better than he had done,* he rendered his position tenable, and was enabled to retain his conquest.

Montesquiou was, meanwhile, advancing from Chambery towards Geneva, and was likely soon to find himself in presence of Switzerland, which entertained extremely adverse feelings towards the French, and pretended to discover in the invasion of Savoy a danger to its neutrality.

The sentiments of the cantons in regard to us were widely different. All the aristocratic republics condemned our Revolution. Berne, in particular, and its *avoyer*, Stinger, held it in profound detestation; and the more so, because it furnished a subject of high gratification to the oppressed Pays de Vaud. The Helvetic aristocracy, excited by Stinger and the English ambassador, called for war against us, and laid great stress on the massacre of the Swiss guards on the 10th of August, the disarming of a regiment at Aix, and lastly, the occupation of the gorges of Porentruy, which belonged to the bishopric of Basle, and which Biron had caused to be occupied, for the purpose of closing the Jura. The moderate party, nevertheless, gained the ascendency, and an armed neutrality was determined upon. The canton of Berne, still more irritated and distrustful, sent a *corps d'armée* to Nyon, and, under the pretext of an application from the magistrates of Geneva, placed a garrison in that city.

According to ancient treaties, Geneva, in case of a war between France and Savoy, was not to receive a garrison from either power. Our envoy immediately quitted the place, and the executive council, instigated by Clavières, who had formerly been banished from Geneva, and was jealous of introducing the Revolution there, ordered Montesquiou to enforce the execution of the treaties. He was instructed, moreover, to put a garrison into the place, that is to say, to commit the same fault with which the Bernese were reproached. Montesquiou, sensible, in the first place, that he had not at the moment the means of taking Geneva, and in the next, that, by violating the neutrality and involving himself in a war with Switzerland, he should throw open the east of France and expose the right flank of our defensive, resolved, on the one hand, to intimidate Geneva, while, on the other, he would endeavour to make the executive council listen to reason. He therefore loudly insisted on the departure of the Bernese troops, and strove to persuade the French ministry that this was all that could be required. His design was, in case of extremity, to bombard Geneva, and to proceed, by a bold march, towards the canton of Vaud,

* "The republicans made a cruel use of their victory. The inhabitants of Nice and the neghbouring country were rewarded for the friendly reception they had given them, by plunder and outrages of every description. A proclamation issued by General Anselme against these excesses met with no sort of attention; and the commissioners appointed by the Convention to inquire into the disorders were unable to make any effectual reparation."—*Alison.* E.

for the purpose of producing a revolution. Geneva consented to the departure of the Bernese troops, on condition that Montesquiou should retire to the distance of ten leagues, which he immediately did. This concession, however, was censured at Paris; and Montesquiou, posted at Carouge, where he was surrounded by Genevese exiles, who were desirous of returning to their country, was worried between the fear of embroiling France with Switzerland, and the fear of disobeying the executive council, which was incapable of appreciating the soundest military and political views. This negotiation, prolonged by the distance of the places, was not yet brought near to a close, though it was the end of October.

Such, then, was the state of our arms in October, 1792, from Dunkirk to Basle, and from Basle to Nice. The frontier of Champagne was delivered from the grand invasion; the troops were proceeding from that province towards Flanders, to relieve Lille and to invade Belgium. Kellermann took up his quarters in Lorraine. Custine, escaped from the control of Biron, master of Mayence, and marching imprudently into the Palatinate and to the Mayne, rejoiced France by his conquests, affrighted Germany, and indiscreetly exposed herself to the risk of being cut off by the Prussians, who were ascending the Rhine, in sick and beaten but numerous bodies, and still capable of overwhelming the little French army. Biron was still encamped along the Rhine. Montesquiou, master of Savoy, in consequence of the retreat of the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, and secured from fresh attacks by the snow, had to decide the question of Swiss neutrality either by arms or by negotiations. Lastly, Anselme, master of Nice, and supported by a squadron, was enabled to resist in his position, in spite of the swelling of the Var, and of the Piedmontese collected above him at the post of Saorgio.

While the war was about to be transferred from Champagne to Belgium, Dumouriez had solicited permission to go to Paris for two or three days only, for the purpose of concerting with the ministers the invasion of the Netherlands, and the general plan of all the military operations. His enemies reported that he was coming to gain applause, and that he was leaving the duties of his command for the sake of a frivolous gratification of vanity. These reproaches were exaggerated, for Dumouriez's command suffered nothing by his absence, and mere marches of troops could be performed without him. His presence, on the contrary, was likely to be very useful to the council for the determination of a general plan; and, besides, he might be forgiven an impatience of glory, so general among men, and so excusable when it does not interfere with duties.

He arrived in Paris on the 11th of October. His situation was perplexing, for he could not stand well with either of the two parties. He disliked the violence of the Jacobins, and he had broken with the Girondins by expelling them a few months before from the ministry. Very favourably received, however, throughout all Champagne, he was still more warmly welcomed in Paris, especially by the ministers and by Roland himself, who discarded all personal resentments when the public welfare was at stake. He presented himself before the Convention on the 12th. No sooner was he announced, than mingled acclamations and applause arose on all sides. In a simple, energetic speech, he gave a brief sketch of the whole campaign of the Argonne, and bestowed the highest commendations on his troops, and on Kellermann himself. His staff then brought forward a standard taken from the emigrants, and offered it to the Assembly as a monument of the vanity of their projects. Immediately afterwards the deputies hastened to surround him, and the sitting was closed, in order to afford free scope for their congratulations. It was more especially the numerous deputies of the Plain, the *impartials*, as they were termed, who, having neither rupture nor revolutionary indifference to lay to his charge, gave him the warmest and most cordial welcome. The Girondins were not behindhand; yet, whether it was their fault or his, the reconciliation was not complete, and a lurking relic of coolness was perceptible between them. The Mountaineers, who had reproached him with a momentary attachment to Louis XVI., and who found him, in his manners, his merit, and his elevation, already too like the Girondins, grudged him the testimonies paid to him in that quarter, and supposed these testimonies to be more significant than they really were.

After the Convention, he had yet to visit the Jacobins, and this power had then become so imposing, that the victorious general could not omit paying them his homage. It was there that opinion in fermentation formed all its plans and issued its decrees. If an important law, a high political question, a great revolutionary measure was to be brought forward, the Jacobins, always more prompt, hastened to open the discussion and to give their opinion. Immediately afterwards, they thronged to the commune and to the sections; they wrote to all the affiliated clubs; and the opinion which they had expressed, the wish which they had conceived, returned in the form of addresses from every part of France, and in the form of armed petitions from all the quarters of Paris. When, in the municipal councils, in the sections, and in all the assemblies invested with any authority whatever, there was still some hesitation on a question, from a last respect for legality, the Jacobins, who esteemed themselves free as thought, boldly cut the knot, and every insurrection was proposed among them long beforehand. They had for a whole month deliberated on that of the 10th of August. Besides this initiative in every question, they had arrogated to themselves an inexorable inquisition into all the details of the government. If a minister, the head of a public office, a contractor, was accused, commissioners sent by the Jacobins went to the offices and demanded exact accounts, which were delivered to them without haughtiness, without disdain, and without impatience. Every citizen, had to complain of any act whatever, had only to apply to the society, and officious advocates were appointed to obtain justice for him. One day perhaps soldiers would complain of their officers, workmen of their employers; the next, an actress might be seen demanding justice against her manager; nay, once a Jacobin came to demand reparation for adultery committed with his wife by one of his colleagues.

Every one was anxious to have his name entered in the register of the society, in order to attest his patriotic zeal. Almost all the deputies who had recently arrived in Paris had hastened to present themselves at the Jacobins for that purpose; there had been counted one hundred and thirteen of them in one week, and even such as never meant to attend the meetings of the club nevertheless applied for admission. The affiliated societies wrote from the extremities of the provinces, inquiring if the deputies of their departments had got themselves enrolled, and if they were assiduous members. The wealthy of the capital strove to gain pardon for their wealth by going to the Jacobins to put on the red cap, and their equipages blocked up the entrance to that abode of equality. While the hall was filled with its numerous members, and the tribunes were crowded with people, an immense concourse, mingled with carriages, waited at the door and with loud shouts demanded admission. Sometimes this multitude became irritated when rain, so common under the sky of Paris, aggravated the wearisomeness of waiting, and then some member demanded the admission of the *good people*, who were suffering at the doors of the hall. Marat had frequently claimed this privilege on such occasions; and when the admission was granted, sometimes even before, an immense multitude of both sexes poured in and mingled with the members.

It was in the evening that they met. Anger, excited and repressed in the Convention, here vented itself in a free explosion. Night, the multitude of auditors, all contributed to heat the imagination. The sitting was frequently prolonged till it degenerated into a tremendous tumult, and there the agitators gathered courage for the most audacious attempts on the following day. Still this society, so imbued with a demagogue spirit, was not what it subsequently became. The equipages of those who came to abjure the inequality of conditions were still suffered to wait at the door. Some members had made ineffectual attempts to speak with their hats on, but they had been obliged to uncover themselves. Brissot, it is true, had just been excluded by a solemn decision; but Petion continued to preside there, amidst applause. Chabot, Collot-d'Herbois, and Fabre-d'Eglantine were the favourite speakers. Marat still appeared strange there, and Chabot observed, in the language of the place, that Marat was "a hedgehog which could not be laid hold of anywhere."

Dumouriez was received by Danton, who presided at the sitting. He was

greeted with numerous plaudits, and the sight of him gained forgiveness for the supposed friendship of the Girondins. He made a short speech appropriate to his situation, and promised to march *before the end of the month at the head of sixty thousand men, to attack kings and to save the people from tyranny.*

Danton, replying in similar style, said that, in rallying the French at the camp of St. Menehould, he had deserved well of the country, but that a new career was opening for him ; that he must now make crowns fall before the red cap with which the society had honoured him, and that his name would then shine among the most glorious names of France. Collot-d'Herbois then addressed him in a speech which shows both the language of that period and the feelings of the moment in regard to the general.

"It was not a king who appointed thee, O Dumouriez ; it was thy fellow-citizens. Bear in mind that a general of the republic ought to serve none but the republic. Thou has heard of Themistocles : he had just saved Greece at Salamis ; but, calumniated by his enemies, he was forced to seek an asylum among tyrants. They wanted him to serve against his country. His only answer was to plunge his sword into his heart. Dumouriez, thou hast enemies ; thou wilt be calumniated : remember Themistocles !

"Enslaved nations are awaiting thy assistance. Thou wilt soon set them free. What a glorious mission ! . . . Thou must nevertheless guard thyself against any excess of generosity towards thine enemies. *Thou hast conducted back the King of Prussia rather too much in the French manner.* But Austria, we hope, will pay doubly.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez. . . I have nothing to say to thee. . . If, however, thou shouldst there find an execrable woman, who came beneath the walls of Lille to feast her ferocity with the sight of red-hot balls !. . . But no, that woman will not wait for thy coming.

"At Brussels, liberty will again spring up under thy feet. Citizens, maidens, matrons, children, will throng around thee—O what happiness art thou about to enjoy, Dumouriez ! My wife is from Brussels ; she, too, will embrace thee !"*

* The report of the speech addressed by Collot-d'Herbois to Dumouriez, as given in the *Journal des Jacobins*, is as follows :

"I meant to speak of our armies, and I congratulated myself on having to speak of them in the presence of the soldier whom you have just heard. I meant to censure the answer of the president ; I have already said several times that the president ought never to reply to the members of the society ; but he has replied to all the soldiers of the army. This answer gives to all a signal testimony of your satisfaction : Dumouriez will share it with all his brethren in arms, for he knows that without them his glory would be nothing. We must accustom ourselves to this language. Dumouriez has done his duty. This is his best recompense. It is not because he is a general that I praise him, but because he is a French soldier.

"Is it not true, general, that it is a glorious thing to command a republican army ? that thou hast found a great difference between this army, and those of despotism ? The French are not possessed of bravery only ; they have something beyond the mere contempt of death ; for who is there that fears death ? But those inhabitants of Lille and Thionville, who coolly await the red-hot balls, who continue immoveable amid the bursting of bombs and the destruction of their houses —is not this the development of all the virtues ? Ah, yes, those virtues are above all triumphs ! A new manner of making war is now invented, and our enemies will not find it out : tyrants will not be able to do anything so long as free men shall be resolved to defend themselves.

"A great number of our brethren have fallen in the defence of liberty ; they are dead, but their memory is dear to us. They have left examples which live in our hearts—but do they live who have attacked us ? No : they are crushed, and their cohorts are but heaps of carcasses, which are rotting on the spot where they fought ; they are but an infectious dunghill, which the sun of liberty will have great difficulty to purify. . . . That host of walking skeletons closely resembles the skeleton of tyranny ; and like it they will fail to succumb. . . What is become of those old generals of high renown ? Their shadow vanishes before the almighty genius of liberty ; they flee, and they have but dungeons for their retreat, for dungeons will soon be the only palaces of despots : they flee because the nations are rising.

"It was not a king who appointed thee, Dumouriez ; it was thy fellow-citizens : recollect that a general of the republic ought never to treat with tyrants ; recollect that such generals as thyself ought never to serve any but liberty. Thou has heard of Themistocles ; he had saved Greece by the battle of Salamis ; he was calumniated—thou hast thy enemies, Dumouriez ; thou shalt be calumniated, and that is the reason I talk to thee—Themistocles was calumniated ; he was unjustly

Danton then retired with Dumouriez, whom he siezed upon, and to whom he did, as it were, the honours of the new republic. Danton having shown at Paris as firm a countenance as Dumouriez at St. Menehould, they were regarded as the two saviours of the Revolution, and they were applauded together at all the public places where they made their appearance. A certain instinct drew these two men towards one another, notwithstanding the difference of their habits. They were the rakes of the two systems, who united with the like genius the like love of pleasure, but with a different sort of corruption. Danton had that of the people, Dumouriez that of courts; but, more lucky than his colleague, the latter had only served generously and sword in hand, while Danton had been so unfortunate as to sully a great character by the atrocities of September.

Those brilliant saloons where the celebrated men of former days enjoyed their glory; where during the whole of the last century, Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert, Rousseau, had been listened to and applauded—those saloons no longer existed. There was left the simple and select society of Madame Roland, which brought together all the Girondins, the handsome Barbaroux, the clever Douvet, the grave Buzot, the brilliant Gaudet, the persuasive Vergniaud, and where still a pure language prevailed, conversations replete with interest, and elegant and polished manners. The ministers met there twice a week, and dined together off a single course. Such was the new republican society, which joined to the graces of old France the gravity of the new, and which was so soon to be swept away by demagogue coarseness.

Dumouriez attended one of these simple repasts, felt an unpleasant sensation at first in the presence of those former friends whom he had driven from the ministry, and of that woman who appeared to him too austere, and to whom he appeared too licentious: but he supported this situation with his accustomed spirit, and was touched in particular by the sincere cordiality of Roland. Besides the society of the Girondins, that of the artists was the only one which had survived the dispersion of the ancient aristocracy. Almost all the artists had warmly embraced a revolution, which avenged them of high-born disdain and promised favour to genius alone. They welcomed Dumouriez, in their turn, and gave him an entertainment

punished by his fellow-citizens; he found an asylum among tyrants, but still he was Themistocles. He was asked to bear arms against his country. 'My sword,' said he, 'shall never serve tyrants!' and he plunged it into his heart. I will also remind thee of Scipio. Antiochus endeavoured to bribe that great man by offering him a most valuable hostage, his own son. 'Thou hast not wealth enough to purchase my conscience,' replied Scipio, 'and nature knows no love superior to the love of country.'

"Nations are groaning in slavery. Thou wilt soon deliver them. What a glorious mission! Success is not doubtful; the citizens who are waiting for thee, hope for thee; and those who are here urge thee on. We must, however, reproach thee with some excess of generosity towards thine enemies; thou hast conducted back the King of Prussia rather too much in the French manner—in the old French manner, that is to say. (*Applause.*) But let us hope that Austria will pay double; she has money; don't spare her; thou canst not make her pay too much for the outrages which her race has committed upon mankind.

"Thou art going to Brussels, Dumouriez (*applause*); thou wilt pass through Courtrai. There the French name has been profaned; the traitor Jarry has burned houses. Thus far I have spoken only to thy courage. I now speak to thy heart. Be mindful of those unfortunate inhabitants of Courtrai; disappoint not their hopes this time; promise them the justice of the nation; the nation will stand by thee.

"When thou shalt be at Brussels . . . I have nothing to say to thee concerning the conduct which thou hast to pursue . . . If thou there findest an execrable woman, who came to the foot of the walls of Lille to feast her ferocity with the sight of red-hot balls . . but that woman will not await thee . . . If thou shouldst find her, she would be thy prisoner; we have others belonging to her family . . thou wouldst send her hither . . . let her be shaved in such a manner that she never again could wear a wig.

"At Brussels, liberty will revive under thy auspices. A whole nation will give itself up to joy: thou wilt restore children to their fathers, wives to their husbands; the sight of thy happiness will be a recreation to thee after thy labours. Boys, citizens, girls, women, will throng around thee, will all embrace thee as their father! Ah! how happy wilt thou be, Dumouriez! . . My wife, she comes from Brussels; she will embrace thee, too."

This speech was frequently interrupted by vehement applause.

at which all the talents that the capital contained were assembled. But, in the very midst of this entertainment, a strange scene occurred to interrupt it, and to produce as much disgust as surprise.

Marat, ever prompt to outstrip revolutionary suspicions, was not satisfied with the general. The merciless denouncer of all those who enjoyed the public favour, he had always anticipated by his disgusting invectives the disgrace incurred by the popular leaders. Mirabeau, Bailly, Lafayette, Petion, the Girondins, had been assailed by his abuse, while yet in the possession of all their popularity. Since the 10th of August, in particular, he had indulged all the extravagances of his mind; and, though revolting to upright and reasonable men, and strange at least to hot-headed revolutionists, he had been encouraged by success. He failed not, therefore, to consider himself as in some measure a public man, essential to the new order of things. He spent part of his time in collecting reports, in circulating them in his paper, and in visiting the bureaux for the purpose of redressing the wrongs committed by administrators against the people. Communicating to the public the particulars of his life, he declared in one of his numbers* that his avocations were overwhelming, that, out of his twenty-four hours in the day, he allowed but two for sleep, and one only to the table and to his domestic concerns; that, besides the hours devoted to his duty as a deputy, he regularly spent six in collecting the complaints of a multitude of unfortunate and oppressed persons, and in endeavouring to obtain redress for them; that he passed the remaining hours in reading and answering a multitude of letters, in writing his observations on public events, in receiving denunciations, in ascertaining the veracity of the denouncers, lastly, in editing his paper and superintending the printing of a great work. For three years, he said, he had not taken a quarter of an hour's recreation; and it makes one shudder to think what so inordinate a mind, coupled with such unceasing activity, is capable of producing in a revolution.

Marat pretended to discover in Dumouriez nothing but an aristocrat of dissolute manners, who was not to be trusted. As an addition to his motives, he had been informed that Dumouriez had recently proceeded with the utmost severity against two battalions of volunteers, who had slaughtered some emigrant deserters. Repairing immediately to the Jacobins, he denounced the general in their tribune, and asked for two commissioners to go with him and question him concerning his conduct. Montaut and Bentabolle were instantly appointed, and away he went with them. Dumouriez was not at home. Marat hurried to the different theatres, and at length learned that Dumouriez was attending an entertainment given to him by the artists at the house of Mademoiselle Candeille, a celebrated woman of that day. Marat scrupled not to proceed thither notwithstanding his disgusting costume. The carriages, the detachments of the national guard, which he found at the door of the house where the dinner was given, the presence of Santerre, the commandant, and of a great number of deputies, and the arrangements of the entertainment, excited his spleen. He boldly went forward and asked for Dumouriez. A sort of murmur arose at his approach. The mention of his name caused the disappearance of a number of faces, which, he said, could not endure his accusing looks. Proceeding straightforward to Dumouriez, he loudly accosted him, and demanded an explanation of his treatment of the two battalions. The general eyed him, and then said with a contemptuous curiosity: "Aha! so you are the man they call Marat!" He then surveyed him again from head to foot, and turned his back upon him, without saying another word. As, however, the Jacobins who accompanied Marat appeared milder and more respectable, Dumouriez gave them some explanations, and sent them away satisfied. Marat, who was far from being so, made a great noise in the ante-rooms, abused Santerre, who, he said, acted the part of lackey to the general; inveighed against the national guard which contributed to the splendour of the entertainment, and retired, threatening vengeance against all the aristocrats composing the assembly. He instantly hastened to describe in his journal this

* Journal de la République Française, No. xciii., Jan. 9, 1793.

ridiculous scene, which so correctly delineates the situation of Dumouriez, the fury of Marat, and the manners of that period.*

* The following account of the visit paid by Marat to Dumouriez at Mademoiselle Candeille's is extracted from the *Journal de la République Française;* it was written by Marat himself, and published in his paper of Tuesday, October 17, 1792.

"*Declaration of the Friend of the People.*

"Less surprised than indignant at seeing former valets of the court, placed by the course of events at the head of our armies, and, since the 10th of August, kept in their places by influence, intrigue, and stupidity, carry their audacity so far as to degrade and treat as criminals two patriot battalions, upon the ridiculous and most probably false pretext that some individuals had murdered four Prussian deserters; I presented myself at the tribune of the Jacobins, to expose this odious proceeding, and to apply for two commissioners distinguished for their civism, to accompany me to Dumouriez, and to be witnesses of his answers to my questions. I repaired to him with citizens Bentabolle and Monteau, two of my colleagues in the Convention. We were told that he was gone to the play and was to sup in town.

"We knew that he had returned from the Variétés; we went in quest of him to the club of D. Cypher, where we were told that he was expected to be. Labour lost. At length we learned that he was to sup at the little house of Talma, in the Rue Chantereine. A file of carriages and brilliant illuminations pointed out to us the temple where the children of Thalia were entertaining a son of Mars. We were surprised to find Parisian national guards within and without. After passing through an antechamber full of servants, intermixed with heiduks, we arrived at a saloon containing a numerous company.

"At the door was Santerre, general of the Parisian army, performing the office of lackey, or gentleman-usher. He announced me in a loud voice the moment he saw me, which displeased me exceedingly, inasmuch as it was likely to drive away certain masks which one would like to be acquainted with. However, I saw enough to gain a clue to the intrigues. I shall say nothing of half a score of fairies destined to grace the entertainment. Politics were probably not the object of their meeting. Neither shall I say anything of the national officers who were paying their court to the great general, or of the old valets of the court who formed his retinue, in the dress of aides-de-camp.—And lastly, I shall say nothing of the master of the house, who was among them in the costume of a player. But I cannot help declaring, in illustration of the operations of the Convention, and of the character of the jugglers of decrees, that, in the august company were Kersaint, the great busy-body Lebrun, Roland, Lasource, . . Chenier, all tools of the faction of the federative republic, and Dulaure and Gorsas, their libelling errand-boys. As there was a large party, I distinguished three conspirators only; perhaps they were more numerous; and, as it was now still early, it is probable that they had not all arrived, for the Vergniauds, the Buzots, the Camuses, the Rabauts, the Lacroix, the Guadets, the Barbaroux, and other leaders were no doubt of the party, since they belong to the secret conclave.

"Before I proceed to our conversation with Dumouriez, I shall here pause a moment, to make with the judicious reader some observations that will not be misplaced. Is it to be conceived that this generalissimo of the republic, who has suffered the King of Prussia to escape from Verdun, and who has capitulated with the enemy, whom he might have cooped up in his camps, and forced to lay down his arms, instead of favouring his retreat, should have chosen so critical a moment to abandon the armies under his command, to run to playhouses, to get himself applauded, and to indulge in orgies at an actor's with nymphs of the opera?

"Dumouriez has disguised the secret motives which call him to Paris under the pretext of concerting with the ministers the plan of the operations of the campaign. What! with a Roland, a *frère coupe-choux* and petty intriguer, acquainted only with the mean ways of lying and low cunning! with a Lepage, a worthy disciple of his patron, Roland! with a Clavières, who knows nothing but the terms of stock-brokering! with a Garat, who comprehends nothing but the affected phrases and the tricks of an academic parasite. I shall say nothing of Monge; he is deemed a patriot; but he is just as ignorant of military operations as his colleagues, who know nothing at all about them. Dumouriez is come to concert with the leaders of the party which is caballing for the establishment of a federative republic. That is his errand.

"On entering the saloon where the entertainment was given, I perceived plainly that my presence damped the gaiety of the guests, which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that I am a bugbear to the enemies of the country. Dumouriez, in particular, appeared disconcerted. I begged him to step with me into another room, as I wished to converse with him a few moments in private. I addressed him, and our conversation was word for word as follows: 'We are members of the National Convention, and we come, sir, to beg you to give us some explanation relative to the affair of the two battalions, the Mauconseil and the Republicain, accused by you of having murdered four Prussian deserters in cold blood. We have searched the offices of the military committee and those of the war department; we cannot there find the least proof of the crime; and nobody can furnish information on all these points but yourself.'—'Gentlemen, I have sent all the documents to the minister.'—'We assure you, sir, that we have in our hands a memorial,

Dumouriez had spent four days at Paris, and during that time he had not been able to come to a good understanding with the Girondins, though he had among them an intimate friend in the person of Gensonné. He had merely advised the latter to reconcile himself with Danton, as with the most powerful man, and the one who, notwithstanding his vices, might become most serviceable to the well-meaning. Neither was Dumouriez on better terms with the Jacobins, with whom he was disgusted, and to whom he was an object of suspicion, on account of his supposed friendship with the Girondins. His visit to Paris had, therefore, not served him much with either of the parties, but it had proved more beneficial to him in a military respect.

According to his custom, he had drawn up a general plan, which had been adopted by the executive council. Agreeably to this plan, Montesquiou* was to

drawn up in his office and in his name, purporting that there are no facts whatever for pronouncing upon this alleged crime, and that for such we must address ourselves to you.'—'But, gentlemen, I have informed the Convention, and to it I refer you.'—'Permit us, sir, to observe, that the information furnished is not sufficient, since the committees of the Convention, to which this matter has been referred, have declared in their report that it was impossible for them to pronounce for want of particulars and proofs of the crime denounced. We beg you to say whether you know all the circumstances of this affair.'—'Certainly, of my own knowledge.'—'Then it is not merely a confidential denunciation made by you on the faith of M. Duchaseau?'—'But, gentlemen, when I assert a thing, I think I ought to be believed.'—'Sir, if we thought as you do on that point, we should not have taken the step that has brought us hither. We have great reasons to doubt; several members of the military committee have informed us that these pretended Prussians were four French emigrants.'—'Well, gentlemen, if that were the case?'—'Sir, that would absolutely change the state of the matter, and, without approving beforehand the conduct of the battalions, perhaps they are absolutely innocent: it is the circumstances which provoked the murder that it is important to know. Now, letters from the army state that these emigrants were discovered to be spies sent by the enemy, and that they even rose against the national guards.'—'What, sir, do you then approve the insubordination of the soldiers?'—'No, sir, I do not approve the insubordination of the soldiers, but I detest the tyranny of the officers; I have too much reason to believe that this is a machination of Duchaseau against the patriot battalions, and the manner in which you have treated them is revolting.'—'Monsieur Marat, you are too warm; I cannot enter into explanations with you.' Here Dumouriez, finding himself too closely pressed, extricated himself from the dilemma by leaving us. My two colleagues followed him, and, in the conversation which they had with him, he confined himself to saying that he had sent the documents to the minister. While they were talking, I found myself surrounded by all the aides-de-camp of Dumouriez, and by the officers of the Parisian guard. Santerre strove to appease me: he talked to me about the necessity of subordination in the troops. 'I know that as well as you,' I replied; 'but I am disgusted at the manner in which the soldiers of the country are treated: I have still at heart the massacres at Nancy and in the Champ de Mars.' Here some aides-de-camp of Dumouriez began to declaim against agitators. 'Cease those ridiculous exclamations!' I exclaimed; 'there are no agitators in our armies but the infamous officers, their spies, and the perfidious courtiers, whom we have had the folly to leave at the head of our troops.' I spoke to Moreton Chabrillant and to Bourdoin, one of whom was formerly a valet of the court, and the other a spy of Lafayette.

"I was indignant at all that I had heard, and at all the atrocity that I suspected in the odious conduct of our generals. As I could not bear to stay any longer, I left the party, and I beheld with astonishment in the adjoining room, the doors of which were ajar, several of Dumouriez's heiduks, with drawn swords at their shoulders. I know not what could be the object of this ridiculous farce; if it was contrived for the purpose of intimidating me, it must be admitted that the valets of Dumouriez entertain high notions of liberty. Have patience, gentlemen, we will teach you to know it. Meanwhile be assured that your master dreads the point of my pen much more than I fear the swords of his ragamuffins."

* "Anne Pierre Montesquiou Fezenzac, born in 1741, was a major-general, a member of the French Academy, and deputy from the nobility of Paris to the States-general. In 1791, at the time of the King's flight, he declared himself devoted to the Assembly, and, renewing his civic oath, was sent into the departments of the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Ardennes, in order to dispose the minds of the people in favour of the Assembly. Some time after he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the South; he was soon afterwards denounced by Barrère as having sought to favour the King of Sardinia, and hurt the interest of the patriots in his treaty with the republic of Geneva. A decree of accusation was then passed against him, but when the commissioners appointed to seize him arrived at the gates of Geneva, they learned that he was gone into Switzerland, and had carried with him the military chest, to compensate for the property he had left in France. A decree of 1795 left Montesquiou at liberty to return to France; and, in 1797, he reappeared in the constitutional circle, which the Directory then endeavoured to oppose to the Clichyan party. He died at Paris in 1798."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Montesquiou wrote, in 1798, a work entitled 'On the Administration of Finance in a Republic,'

maintain his position along the Alps, and to secure the great chain as a boundary by completing the conquest of Nice, and striving to keep up the neutrality of Switzerland. Biron was to be reinforced, in order to guard the Rhine from Basle to Landau. A corps of twelve thousand men, under the command of General Meusnier, was destined to move to the rear of Custine, in order to cover his communications. Kellermann had orders to leave his quarters, to pass rapidly between Luxemburg and Treves, to hasten to Coblentz, and thus to do what he had already been advised, and what he and Custine had so long neglected to do. Then, taking the offensive with eighty thousand men, Dumouriez was to complete the French territory by the projected acquisition of Belgium. Keeping thus the defensive on all the frontiers protected by the nature of the soil, the French would boldly attack only on the open frontier, that of the Netherlands, where, according to the expression of Dumouriez, a man could *defend himself only by gaining battles.*

He obtained, by means of Santerre, compliance with his suggestions that the absurd idea of a camp near Paris should be relinquished; that the men, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and necessaries for encamping collected there, should be despatched to Flanders for the use of his army which was in want of everything; that to these should be added shoes, great-coats, and six millions in cash to supply the soldiers with ready money, till they should enter the Netherlands, after which he hoped to be able to provide for himself. He set out, about the 16th of October, with somewhat different notions of what is called public gratitude, on rather worse terms with the parties than before, and at the utmost indemnified for his journey by certain military arrangements made with the executive council.

During this interval, the Convention had continued to act against the commune, by urging its renewal and closely watching all its proceedings. Petion had been elected mayor by a majority of 13,899 votes, while Robespierre had obtained but twenty-three, Billaud-Varennes fourteen, Panis eighty, and Danton eleven. The popularity of Robespierre and Petion must not, however, be measured according to this difference in the number of votes; because people were accustomed to see in the one a mayor, and in the other a deputy, and did not care to make anything else of either; but this immense majority proves the popularity which the principal chief of the Girondin party still possessed. We should not omit to mention that Bailly obtained two votes—a singular memento bestowed on that worthy magistrate of 1789. Petion declined the mayoralty, weary of the convulsions of the commune, and preferring the functions of deputy to the National Convention.

The three principal measures projected in the famous sitting of the 24th were a law against instigations to murder, a decree relative to the formation of a departmental guard, and lastly, an accurate report of the state of Paris. The two former, intrusted to the commission of nine, excited a continual outcry at the Jacobins, at the commune, and in the sections. The commission of nine nevertheless proceeded with its task; and from several departments, among others Marseilles and Calvados, there arrived, as before the 10th of August, battalions which anticipated the decree respecting the departmental guard. Roland, to whom the third measure, namely, the report on the state of the capital, was allotted, performed his part without weakness and with the strictest truth. He described and excused the inevitable confusion of the first insurrection; but he delineated with energy, and branded with reprobation, the crimes added by the 2d of September to the revolution of the 10th of August. He exposed all the excesses of the commune, its abuses of power, its arbitrary imprisonments, and its immense peculations. He concluded with these words:

"A wise department, but possessing little power; an active and despotic commune; an excellent population, but the sound part of which is intimidated or under constraint, while the other is wrought upon by flatterers and inflamed by calumny;

which shows a true zeal for the government under which he lived, and a degree of talent well calculated to serve it. Never was he heard to utter a word that could betray the faintest regret for his station before the Revolution; and yet he was, perhaps, one of those who had lost by it most power, most honours, and most wealth."—*Rœderer*. E.

confusion of powers; abuse and contempt of the authorities; the public force weak or reduced to a cipher by being badly commanded;—such is Paris!"

His report was received with applause by the usual majority, though, during the reading of it, some murmurs had been raised by the Mountain. A letter, written by an individual to a magistrate, communicated by that magistrate to the executive council, and unveiling the design of a new 2d of September against a part of the Convention, excited great agitation. In that letter there was this expression relative to the plotters: "They are determined to let none speak but Robespierre." At these words, all eyes were fixed upon him. Some expressed their indignation, others urged him to speak. He accordingly addressed the Assembly, for the purpose of counteracting the impression produced by Roland's report, which he termed a defamatory romance; and he insisted that publicity ought not to be given to that report, before those who were accused, and himself in particular, had been heard. Then, expiating on so much as related to him personally, he began to justify himself; but he could not gain a hearing on account of the noise which prevailed in the hall. Robespierre, having succeeded in quelling the uproar, recommenced his apology, and challenged his adversaries to accuse him to his face, and to produce a single positive proof against him. At this challenge, Louvet started up. "It is I," said he; "I who accused thee." He was already at the foot of the tribune when he uttered these words, and Barbaroux and Rebecqui had followed him thither to support the accusation. At this sight Robespierre was agitated, and his countenance betrayed his emotion.* He proposed that his accuser should be heard, and that he should then have leave to reply. Danton, who succeeded him in the tribune, complained of the system of calumny organized against the commune and the deputation of Paris, and repeated, concerning Marat, who was the principal cause of all these accusations, what he had already declared, namely, that he disliked him, that he had experienced his *volcanic and unsociable temper*, and that all idea of a triumviral coalition was absurd. He concluded by moving that a day should be fixed for discussing the report. The Assembly ordered it to be printed, but deferred its distribution among the departments till Louvet and Robespierre should have been heard.

Louvet was a man of great boldness and courage. His patriotism was sincere, but his hatred of Robespierre was blended with resentment occasioned by a personal quarrel, begun at the Jacobins, continued in *La Sentinelle*, revived in the electoral assembly, and rendered more violent since he was face to face with his jealous rival in the National Convention. With extreme petulance of disposition, Louvet united a romantic and credulous imagination, which misled him and caused him to suppose concerted plans and plots, where there was nothing more than the spontaneous effect of the passions. He firmly believed in his own suppositions, and strove to force his friends also to put faith in them. But in the cool good sense of Roland and Petion, and in the indolent impartiality of Vergniaud, he had to encounter an opposition which mortified him. Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, without being equally credulous, without supposing such complicated machinations, believed in the wickedness of their adversaries, and seconded Louvet's attacks from indignation and courage. Salles, deputy of La Meurthe, an inveterate enemy to anarchists in the Constituent Assembly and in the Convention—Salles, endowed with a sombre and violent imagination, was alone accessible to all the suggestions of Louvet, and, like him, was a believer in vast plots, hatched in the commune, and extending to foreign countries. Passionate friends of liberty, Louvet and Salles could not consent to impute to it so many evils, and they were fain to believe that the party of the Mountain, and Marat in particular, were paid by the emigrants and England to urge on the Revolution to crime, to dishonour, and to general confusion. More uncertain relative to Robespierre, they saw in him at least a tyrant actuated by pride and ambition, and aspiring, no matter by what means, to the supreme power.

Louvet, having resolved to attack Robespierre boldly, and to allow him no rest,

* "Robespierre, whose countenance had till then been firm, and his manner composed, was now profoundly agitated. He had once measured his powers at the Jacobins with this redoubtable adversary, whom he knew to be clever, impetuous, and regardless of consequences."—*Mignet*. E.

had his speech in readiness, and had brought it with him on the day when Roland was to present his report. Thus he was quite prepared to support the accusation when he obtained permission to speak. He instantly availed himself of it, and immediately after Roland.

The Girondins were already sufficiently disposed to form false notions of events, and to find a plot where nothing but violent passions really existed: but to the credulous Louvet the conspiracy appeared much more evident and more intimately combined. In the growing exaggeration of the Jacobins, and in the favour which Robespierre's superciliousness had found with them during the year 1792, he beheld a plot framed by the ambitious tribune. He pictured him surrounded by satellites to whose violence he gave up his opponents; erecting himself into the object of an idolatrous worship; causing it to be rumoured before the 10th of August, that he alone could save liberty and France, and, when the 10th of August arrived, hiding himself from the light, coming forth again two days after the danger, proceeding direct to the commune, notwithstanding his promise never to accept any place, and, of his sole authority, seating himself at the bureau of the general council; there, seizing the control over a blind *bourgeoisie*, instigating it at pleasure to all sorts of excesses, insulting for its sake the Legislative Assembly, and demanding decrees of that Assembly upon penalty of the tocsin; directing, but without showing himself, the massacres and the robberies of September, in order to uphold the municipal authority by terror; and afterwards despatching emissaries over all France to recommend the same crimes and to induce the provinces to acknowledge the supremacy and the authority of Paris. Robespierre, added Louvet, wished to destroy the national representation, in order to substitute for it the commune which he swayed, and to give us the government of Rome, where, under the name of *municipia*, the provinces were subject to the sovereignty of the metropolis. Thus, master of Paris, which would have been mistress of France, he would have become the successor of overthrown royalty. Seeing, however, the meeting of a new assembly near at hand, he had passed from the general council to the electoral assembly, and directed the votes by terror, in order to make himself master of the Convention by means of the deputation of Paris.

It was he, Robespierre, who had recommended to the electors that man of blood whose incendiary placards had filled France with surprise and horror. That libeller, with whose name Louvet would not, he said, soil his lips, was but the spoiled child of murder, who possessed a courage for preaching up crime and calumniating the purest citizens, in which the cautious Robespierre was deficient. As for Danton, Louvet excluded him from the accusation, nay, he was astonished that he should have ascended the tribune to repel an attack which was not directed against him. He did not, however, separate him from the perpetrations of September, because, in those disastrous days, when all the authorities, the Assembly, the ministers, the mayor, spoke in vain to stop the massacres, the minister of justice alone *did not speak:* because, lastly, in the notorious placards, he alone was excepted from the calumnies poured forth upon the purest of the citizens. "And canst thou," exclaimed Louvet, "canst thou, O Danton, clear thyself in the eyes of posterity from this dishonouring exception!" These words equally generous and imprudent, were loudly cheered.

This accusation, continually applauded, had not, however, been heard without many murmurs. "Procure silence for me," Louvet had said to the president, "*for I am going to touch the sore*, and the patient will cry out."—"Keep your word," said Danton; "touch the sore." And whenever murmurs arose, there were cries of "Silence! silence, *sore ones!*"

Louvet at last summed up his charges. "I accuse thee, Robespierre," he exclaimed, "of having calumniated the purest citizens, and of having done so on the day when calumnies were proscriptions. I accuse thee of having put thyself forward as an object of idolatry, and of having spread abroad that thou wert the only man capable of saving France. I accuse thee of having vilified, insulted, and persecuted the national representation, of having tyrannized over the electoral assembly of Paris, of having aimed at the supreme power by calumny, violence,

and terror—and I demand a committee to investigate thy conduct." Louvet then proposed a law condemning to banishment every one who should make his name a subject of division among the citizens. He proposed that to the measures the plan of which the commission of nine was preparing, should be added a new one, for placing the armed force at the disposal of the minister of the interior. "Lastly," said he, "I demand on the spot a decree of accusation against Marat! . . . Heavens!" he exclaimed, "O heavens! I have named him!"

Robespierre, stunned by the applause lavished on his adversary, desired to be heard. Amidst the uproar and murmurs excited by his presence, he hesitated; his features were distorted, his voice faltered. He nevertheless obtained a hearing and demanded time to prepare his defence. He was allowed time, and his defence was adjourned to the 5th of November. This delay was fortunate for the accused, for the Assembly, excited by Louvet, was filled with strong indignation.

In the evening, there was great agitation at the Jacobins, where all the sittings of the Convention were reviewed. A great number of members hurried in dismay to relate the *horrid conduct* of Louvet, and to demand the erasure of his name. He had calumniated the society, inculpated Danton, Santerre, Robespierre, and Marat. He had even demanded an accusation against the two latter, proposed sanguinary laws, which attacked the liberty of the press, and lastly, proposed the *Athenian ostracism*. Legendre said that it was a concerted trick, since Louvet had his speech ready prepared, and that Roland's report had evidently no other object than to furnish an occasion for this diatribe.

Fabre d'Eglantine complained that scandal was daily increasing, and that people were bent on calumniating Paris and the patriots. "By connecting," said he, "petty conjectures with petty suppositions, people make out a vast conspiracy, and yet they will not tell us either where it is, or who are the agents and what the means. If there were a man who had seen everything, appreciated everything, in both parties, you could not doubt that this man, a friend to truth, would be the very person to make known the truth. That man is Petion. Force his virtue to tell all that he has seen, and to speak out concerning the crimes imputed to the patriots. Whatever delicacy he may feel for his friends, I dare affirm that intrigues have not corrupted him. Petion is still pure and sincere. He wanted to speak to-day. Force him to explain himself."*

* Among the coolest and most impartial minds of the Revolution must be placed Petion. No one has formed a sounder judgment of the two parties which divided the Convention. His equity was so well known, that both sides agreed to choose him for their umpire. The accusations which took place at the very opening of the Assembly excited warm disputes at the Jacobins. Fabre d'Eglantine proposed that the matter should be referred to Petion's decision. On this subject he thus expressed himself in the sitting of October 29, 1792:

"There is another way which I think useful and which will produce a greater effect. Almost always when any vast intrigue has been on foot, it has had need of power. It has been obliged to make great efforts to attach a great personal credit to itself. If there existed a man who had seen everything, who had appreciated everything in both parties, you could not doubt that this man, a friend to truth, would be most fit to make it known. Well, I propose that you invite this man, a member of your society to pronounce upon the crimes that are imputed to the patriots. Force his virtue to tell all that he has seen—that man is Petion. Whatever partiality a man may have for his friends, I venture to assert that intriguers have not corrupted Petion; he is still pure, still sincere. I say so here. I frequently talk to him in the Convention, in moments of agitation, and he always tells me that he grieves. I see that he does grieve—inwardly. This morning he determined to ascend the tribune. He cannot refuse to write you his opinion, and we shall see if intriguers can divert him from it.

"Observe, citizens, that this step of itself will prove that you seek nothing but the truth. It is an homage which you pay to the virtue of a good patriot, with the more urgent motives, since liars have wrapped themselves up in his virtue to give themselves consequence. I demand that the motion be put to the vote." (*Applause.*)

Legendre then spoke. "The thing was contrived, that is evident. The distribution of Brissot's speech, the report of the minister of the interior, the speech of Louvet, brought in his pocket, all proved that the matter was concerted. The speech of Brissot on the erasure contains all that Louvet has said. The report of Roland was intended to furnish Louvet with an opportunity for speaking. I approve of Fabre's motion; the Convention will soon pronounce; Robespierre is to

Merlin disapproved of making Petion judge between Robespierre and Louvet, because it was violating equality thus to set up one citizen as the supreme

be heard on Monday. I beg the society to suspend the decision. It is impossible that in a free country virtue should succumb to crime."

After this quotation, I think it right to introduce the paper written by Petion, relative to the dispute between Louvet and Robespierre. This paper and the extracts given elsewhere from Garat, contain the most valuable particulars respecting the conduct and character of the men of that time, and they are documents which history ought to preserve as most capable of conveying just ideas of that epoch.

"Citizens, I had determined to observe the most absolute silence relative to the events which have occurred since the 10th of August; motives of delicacy and solicitude for the public welfare decided me to use this reserve.

"But it is impossible to be silent any longer: on both sides my testimony is called for; every one urges me to declare my sentiments; I will tell with frankness what I know of men, what I think of things.

"I have been a near spectator of the scenes of the Revolution. I have seen the cabals, the intrigues, the tumultuous struggles between tyranny and liberty, between vice and virtue.

"When the working of the human passions is laid bare, when we perceive the secret springs which have directed the most important operations, when we know all the perils which liberty has incurred, when we penetrate into the abyss of corruption which threatened every moment to ingulf us, we ask ourselves with astonishment by what series of prodigies we have arrived at the point where we this day are!

"Revolutions ought to be seen at a distance: this veil is highly necessary to them; ages efface the stains which darken them; posterity perceives only the results. Our descendants will deem us great. Let us render them better than ourselves.

"I pass over the circumstances anterior to that ever-memorable day, which erected liberty upon the ruins of tyranny, and changed the monarchy into a republic.

"The men have attributed to themselves the glory of that day are the men to whom it least belongs: it is due to those who prepared it; it is due to the imperious nature of things; it is due to the brave federalists, and to their secret directory, which had long been concerting the plan of the insurrection; it is due to the people; lastly, it is due to the guardian spirit which has constantly presided over the destinies of France ever since the first assembly of her representatives.

"Success, it must be admitted, was for a moment uncertain; and those who are really acquainted with the particulars of that day know who were the intrepid defenders of the country, that prevented the Swiss and all the satellites of despotism from remaining masters of the field of battle, and who they were that rallied the civic legions which were for a moment staggered.

"That day had been brought about too without the concurrence of the commissioners of several sections assembled at the house of the commune. The members of the old municipality, who had not separated the whole night, were still sitting at half-past nine in the morning.

"These commissioners conceived, nevertheless, a grand idea, and took a bold step by possessing themselves of all the municipal powers, and in stepping into the place of a general council, of whose weakness and corruption they were apprehensive. They courageonsly risked their lives in case success should not justify the enterprise.

"Had these commissioners been wise enough to lay down their authority at the right time, to return to the rank of private citizens after the patriotic action which they had performed, they would have covered themselves with glory; but they could not withstand the allurement of power, and the ambition of governing took possession of them.

"In the first intoxicating moments of the triumph of liberty, and after so violent a commotion, it was impossible that everything should be instantly restored to tranquillity and to its accustomed order; it would have been unjust to require this: the new council of the commune was then assailed with reproaches that were not well founded, and that proved an ignorance both of its situation and of circumstances; but these commissioners began to deserve them, when they themselves prolonged the revolutionary movement beyond the proper time.

"The National Assembly had spoken out; it had assumed a grand character; it had passed decrees which saved the empire; it had suspended the King; it had effaced the line of demarcation which divided the citizens into two classes; it had called together the Convention. The royalist party was cast down. It was necessary thenceforth to rally round it, to fortify it with opinion, to environ it with confidence: duty and sound policy dictated this course.

"The commune deemed it more glorious to vie with the Assembly. It began a struggle likely only to throw discredit on all that had passed, to induce a belief that the Assembly was under the irresistible yoke of circumstances; it obeyed or withstood decrees according as they favoured or thwarted its views; in its representations to the legislative body it used imperious and irritating language; it affected power, and knew not either how to enjoy its triumphs or to cause them to be forgiven.

"Pains had been successfully taken to persuade some that, so long as the revolutionary state lasted, power had reverted to its source, that the National Assembly was without character, that

judge of others. "Besides," said he, "Petion is no doubt a respectable man, but, should he swerve! . . . is he not man? Is not Petion a friend of Brissot and of

its existence was precarious, and that the communal assemblies were the only legal depositories of authority.

"To others it had been insinuated that the leaders of opinion in the National Assembly entertained perfidious designs, and intended to overthrow liberty, and to deliver the republic into the hands of foreigners.

"Hence a great number of members of the council conceived that they were exercising a legitimate right when they usurped authority, that they were resisting oppression when they opposed the law, and that they were performing an act of civism when they were violating their duties as citizens: nevertheless, amidst this anarchy, the commune from time to time passed salutary resolutions.

"I had been retained in my office; but it was now merely an empty title; I sought its functions to no purpose; they were dispersed among a thousand hands, and everybody exercised them.

"I went during the first days to the council. I was alarmed at the tumult which prevailed in that assembly, and still more at the spirit by which it was swayed. It was no longer an administrative body, deliberating on the communal affairs; it was a political assembly, deeming itself invested with full powers, discussing the great interests of the state, examining the laws enacted, and promulgating new ones; nothing was there talked of but plots against the public liberty; citizens were denounced; they were summoned to the bar, they were publicly examined, they were tried, they were dismissed, acquitted, or confined; the ordinary rules were set aside. Such was the agitation of the public mind, that it was impossible to control this torrent; all the deliberations were carried on with the impetuosity of enthusiasm; they followed one another with frightful rapidity; night and day there was no interruption; the council was continually sitting.

"I would not have my name attached to a multitude of acts so irregular, so contrary to sound principles.

"I was equally sensible how wise and how useful it would be not to approve, not to sanction by my presence, all that was done. Those members of the council who were afraid to see me there, who were annoyed at my attendance, strongly desired that the people, whose confidence I retained, should believe that I presided over its operations, and that nothing was done but in concert with me; my reserve on this point increased their enmity; but they durst not display it too openly, for fear of displeasing the people, whose favour they coveted.

"I rarely attended; and the conduct which I pursued in this very delicate situation between the old municipality, which complained of its removal, and the new one, which pretended to be legally instituted, was not unserviceable to the public tranquillity; for, if I had then pronounced decisively for or against, I should have occasioned a rupture that might have been attended with most mischievous consequences. In everything there is a point of maturity which it is requisite to know how to seize.

"The administration was neglected; the mayor was no longer a centre of unity; all the threads that I held in my hands were cut; the power was dispersed; the action of superintendence was destitute of power; the restraining action was equally so.

"Robespierre assumed, then, the ascendency in the council, and it could scarcely have been otherwise under the circumstances in which we were, and with the temper of his mind. I heard him deliver a speech, which grieved me to the soul; the decree for opening the barriers was under discussion, and on this topic he launched out into extremely animated declamations, full of the extravagances of a gloomy imagination; he saw precipices beneath his feet, plots for the destruction of liberty; he pointed out the alleged conspirators; he addressed himself to the people, heated their minds, and produced in his hearers the strongest ferment.

"I replied to this speech for the purpose of restoring calmness, dispelling those dark illusions, and bringing back the discussion to the only point that ought to occupy the attention of the assembly.

"Robespierre and his partisans were thus hurrying the commune into inconsiderate proceedings —into extreme courses.

"I was not on this account suspicious of the intentions of Robespierre. I found more fault with his head than with his heart; but the consequences of these gloomy visions excited in me not the less apprehension.

"The tribunes of the council rang every day with violent invectives. The members could not persuade themselves that they were magistrates, appointed to carry the laws into execution and to maintain order. They always considered themselves as forming a revolutionary association.

"The assembled sections received this influence, and communicated it in their turn, so that all Paris was at once in a ferment.

"The committee of *surveillance* of the commune filled the prisons. It cannot be denied that, if several of its arrests were just and necessary, others amounted to a stretch of the law. The chiefs were not so much to be blamed for this as their agents: the police had bad advisers; one man in particular, whose name has become a by-word, whose name alone strikes terror into the souls of all peaceable citizens, seemed to have seized the direction of its movements. Assiduous in his attendance at all conferences, he interfered in all matters; he talked, he ordered, like a master. I complained loudly of this to the commune, and I concluded my opinion in these

Roland? Does not Petion admit to his house Lasource, Vergniaud, Barbaroux, all the intriguers who are compromising liberty?"

words: 'Marat is either the most wrongheaded or the most wicked of men.' From that day I have never mentioned him.

"Justice was slow in pronouncing upon the fate of the prisoners, and the prison became more and more crowded. On the 23d of August, a section came in deputation to the council of the commune, and formally declared that the citizens, tired of and indignant at the delay of judgment, would break open the doors of those asylums, and sacrifice the culprits confined in them to their vengeance . . . . . This petition, couched in the most furious language, met with no censure; nay, it received applause!

"On the 25th, from one thousand to twelve hundred armed citizens set out from Paris to remove the state prisoners confined at Orleans to other places.

"Disastrous intelligence arrived to increase still more the agitation of the public mind: the treason of Longwy became known, and, some days afterwards, the siege of Verdun.

"On the 27th, the National Assembly invited the department of Paris, and those contiguous to it, to furnish thirty thousand armed men to be despatched to the frontiers. This decree excited a fresh sensation, which combined with that already prevailing.

"On the 31st, the acquittal of Montmorin produced a popular commotion. It was rumoured that he had been saved through the perfidy of an emissary of the King, who had led the jurors into error.

"At the same moment a revelation of a plot made by a condemned person was published—a plot tending to effect the escape of all the prisoners, who were then to spread themselves through the city, to commit all sorts of excesses, and to carry off the King.

"Agitation was at its height. The commune, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the citizens, and to induce them to enrol themselves the more freely, had resolved that they should assemble with great parade in the Champ de Mars, amidst the discharge of cannon.

"The 2d of September arrived. Oh, day of horror! The alarm-gun was fired, the tocsin rang. At this doleful and alarming sound, a mob collected, broke into the prisons, murdering and slaughtering. Manuel and several deputies of the National Assembly repaired to those scenes of carnage. Their efforts were useless; the victims were sacrificed in their very arms! I was, meanwhile, in a false security; I was ignorant of these cruelties; for some time past, nothing whatever had been communicated to me. At length I was informed of them, but how? in a vague, indirect, disfigured manner. I was told at the same time that all was over. The most afflicting particulars afterwards reached me; but I felt thoroughly convinced that the day which had witnessed such atrocious scenes could never return. They nevertheless continued: I wrote to the commandant-general. I required him to despatch forces to the prisons; at first he gave me no answer. I wrote again. He told me that he had given his orders: nothing indicated that those orders were attended to. Still they continued: I went to the council of the commune; thence I repaired to the hotel of La Force with several of my colleagues. The street leading to that prison was crowded with very peaceable citizens; a weak guard was at the door; I entered. . . . . Never will the spectacle that I there beheld be effaced from my memory. I saw two municipal officers in their scarfs; I saw three men quietly seated at a table, with lists of the prisoners lying open before them; these were calling over the names of the prisoners. Other men were examining them, others performing the office of judges and jurors; a dozen executioners, with bare arms, covered with blood, some with clubs, others with swords and cutlasses dripping with gore, were executing the sentences forthwith; citizens outside awaiting these sentences—with impatience observing the saddest silence at the decrees of death, and raising shouts of joy at those of acquittal.

"And the men who sat as judges, and those who acted as executioners, felt the same security as if the law had called them to perform those functions. They boasted to me of their justice, of their attention to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, of the services which they had rendered. They demanded—will it be believed?—they demanded payment for the time they had been so employed! . . . I was really confounded to hear them!

"I addressed to them the austere language of the law. I spoke to them with the feeling of profound indignation with which I was penetrated. I made them all leave the place before me. No sooner had I gone myself than they returned; I went back to the places to drive them away; but in the night they completed their horrid butchery.

"Were these murders commanded—were they directed, by any persons? I have had lists before me, I have received reports, and I have collected particulars. If I had to pronounce as judge, I could not say, This is the culprit.

"It is my opinion that those crimes would not have had such free scope, that they might have been stopped, if all those who had power in their hands and energy had viewed them with horror; but I will affirm, because it is true, that several of these public men, of these defenders of the country, conceived that those disastrous and disgraceful proceedings were necessary, that they purged the empire of dangerous persons, that they struck terror into the souls of the conspirators, and that these crimes, morally odious, were politically serviceable.

"Yes, this is what cooled the zeal of those to whom the law had committed the maintenance of order—of those to whom it had assigned the protection of persons and property.

"It is obvious how the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th of September may be connected with the immortal

Fabre's motion was withdrawn, and Robespierre the younger, assuming a lugubrious tone, as the relatives of accused persons were accustomed to do at Rome, complained that he was not calumniated like his brother. "It is a moment," said he, "of the greatest danger. All the people are not for us. It is only the citizens of Paris who are sufficiently enlightened: the others are so but in a very imperfect degree. It is possible, therefore, that innocence may succumb on Monday; for the Convention has heard out the long lie of Louvet. Citizens!" he exclaimed,

10th of August; how the former may be represented as a sequel to the revolutionary movement imparted on that day, the first in the annals of the republic; but I cannot bring myself to confound glory with infamy, and to stain the 10th of August with the atrocities of the 2d of September.

"The committee of *surveillance* actually issued an order for the arrest of Roland, the minister. This was on the 4th, and the massacres still continued. Danton was informed of it; he came to the *mairie:* he was with Robespierre; he warmly inveighed against this arbitrary, this mad, act; it would have ruined, not Roland, but those who had decreed it: Danton obtained its revocation; it was buried in oblivion.

"I had an explanation with Robespierre; it was very warm. To his face I have never spared those reproaches which friendship has tempered in his absence. I said to him, 'Robespierre, you are doing a great deal of mischief. Your denunciations, your alarms, your animosities, your suspicions, agitate the people. But come, explain yourself. Have you facts? have you proofs? I am ready to meet you; I am attached to truth alone; I want but liberty.'

"'You suffer yourself to be surrounded, you suffer yourself to be prepossessed,' said he; 'you are biassed against me; you see my enemies every day; you see Brissot and his party.'

"'You are mistaken, Robespierre. No man is more on his guard than myself against prepossessions, or judges more coolly of men and things. I see Brissot, it is true, though very rarely: but you do not know him, whereas I have known him from a boy. I have seen him in those moments when the whole soul exhibits itself to view, when it abandons itself without reserve to friendship and confidence. I know his disinterestedness, I know his principles, and I protest to you that they are pure. Those who make a party leader of him have not the slightest idea of his character; he possesses intelligence, and knowledge, but he has neither the reserve, nor the dissimulation, nor the insinuating manners, nor that spirit of sequence, which constitute a party leader, and what will surprise you is that, instead of leading others, he is very easily misled himself.'

"Robespierre persisted in his opinion, but confined himself to generalities. 'Do let us understand one another,' said I: 'tell me frankly what you have upon your mind, what you know.'

"'Well then,' he replied, 'I believe that Brissot is with Brunswick.'

"'What an egregious mistake!' I exclaimed: 'nay, it is truly insanity: that is the way in which your imagination misleads you: would not Brunswick be the first to cut off his head? Brissot is not silly enough to doubt it. Which of us seriously can capitulate? which of us does not risk his life? Let us banish unjust suspicions.'

"I return to the events of which I have given you a faint sketch. These events, and some of those which preceded the celebrated 10th of August, an attentive consideration of the facts and of a multitude of circumstances, have induced a belief that intriguers were striving to make a tool of the people, in order with the people to make themselves masters of the supreme authority. Robespierre has been openly named; his connexions have been examined, his conduct analyzed; an expression dropped, it is said, by one of his friends, has been caught up, and it has been inferred that Robespierre cherished the mad ambition of becoming the dictator of his country.

"The character of Robespierre accounts for his actions. Robespierre is extremely suspicious and distrustful. He everywhere perceives plots, treasons, precipices. His bilious temperament, his splenetic imagination, present all objects to him in gloomy colours. Imperious in his opinion, listening to none but himself, impatient of contradiction, never forgiving any one who may have hurt his self-love, and never acknowledging himself in the wrong; denouncing on the slightest grounds and irritating himself on the slightest suspicion, always conceiving that people are watching and designing to persecute him; boasting of himself and talking without reserve of his services; an utter stranger to decorum, and thus injuring the cause which he defends; coveting above all things the favour of the people, continually paying court to them, and earnestly seeking their applause; it is this, it is, above all, this last weakness that, mixing itself up with all the acts of his public life, has induced a belief that Robespierre aspired to high destinies, and that he wanted to usurp the dictatorial power.

"For my part, I cannot persuade myself that this chimera has seriously engaged his thoughts, that it has been the object of his wishes and the aim of his ambition.

"He is, nevertheless, a man who has intoxicated himself with this fantastic notion, who has never ceased to call for a dictatorship in France, as a blessing, as the only government that could save us from the anarchy that he preached, that could lead us to liberty and happiness! He solicited this tyrannical power, for whom? You would never believe it; you are not aware of the full extent of the delirium of his vanity; he solicited it for whom, yes, for whom, but Marat! If his folly were not ferocious, there would be nothing so ridiculous as that creature on whom Nature seems purposely to have set the seal of reprobation."

"I have had a terrible fright. Methought assassins were going to butcher my brother. I have heard men say that he would perish by such hands only. Another told me that he would gladly be his executioner."* At these words, several members rose, and declared that they too had been threatened, that it was by Barbarouz, by Rebecqui, and by several citizens in the tribunes; that those who threatened them said, "We must get rid of Marat and Robespierre." The members then thronged around the younger Robespierre and promised to protect his brother; and it was determined that all those who had friends or relatives in the departments should write for the purpose of enlightening the public opinion. Robespierre the younger, on leaving the tribune, did not fail to add a calumny. Anacharsis Cloots, he said, had assured him that he was every day breaking lances at Roland's against federalism.

Next came the fiery Chabot. What particularly offended him in Louvet's speech was, that he attributed the 10th of August to himself and his friends, and the 2d of September to two hundred murderers. "Now," said Chabot, "I myself well remember that, on the evening of the 9th of August, I addressed myself to the gentlemen of the right side, to propose the insurrection to them, and that they replied by curling up their lips into a smile. I know not then what right they have to attribute to themselves the 10th of August. As for the 2d of September, its author is also that same populace which produced the 10th of August in spite of them, and which, after the victory, wished to avenge itself. Louvet asserts that there were not two hundred murderers, and I can assure him that I passed with the commissioners of the Legislative Assembly, under an arch of ten thousand swords. I recognised more than one hundred and fifty federalists. There are no crimes in revolutions. Marat, so vehemently accused, is persecuted solely for revolutionary acts. To-day Marat, Danton, Robespierre, are accused. To-morrow it will be Santerre, Chabot, Merlin," &c.

Excited by this audacious harangue, a federalist present at the sitting did what no man had yet publicly dared to do. He declared that he was *at work* with a great number of his comrades in the prisons, and that he believed he was only putting to death conspirators and forgers of false assignats, and saving Paris from massacre and conflagration. He added that he thanked the society for the kindness which it had shown to them all, that they should set out the next day for the army, and should carry with them but one regret, that of leaving patriots in such great dangers.

This atrocious declaration terminated the sitting. Robespierre had not made his appearance, neither did he appear during the whole week, being engaged in arranging his answer, and leaving his partisans to prepare the public opinion. The commune of Paris persisted meanwhile in its conduct and its system. It was alleged that it had taken not less than ten millions from the chest of Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list; and at that very moment it was circulating a petition to the forty-four municipalities against the plan for giving a guard to the Convention. Barbaroux immediately proposed four formidable and judiciously conceived decrees:

By the first, the capital was to lose the right of being the seat of the national representation, when it could no longer find means to protect it from insult or violence.

By the second, the federalists and the national gendarmes were, conjointly with the armed sections of Paris, to guard the national representation and the public establishments.

By the third, the Convention was to constitute itself a court of justice for the purpose of trying the conspirators.

By the fourth and last, the Convention was to cashier the municipality of Paris.

* "Young Robespierre was, what might be called, an agreeable young man, animated by no bad sentiments, and believing, or feigning to believe, that his brother was led on by a parcel of wretches, every one of whom he would banish to Cayenne, if he were in his place."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.*

These four decrees were perfectly adapted to circumstances, and suitable to the real dangers of the moment, but it would have required all the power that could only be given by the decrees themselves in order to pass them. To create energetic means, energy is requisite; and every moderate party which strives to check a violent party is in a vicious circle, which it can never get out of. No doubt the majority, inclining to the Girondins, might have been able to carry the decrees; but it was its moderation that made it incline to them, and this very moderation counselled it to wait, to temporize, to trust to the future, and to avoid all measures that were prematurely energetic. The Assembly even rejected a much less rigorous decree, the first of those which the commission of nine had been charged to draw up. It was proposed by Buzot, and related to the instigators of murder and conflagration. All direct instigation was to be punished with death, and indirect instigation with ten years imprisonment. The Assembly considered the penalty for direct instigation too severe, and indirect instigation too vaguely defined and too difficult to reach. To no purpose did Buzot insist that revolutionary and consequently arbitrary measures were required against the adversaries who were to be combated. He was not listened to, neither could he be, when addressing a majority which condemned revolutionary measures in the violent party itself, and was therefore very unlikely to employ them against it. The law was consequently adjourned; and the commission of nine appointed to devise means of maintaining good order, became, in a manner, useless.

The Assembly, however, manifested more energy, when the question of checking the excesses of the commune came under discussion. It seemed then to defend its authority with a sort of jealousy and energy. The general council of the commune, summoned to the bar on occasion of the petition against the plan of a departmental guard, came to justify itself. It was not the same body, it alleged, as on the 10th of August. It had contained prevaricators. They had been justly denounced and were no longer among its members. "Confound not," it added, "the innocent with the guilty. Bestow on us the confidence which we need. We are desirous of restoring the tranquillity necessary for the Convention, in order to the enactment of good laws. As for the presentation of this petition, it was the sections that insisted upon it; we are only their agents, but we will persuade them to withdraw it."

This submission disarmed the Girondins themselves, and, at the request of Gensonné, the honours of the sitting were granted to the general council. This docility of the administrators might well gratify the pride of the Assembly, but it proved nothing as to the real disposition of Paris. The tumult increased, as the 5th of November, the day fixed for hearing Robespierre, approached. On the preceding day there were outcries in a contrary spirit. Bands went through the streets, some shouting: "To the guillotine, Robespierre, Danton, Marat!"—others, "Death to Roland, Lasource, Guadet!" Complaints were made on this subject at the Jacobins, but no notice was taken, except of the cries against Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. These cries were laid to the charge of dragoons and federalists, who at that time were still devoted to the Convention. Robespierre the younger again appeared in the tribune, deplored the dangers which beset innocence, condemned a plan of conciliation proposed by a member of the society, saying that the opposite party was decidedly counter-revolutionary, and that neither peace nor truce ought to be made with it; that no doubt innocence would perish in the struggle, but it was requisite that it should be sacrificed, and Maximilien Robespierre must be suffered to fall, because the ruin of one individual would not be attended with that of liberty. All the Jacobins applauded these fine sentiments, assuring the younger Robespierre that nothing of the sort would happen, and that his brother should not perish.

Complaints of a contrary kind were preferred to the Assembly, and there the shouts against Roland, Lasource, and Guadet, were denounced. Roland complained of the inefficacy of his requisitions to the department and to the commune, to obtain an armed force. Much discussion ensued, reproaches were exchanged,

and the day passed without the adoption of any measure. At length, on the following day, November the 5th, Robespierre appeared in the tribune.

The concourse was great, and the result of this solemn discussion was awaited with impatience. Robespierre's speech was very long and carefully composed. His answers to Louvet's accusations were such as a man never fails to make in such a case. "You accuse me," said he, "of aspiring to tyranny; but, in order to attain it, means are required; and where are my treasures and my armies? You allege that I have reared at the Jacobins the edifice of my power. But what does this prove? Only that I have been heard with more attention, that I appealed perhaps more forcibly than you to the reason of that society, and that you are but striving here to revenge the wounds inflicted on your vanity. You pretend that this celebrated society has degenerated; but demand a decree of accusation against it, I will then take care to justify it, and we shall see if you will prove more successful or more persuasive than Leopold and Lafayette. You assert that I did not appear at the commune till two days after the 10th of August, and that I then, of my own authority, installed myself at the bureau. But, in the first place, I was not called to it sooner, and when I did appear at the bureau, it was not to instal myself there, but to have my powers verified. You add that I insulted the Legislative Assembly, that I threatened it with the tocsin. The assertion is false. Some one placed near me accused me of sounding the tocsin. I replied to the speaker that they were the ringers of the tocsin, who by injustice soured people's minds; and then one of my colleagues, less reserved, added that it would be sounded. Such is the simple fact on which my accuser has built this fable. In the electoral assembly, I have spoken, but it was agreed upon that this liberty might be taken. I made some observations, and several others availed themselves of the same privilege. I have neither accused nor recommended any one. That man, whom you charge me with making use of, was never either my friend, or recommended by me. Were I to judge him by those who attack him, he would stand acquitted, but I decide not. I shall merely say that he has ever been a stranger to me; that once he came to my house, when I made some observations on his writings, on their exaggeration, and on the regret felt by the patriots at seeing him compromise our cause by the violence of his opinions; but he set me down for a politician having narrow views, and published this the very next day. It is a calumny then to suppose me to be the instigator and the ally of this man."

Passing from these personal accusations to the general charges directed against the commune, Robespierre repeated, with all his defenders, that the 2d of September was the sequel to the 10th of August; that it is impossible, after the event, to mark the precise point where the billows of popular insurrection must have broken; that the executions were undoubtedly illegal, but that without illegal measures despotism could not be shaken off; that the whole Revolution was liable to the same reproach; for everything in it was illegal, both the overthrow of the throne and the capture of the Bastille. He then described the dangers of Paris, the indignation of the citizens, their concourse around the prisons, and their irresistible fury, on thinking that they should leave behind them conspirators who would butcher their families. "It is affirmed that one innocent man has perished," exclaimed the speaker with emphasis, "one only, and that one a great deal too much, most assuredly. Lament, citizens, this cruel mistake! We have long lamented it; this was a good citizen; he was one of our friends! Lament even the victims who ought to have been reserved for the vengeance of the laws, but who fell beneath the sword of popular justice! But let your grief have an end, like all human things. Let us reserve some tears for more touching calamities. Weep for one hundred thousand patriots immolated by tyranny! Weep for our citizens expiring beneath their blazing roofs, and the children of citizens slaughtered in their cradles or in the arms of their mothers! Weep humanity bowed down beneath the yoke of tyrants! . . . But cheer up, if, imposing silence on all base passions, you are resolved to insure the happiness of your country, and to prepare that of the world!

"I cannot help suspecting that sensibility which mourns almost exclusively for the enemies of liberty. Cease to shake before my face the bloody robe of the tyrant, or I shall believe that you intend to rivet Rome's fetters upon her again!"

It was with this medley of subtle logic and revolutionary declamation, that Robespierre contrived to captivate his auditory and to obtain unanimous applause. All that related to himself personally was just, and it was imprudent on the part of the Girondins to stigmatize as a plan of usurpation that which was as yet but an ambition of influence, rendered hateful by an envious disposition. It was imprudent to point out in the acts of the commune the proofs of a vast conspiracy, when they exhibited nothing but the agitation of popular passions. The Girondins thus furnished the Assembly with an occasion to charge them with wronging their adversaries. Flattered, as it were, to see the alleged leader of the conspirators forced to justify himself, delighted to see all the crimes accounted for as the consequence of an insurrection thenceforward impracticable, and to dream of a happier future, the Convention deemed it more dignified, more prudent, to put an end to all these personalities. The order of the day was therefore moved. Louvet rose to oppose it, and demanded permission to reply. A great number of members presented themselves, desirous of speaking for, on, or against, the order of the day. Barbaroux, hopeless of gaining a hearing, rushed to the bar that he might at least address the Assembly as a petitioner. Lanjuinais proposed that the important questions involved in Roland's report should be taken into consideration. At length, Barrère* obtained permission to speak. "Citizens," said he, "if there existed in the republic a man born with the genius of Cæsar or the boldness of Cromwell, a man possessing the dangerous means together with the talents of Sylla; if there existed here any legislator of great genius, of vast ambition, or of a profound character; a general, for instance, his brow wreathed with laurels, and returning among you to dictate laws or to violate the rights of the people, I should move for a decree of accusation against him. But that you should do this honour to men of a day, to petty dabblers in commotion, to those whose civic crowns are intwined with cypress, is what I am incapable of comprehending."

This singular mediator proposed to assign the following motive for the order of the day: "Considering that the National Convention ought not to occupy itself with any other interests than those of the republic."—"I oppose your order of the day," cried Robespierre, if it contains a preamble injurious to me." The Assembly adopted the pure and simple order of the day.

The partisans of Robespierre hastened to the Jacobins to celebrate this victory, and he was himself received as a triumphant conqueror.† As soon as he appeared, he was greeted with plaudits. A member desired that he might be permitted to speak, in order that he might relate the proceedings of the day. Another declared that his modesty would prevent his compliance, and that he declined speaking. Robespierre, enjoying this enthusiasm in silence, left to another the task of an adulatory harangue. He was called Aristides. His *natural and manly* eloquence was lauded with an affectation which proves how well known was his fondness for literary praise. The Convention was reinstated in the esteem of the society, and

* "Barrère is a sort of undefinable creature—a species of coffee-house wit. He used to go every day, after leaving the committee, to visit a female with whom Champcenetz lived. He would remain with her till midnight, and would frequently say, 'To-morrow we shall get rid of fifteen, twenty, or thirty of them.' When the woman expressed her horror of these murders, he would reply, 'We must grease the wheels of the Revolution,' and then depart, laughing."—*Montgaillard.* E.

† "Robespierre, who afterwards played so terrible a part in our Revolution, began from this memorable day to figure among its foremost ranks. This man, whose talents were but of an ordinary kind, and whose disposition was vain, owed to his inferiority his late appearance on the stage, which in revolutions is always a great advantage. Robespierre had all the qualities of a tyrant; a mind which was without grandeur, but which, nevertheless, was not vulgar. He was a living proof that, in civil troubles, obstinate mediocrity is more powerful than the irregularity of genius. It must also be allowed that Robespierre possessed the support of an immense fanatical sect, which derived its origin from the eighteenth century. It took for its political symbol the absolute sovereignty of the 'Contrat Social' of J. J. Rousseau; and in matters of belief the deism contained in the Savoyard Vicar's confession of faith; and succeeded for a brief space in realizing them in the constitution of 1793, and in the worship of the Supreme Being. There were, indeed, in the various epochs of the Revolution, more egotism and more fanaticism than is generally believed."—*Mignet.* E.

it was asserted that the triumph of truth had begun, and that there was now no occasion to despair of the salvation of the republic.

Barrère was called to account for the manner in which he had expressed himself respecting *petty dabblers in commotion:* and he laid bare his character most completely by declaring that he alluded in those words not to the ardent patriots accused with Robespierre, but to their adversaries.

Such was the result of that celebrated accusation. It was an absolute imprudence. The whole conduct of the Girondins is characterized by this step. They felt a generous indignation; they expressed it with talent, but they mixed up with it so many personal animosities, so many false conjectures, so many chimerical suppositions, as to furnish those who loved to deceive themselves with a motive for disbelieving them, those who dreaded an act of energy with a motive for concluding that there was no immediate danger, and lastly, those who affected impartiality with a motive for refusing to adopt their conclusions: and these classes comprehended the whole Plain. Among them, however, the wise Petion did not participate in their exaggerations; he printed the speech which he had prepared, and in which all circumstances were duly appreciated. Vergniaud, whose reason and disdainful indolence raised him above the passions, was likewise exempt from their inconsistencies, and he maintained a profound silence. At the moment, the only result for the Girondins was that they had rendered reconciliation impossible; that they had even expended on a useless combat their most powerful and only means, words and indignation; and that they had augmented the hatred and the fury of their enemies without gaining for themselves a single additional resource.*

Wo to the vanquished when the victors disagree! The latter suspend their own quarrels, and seek to surpass each other in zeal to crush their prostrate enemies. At the temple were confined the prisoners on whom the tempest of the revolutionary passions was about to burst. The monarchy, the aristocracy, in short all the past, against which the Revolution was furiously struggling, were personified, as it were, in the unfortunate Louis XVI. The manner in which each should henceforth treat him was to be the test of his hatred to the counter-revolution. The Legislative Assembly, too closely succeeding the constitution which declared the King inviolable, had not ventured to decide upon his fate; it had suspended and shut him up in the Temple; it had not even abolished royalty, and had bequeathed to a Convention the duty of judging all that belonged to the old monarchy, whether material or personal. Now that royalty was abolished, the republic decreed, and the framing of the constitution was consigned to the meditations of the most distinguished minds in the Assembly, the fate of Louis XVI. yet remained to be considered.

Six weeks had elapsed, and a crowd of pressing affairs, the supply and superintendence of the armies, the procuring of provisions, then scarce, as in all times of public disturbance, the police, and all the details of the government, which had been inherited from royalty, and transferred to an executive council, merely to be continually reverted to with extreme diffidence; lastly, violent quarrels had prevented the Assembly from turning its attention to the prisoners in the Temple. Once only had a motion been made concerning them, and that had been referred, as we have seen, to the committee of legislation. At the same time, they were everywhere talked of. At the Jacobins the trial of Louis XVI. was every day demanded, and the Girondins were accused of deferring it by quarrels, in which, however, every one took as great part and interest as themselves. On the first of

* "The Girondins flattered themselves that a simple passing to the order of the day would extinguish Robespierre's influence as completely as exile or death; and they actually joined with the Jacobins in preventing the reply of Louvet—a fatal error, which France had cause to lament in tears of blood! It was now evident that the Girondins were no match for their terrible adversaries. The men of action on their side in vain strove to rouse them to the necessity of vigorous measures. Their constant reply was, that they would not be the first to commence the shedding of blood. Their whole vigour consisted in declamation—their whole wisdom in abstract discussion. They were too honourable to believe in the wickedness of their opponents; too scrupulous to adopt the means requisite to crush them."—*Alison.* E.

November, in the interval between the accusation of Robespierre and his apology, a section having complained of new placards instigating to murder and sedition, the opinion of Marat was asked, as it always was. The Girondins alleged that he and some of his colleagues were the cause of all the disorder, and on every fresh circumstance they proposed proceedings against them. Their enemies, on the contrary, insisted that the cause of the troubles was at the Temple; that the new republic would not be firmly established, neither would tranquillity and security be restored to it, till the *ci-devant* King should be sacrificed, and that this terrible stroke would put an end to all the hopes of the conspirators.* Jean de Bry, the deputy, who in the Legislative Assembly had proposed that no other rule of conduct should be followed but the *law of the public welfare*, spoke on this occasion, and proposed that both Marat and Louis XVI. should be brought to trial. "Marat," said he, "has deserved the appellation of man-eater; he would be worthy to be king. He is the cause of the disturbances for which Louis XVI. is made the pretext. Let us try them both, and insure the public quiet by this twofold example." In consequence, the Convention directed that a report on the denunciations against Marat should be presented before the Assembly broke up, and that, in a week at latest, the committee of legislation should give its opinion respecting the forms to be observed at the trial of Louis XVI. If, at the expiration of eight days, the committee had not presented its report, any member would have a right to express his sentiments on this important question from the tribune. Fresh quarrels and fresh engagements delayed the report respecting Marat, which was not presented till long afterwards, and the committee of legislation prepared that which was required of it respecting the august and unfortunate family confined in the Temple.

Europe had at this moment its eyes fixed on France. Foreigners beheld with astonishment those subjects, at first deemed so feeble, now become victorious and conquering, and audacious enough to set all thrones at defiance. They watched with anxiety to see what they would do, and still hoped that an end would soon be put to their audacity. Meanwhile, military events were preparing to double the intoxication of the one, and to increase the astonishment and the terror of the world.

Dumouriez had set out for Belgium at the latter end of October, and, on the 25th, he had arrived at Valenciennes. His general plan was regulated according to the idea which predominated in it, and which consisted in driving the enemy in front, and profiting by the great numerical superiority which our army had over him. Dumouriez would have had it in his power, by following the Meuse with the greater part of his forces, to prevent the junction of Clairfayt, who was coming from Champagne, to take Duke Albert in the rear, and to do what he was wrong not to have done at first, for he neglected to run along the Rhine, and to follow that river to Cleves. But his plan was now different, and he preferred to a scientific march a brilliant action, which would redouble the courage of his troops, already much raised by the cannonade of Valmi, and which overthrew the notion current in Europe for fifty years, that the French, excellent for *coups de main*, were incapable of gaining a pitched battle. His superiority in number admitted of such an attempt, and this idea was profound, as well as the manœuvres which he is reproached for not having employed. He did not, however, neglect to turn the enemy, and to separate him from Clairfayt. Valence, placed for this purpose along the Meuse, was to march from Givet upon Namur and Liege, with the army of the Ardennes, eighteen thousand strong. D'Harville, with twelve thousand, was ordered to move between the grand army and Valence, to turn the enemy at a less distance. Such were the dispositions of Dumouriez on his right. On his left, Labourdonnaye, setting out from Lille, was to march along the coast of Flanders,

* "The Jacobins had several motives for urging this sacrifice. By placing the King's life in peril, they hoped to compel the Girondins openly to espouse his cause, and thereby to ruin them without redemption in the eyes of the people; by engaging the popular party in so decisive a step, they knew that they would best preclude any chance of return to the royalist government. They were desirous, moreover, of taking out of the hands of the Girondins, and the moderate part of the Convention, the formation of a republican government."—*Alison.* E.

and to possess himself of all the maritime towns. On reaching Antwerp, he was directed to proceed along the Dutch frontier, and to join the Meuse at Ruremonde. Belgium would thus be enclosed in a circle, the centre of which would be occupied by Dumouriez with forty thousand men, who would thus be able to overwhelm the enemy at any point where they should attempt to make head against the French.

Impatient to take the field and to open for himself the vast career into which his ardent imagination impetuously rushed, Dumouriez pressed the arrival of the supplies, which had been promised him in Paris, and which were to have been delivered on the 25th at Valenciennes. Servan had quitted the ministry of war, and had preferred to the chaos of administration the less arduous functions of commander of an army. He was recruiting his health and his spirits in his camp at the Pyrenees. Roland had proposed, and caused to be accepted as his successor, Pache,* a plain, intelligent, laborious man, who, having formerly left France to reside in Switzerland, had returned at the epoch of the Revolution, resigned a pension which he received from the Marshal de Castrie, and distinguished himself in the office of the interior by extraordinary talent and application. Carrying a piece of bread in his pocket, and never quitting the office to take refreshments, he stuck to business for whole days together, and had pleased Roland by his manners and his assiduity. Servan had made application for him during his difficult administration in August and September, and it was with regret, and only in consideration of the importance of the business of the war department, that Roland had given him up to Servan.

In his new post, Pache rendered as good service as in the former; and when the place of minister at war became vacant, he was immediately proposed to fill it, as one of those obscure but valuable men to whom justice and the public interest must insure rapid favour.

Mild and modest, Pache pleased everybody, and could not fail to be accepted. The Girondins naturally reckoned upon the political moderation of so quiet, so discreet, a man, and who, moreover, was indebted to them for his fortune. The Jacobins, who found him full of deference for them, extolled his modesty, and contrasted it with what they termed the pride and the harshness of Roland. Dumouriez, on his part, was delighted with a minister who appeared to be more manageable than the Girondins, and more disposed to follow his views. He had, in fact, a new subject of complaint against Roland. The latter had written to him, in the name of the council, a letter, in which he reproached him with being too desirous to force his plans upon the ministry, and in which he expressed a distrust proportionate to the talents that he was supposed to possess. Roland was well-meaning, and what he said in the secrecy of correspondence he would have combated in public. Dumouriez, misconceiving the honest intention of Roland, had made his complaints to Pache, who had received them and soothed him by his flattery for the jealousies of his colleagues. Such was the new minister at war. Placed between the Jacobins, the Girondins, and Dumouriez, listening to the complaints of the one against the other, he won them all by fair words and by deference, and caused all of them to hope to find in him a second and a friend.

* "Jean Nic. Pache, war minister, and afterwards mayor of Paris, son of the Marshal de Castries's Swiss porter, received a liberal education, and, at the time of the Revolution, went to Paris, and eagerly embraced the new ideas. An air of modesty and disinterestedness, which seemed to exclude all ambition, gave him some weight with the revolutionary party. He connected himself with Brissot, and first began to work under the ministers with a view of becoming one himself. In 1792 he succeeded Servan in the war department. Pache, having chosen his coadjutors from among persons new to office, who were anxious to figure in the Jacobin society rather than to fulfil their duty, frequently gave cause of complaint. In 1793, he was made mayor of Paris, and appeared at the bar of the Convention, at the head of a deputation of the sections, to demand the expulsion of Brissot and others of the Gironde party. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was accused by the Directory of various arbitrary acts; but contrived to escape prosecution, and, quitting Paris in 1797, lived afterwards in retirement and obscurity."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"The peculation, or the profuse expenditure at least, that took place in the war department during Pache's administration, was horrible. In the twenty-four hours that preceded his dismissal, he filled up sixty different places with all the persons he knew of, who were base enough to pay their court to him, down to his very hairdresser, a blackguard boy of nineteen, whom he made a muster-master."—*Madame Roland's Memoirs.* E.

Dumouriez attributed to the changes in the offices the delay which he experienced in the supply of the army. Only half of the munitions and accoutrements which had been promised him had arrived, and he commenced his march without waiting for the rest, writing to Pache that it was indispensably requisite that he should be furnished with thirty thousand pair of shoes, twenty-five thousand blankets, camp necessaries for forty thousand men, and, above all, two millions in specie, for the supply of the soldiers, who, on entering a country where assignats were not current, would have to pay for everything they purchased in ready money. He was promised all that he demanded; and Dumouriez, exciting the ardour of his troops, encouraging them by the prospect of a certain and speedy conquest, pushed on with them, though destitute of what was necessary for a winter campaign, and in so severe a climate.

The march of Valence, delayed by a diversion upon Longwy and the want of military supplies of all sorts, which did not arrive till November, permitted Clairfayt to pass without obstacle form Luxemburg into Belgium, and to join Duke Albert with twelve thousand men. Dumouriez, giving up for the moment his intention of employing Valence, made General d'Harville's division move towards him, and marching his troops between Quarouble and Quievrain, hastened to overtake the hostile army. Duke Albert, adhering to the Austrian system, had formed a cordon from Tournay to Mons, and though he had thirty thousand men, he had scarcely twenty thousand collected before the city of Mons. Dumouriez, pressing him closely, arrived, on the 3d of November, before the mill of Boussu, and ordered his advanced guard, commanded by the brave Beurnonville, to dislodge the enemy posted on the heights. The attack, at first successful, was afterwards repulsed, and our advanced guard was obliged to retire. Dumouriez, sensible how important it was not to fall back on the first onset, again sent Beurnonville forward, carried all the enemy's posts, and on the evening of the 5th found himself in presence of the Austrians, intrenched on the heights skirting the city of Mons.

On these heights, forming a circular range in front of the place, are situated three villages, Jemappes, Cuesmes, and Berthaimont. The Austrians, who expected to be attacked there, had formed the imprudent resolution of maintaining their position, and had long been taking the greatest pains to render it impregnable. Clairfayt occupied Jemappes and Cuesmes. A little farther, Beaulieu* was encamped above Berthaimont. Rapid slopes, woods, abattis, fourteen redoubts, a formidable artillery ranged stage-wise, and twenty thousand men, protected these positions and rendered approach to them almost impossible. Tyrolese sharpshooters filled the woods which extended at the foot of the heights. The cavalry, posted in the intervals between the hills, and especially in the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes, were ready to debouch and to rush upon our columns, as soon as they should be staggered by the fire of the batteries.

It was in presence of this camp so strongly intrenched, that Dumouriez established himself. He formed his army in a semicircle parallel to the positions of the enemy. General d'Harville, whose junction with the main body had been effected on the evening of the 5th, was ordered to manœuvre on the extreme right of our line. Skirting Beaulieu's positions on the morning of the 6th, he was to strive to turn them, and then to occupy the heights behind Mons, the only retreat of the Austrians. Beurnonville, forming at the same time the right of our attack, was ordered to march upon the village of Cuesmes. The Duke de Chartres,† who

* "Baron de Beaulieu was an Austrian general of artillery. After having served in the seven years' war, he lived peaceably till 1789, the time of the revolt in Brabant. He there commanded a body of the shattered Austrian army, attacked the rebels, defeated them, and soon put an end to the war. In 1792, Beaulieu defeated a numerous French corps under General Biron, and forced them to draw back towards Valenciennes. In 1794, he commanded in the province of Luxemburg, and gained a battle near Arlon, over a division of Jourdan's Army. In 1796, he took the chief command of the army of Italy, but was constantly beaten by Bonaparte. The same year he quitted his command, and was succeeded by M. de Wurmser, who was still more unfortunate than he had been.—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Louis Philippe, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans (Egalité) and of Marie Adelaide de Bourbon Penthièvre, grand-daughter of a natural son of Louis XIV. by Madame Montespan, was born at

served in our army with the rank of general, and who on that day commanded the centre, was to take Jemappes in front, and to endeavour at the same time to penetrate through the hollow which separates Jemappes from Cuesmes. Lastly, General Ferrand, invested with the command of the left, was directed to pass through a little village named Quaregnon, and to move upon the flank of Jemappes. All these attacks were to be executed in columns by battalions. The cavalry was ready to support them in rear and upon the flanks. Our artillery was so placed as to batter each redoubt in flank, and to silence its fire, if possible. A reserve of infantry and cavalry awaited the result behind the rivulet of Wame.

In the night between the 5th and 6th, General Beaulieu proposed to sally from the intrenchments, and to rush unawares upon the French, in order to disconcert them by a sudden nocturnal attack. This energetic advice was not followed, and, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the French were in battle full of courage and hope, though under a galling fire and in sight of almost inaccessible intrenchments. Sixty thousand men covered the field of battle, and one hundred pieces of cannon thundered along the fronts of both armies.

The cannonade began early in the morning. Dumouriez ordered Generals Ferrand and Beurnonville to commence the attack, the one on the left, the other on the right, while he himself, in the centre, would await the moment for action, and d'Harville, skirting Beaulieu's positions, was to intercept the retreat. Ferrand attacked faintly, and Beurnonville did not succeed in silencing the fire of the Austrians. It was eleven o'clock, and the enemy was not sufficiently shaken on the flanks to enable Dumouriez to attack him in front. The French general then sent his faithful Thouvenot to the left wing to decide the success. Thouvenot, putting an end to a useless cannonade, passed through Quaregnon, turned Jemappes, and marching rapidly, with bayonets fixed, ascended the side of the hill, and arrived on the flank of the Austrians.

Dumouriez, being apprized of this movement, resolved to commence the attack in front, and pushed on the centre direct against Jemappes. He made his infantry advance in columns, and placed hussars and dragoons to cover the hollow between Jemappes and Cuesmes, from which the enemy's cavalry was about to rush. Our troops formed, and passed without hesitation the intermediate space. One brigade, however, seeing the Austrian cavalry debouching by the hollow, paused, fell back, and uncovered the flank of our columns. At this moment, young Baptiste Renard, who was merely a servant of Dumouriez, impelled by an inspiration of courage

Paris in 1773. The line of Bourbon-Orleans was founded by Philippe, brother of the Grand Monarque, who conferred on him the duchy of Orleans. In 1782, the Duke de Chartres's education was intrusted to the Countess de Genlis. In 1792, he fought under Dumouriez at Valmi, and displayed great bravery and judgment. He also distinguished himself highly at the battle of Jemappes. Shortly afterwards, having frankly expressed his horror of the revolutionary excesses in France, a decree of arrest was issued against him. He then quitted the army and his country, and obtained passports for Switzerland, but received notice that no part of the Cantons was safe for him. Alone, however, and on foot, and almost without money, he began his travels in the interior of Switzerland and the Alps; and at length obtained the situation of professor at the college of Reichenau, where he taught geography, history, the French and English languages, and mathematics, for four months, without having been discovered. It was here he learned the tragical end of his father. On quitting Reichenau, the Duke de Chartres, now become Duke of Orleans, retired to Bremgarten, where he remained, under the name of Corby, till the end of 1794, when, his retreat being discovered, he resolved on going to America; but, being unable to obtain the necessary pecuniary means, he travelled instead through Norway and Sweden, journeyed on foot with the Laplanders, and reached the North Cape in 1795. In the following year he set out for America, and paid a visit to General Washington at Mount Vernon. He afterwards went to England, and established himself, with his brothers, at Twickenham. In 1809 the duke was married, at Palermo, to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the King of Sicily. After the fall of Napoleon he returned to Paris; and, in 1815, was ordered by Louis to take the command of the army of the North. He soon, however, resigned it, and fixed his residence, with his family, again at Twickenham. After the Hundred Days he went back to Paris: took his seat in the Chamber of Peers, but manifested such liberal sentiments, as to render himself obnoxious to the administration. In consequence of the memorable events of July, 1830, he was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and finally, on the abdication of Charles X., King of the French."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

and intelligence, ran to the general of that brigade, reproached him with his weakness, and led him back to the hollow. A certain wavering had manifested itself throughout the whole centre, and our battalions began to be thrown into disorder by the fire of the batteries. The Duke de Chartres, throwing himself amidst the ranks, rallied them, formed around him a battalion, which he called the battalion of Jemappes, and urged it on vigorously against the enemy. The battle was thus restored, and Clairfayt, already taken in flank, and threatened in front, nevertheless resisted with heroic firmness.

Dumouriez, observing all these movements, but uncertain of success, hastened to the right, where the combat was yet undecided, in spite of the efforts of Beurnonville. His intention was to terminate the attack abruptly, or else, to make his right wing fall back, and to employ it so as to protect the centre, in case a retrograde movement should be necessary.

Beurnonville had made vain efforts against the village of Cuesmes, and he was about to fall back, when Dampierre,* who commanded one of the points of attack, taking with him a few companies, dashed boldly into the midst of a redoubt. Dumouriez came up at the very moment when Dampierre was making this courageous attempt. He found the rest of his battalions without a commander, exposed to a terrible fire, and hesitating in presence of the imperial hussars, who were preparing to charge them. These battalions were the same that had so strongly attached themselves to Dumouriez in the camp of Maulde. He cheered and encouraged them to stand firm against the enemy's cavalry. A discharge at the muzzels of the guns checked the cavalry, and Berchini's hussars, rushing most seasonably upon them, put them completely to flight. Dumouriez then placing himself at the head of the battalions, and striking up with them the hymn of the Marseillais, led them on against the intrenchments, overthrowing all before him and taking the village of Cuesmes.

No sooner was this exploit achieved, than Dumouriez, still uneasy on account of the centre, returned at full gallop, followed by some squadrons; but he was met on the way by the young Duke de Montpensier, who came to inform him of the victory of the centre, owing principally to his brother, the Duke de Chartres. Jemappes being thus taken in flank and front, and Cuesmes having been carried, Clairfayt could make no further resistance, and was obliged to retreat. Accordingly, he quitted the ground, after an admirable defence, and abandoned to Dumouriez a dear-bought victory. It was now two o'clock, and our troops, harassed with fatigue, demanded a moment's rest. Dumouriez granted it them, and halted on the very heights of Jemappes and Cuesmes. He reckoned, for the pursuit of the enemy, upon d'Harville, who had been directed to turn Berthaimont, and to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. But the order being neither sufficiently clear nor rightly understood, d'Harville had stopped before Berthaimont, and had uselessly cannonaded its heights. Clairfayt retreated, therefore, under the protection of Beaulieu, who had not been touched, and both took the road to Brussels, which d'Harville had not intercepted.

The battle had cost the Austrians fifteen hundred prisoners, and four thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and the French nearly as many. Dumouriez disguised his loss, and admitted it to amount only to a few hundred men. He has been censured for not having turned the enemy by marching upon his right, and not having thus taken him in the rear instead of persisting in the attack of the left and the centre. He had an idea of doing so, when he ordered d'Harville to turn Berthaimont, but he did not adhere to that intention. His vivacity, which fre-

* "Dampierre was an officer in the French guards, afterwards colonel of the 5th dragoon regiment, and finally a republican general. In 1792, he served under Dumouriez, and excited particular notice by his bravery at Jemappes. At the time of Dumouriez's defection, he addressed a proclamation to the army of the North and of Ardennes, urging them to remain faithful to the Convention, for which he was appointed commander-in-chief. In 1793, he had his leg carried away by a cannon-ball while attacking the woods of Ruismes and St. Amand, and died two days afterwards. Dampierre was patronized by the Duke of Orleans; his air was gloomy, and his make heavy; but he united to an extraordinary degree of vivacity the bravery of a soldier."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

quently prevented reflection, and the desire of achieving a brilliant action, caused him at Jemappes, as throughout the whole campaign, to prefer an attack in front. At any rate, abounding in presence of mind and ardour in the midst of action, he had roused the spirit of our troops and communicated to them heroic courage. The sensation produced by this important battle was prodigious. The victory of Jemappes instantaneously filled all France with joy, and Europe with new surprise. Nothing was talked of but the fact of the coolness with which the Austrian artillery had been confronted, and the intrepidity displayed in storming their redoubts. The danger and the victory were even exaggerated, and throughout all Europe the faculty of gaining great battles was again awarded to the French.

In Paris, all the sincere republicans were overjoyed at the tidings, and prepared grand festivities. Dumouriez's servants, young Baptiste Renard, was presented to the Convention, which conferred on him a civic crown and the epaulette of officer. The Girondins, out of patriotism, out of justice, applauded the success of the general. The Jacobins, though suspecting him, applauded also, because they could not help admiring the successes of the Revolution. Marat* alone, reproaching all the French for their infatuation, asserted that Dumouriez must have misrepresented the number of his slain, that a hill is not to be attacked at so little cost, that he had not taken either baggage or artillery, that the Austrians had gone away quietly, that it was a retreat rather than a defeat, that Dumouriez might have attacked the enemy in a different manner; and, mingling with this sagacity an atrocious rage for calumny, he added that this attack in front had been made merely for the purpose of sacrificing the brave battalions of Paris; that his colleagues in the Convention, at the Jacobins, in short all the French, so ready to admire, were simpletons; and that, for his part, he should admit Dumouriez to be a good general when he should have subdued all Belgium without suffering a single Austrian to escape, and a good patriot when Belgium should be thoroughly revolutionized and rendered completely free. "As for the rest of you," said he, "with that disposition for admiring everything on a sudden, you are liable to fly as suddenly to the contrary extreme. One day you proscribe Montesquiou. You are told on the next that he has conquered Savoy, and you applaud him. Again you proscribe him, and render yourselves a general laughingstock by these inconsistencies. For my part, I am distrustful and always accuse; and, as to the inconveniences of this disposition, they are incomparably less than those of the contrary disposition, for they never compromise the public welfare. They are no doubt liable to lead me into mistakes respecting some individuals; but, considering the corruption of the age, and the multitude of enemies to all liberty, from education, from principle, and from interest, I would lay a thousand to one that I shall not be wrong in considering all of them together as intriguers and public scoundrels ready to engage in any machinations. I am therefore a thousand times less likely to be mistaken respecting the public functionaries; and, while the mischievous confidence reposed in them enables them to plot against the country with equal boldness and security, the everlasting distrust which the public should entertain for them, agreeably to my principles, would not allow them to take a single step without dread of being unmasked and punished."†

By this battle Belgium was opened to the French; but there strange difficulties met Dumouriez, and two striking scenes presented themselves: on the conquered territory the French Revolution acting upon the neighbouring revolutions for the purpose of accelerating or assimilating them to itself; and in our army a demagogue spirit penetrating into the administrations, and disorganizing for the purpose of purifying them. There were in Belgium several parties. The first, that of the

* "In the year 1774 Marat resided at Edinburgh, where he taught the French language, and published, in English, a volume entitled the 'Chains of Slavery;' a work wherein the clandestine and villanous attempts of princes to ruin liberty are pointed out, and dreadful scenes of despotism disclosed; to which is prefixed an address to the electors of Great Britain."—*Universal Biography.* E.

† *Journal de la République Française*, by Marat, the Friend of the People, No. 43. Monday, November 12, 1792.

Austrian domination, was confined to the imperial armies driven back by Dumouriez. The second, composed of the whole nation, nobles, priests, magistrates, people, unanimously detested a foreign yoke, and desired the independence of the Belgian nation; but this latter was divided into two others: the priests and the privileged persons wished to retain the old states, the old institutions, the demarcations of classes and provinces, in short everything but the Austrian domination, and they had in their favour part of the population still extremely superstitious and strongly attached to the clergy. Lastly, the demagogues, or Belgian Jacobins, were desirous of a complete revolution and the sovereignty of the people. These last demanded the adoption of the French model, and absolute equality. Thus each party desired only just so much of revolution as suited its own purpose. The privileged wanted nothing more of it but their former condition. The plebeians wanted mob supremacy and mob rule.

It is natural to suppose that Dumouriez, with his predilections, must have steered a middle course between these different parties. Discarding Austria, which he was combating with his troops, condemning the exclusive pretensions of the privileged orders, he had nevertheless no wish to transfer the Jacobins of Paris to Brussels, and to cause Chabots and Marats to spring up there. His object therefore was to interfere as little as possible with the former organization of the country, while reforming such parts of it as were too feudal. The enlightened portion of the population was favourable to these views, but it was difficult to mould it into a whole, on account of the little connexion that subsisted between cities and provinces, and moreover, in forming it into an assembly, he would have exposed it to the risk of being conquered by the violent party. If, however, he could have succeeded, Dumouriez thought, either by means of an alliance or a union, to attach Belgium to the French empire, and thus to complete our territory. He was particularly solicitous to prevent peculations, to secure for himself the immense resources of the country for war, and not to offend any class, that he might not have his army destroyed by an insurrection. He intended more especially to spare the clergy, who still possessed great influence over the minds of the people. He therefore meditated things which the experience of revolutions demonstrates to be impossible, and which all administrative and political genius must renounce beforehand with entire resignation. We shall presently see his plans and his projects unfolding themselves.

On entering the country, he promised, in a proclamation, to respect property, person, and the national independence. He ordered that everything should remain as it then stood; that the authorities should retain their functions; that the taxes should continue to be levied; and that primary assemblies should forthwith meet, for the purpose of forming a National Convention, that should decide upon the fate of Belgium.

Serious difficulties of a different nature were starting up against him. Motives of policy, of public welfare, of humanity, might make him desirous of a prudent and moderate revolution in Belgium; but it behoved him to procure subsistence for his army, and this was his personal affair. He was a general, and, above all, he was obliged to be victorious. To this end he had need of discipline and resources. Having entered Mons on the morning of the 7th, amidst the rejoicings of the Brabanters, who decreed crowns to him and to the brave Dampierre, he found himself in the greatest embarrassment. His commissaries were at Valenciennes; none of the supplies promised him had arrived. He wanted clothing for the soldiers, who were half naked, provisions, horses for his artillery, and light carts to second the movement of the invasion, especially in a country where transport was extremely difficult; lastly, specie to pay the troops, because the people of Belgium disliked to take assignats. The emigrants had circulated great quantities of forged ones, and thus thrown discredit on that kind of paper; besides, no nation is fond of participating in the embarrassments of another by taking the paper which represents its debts.

The impetuosity of Dumouriez's character, which was carried to imprudence, would not allow it to be believed that he could have tarried from the 7th to the 11th at Mons, and left the Duke of Saxe-Teschen to retreat unmolested, had not details

of administration detained him in spite of his teeth, and engrossed that attention which ought to have been exclusively fixed on military matters. He conceived a very judicious plan, namely, to contract with the Belgians for provisions, forage and other supplies. This course was attended with many advantages. The articles of consumption were on the spot, and there was no fear of delay. These purchases would give many of the Belgians an interest in the presence of the French armies. The sellers, being paid in assignats, would themselves be obliged to favour their circulation; there would thus be no need to enforce that circulation—an important point; for every person into whose hands a forced currency comes, considers himself as robbed by the authority which imposes it; and a way of more universally offending a nation cannot be devised. Dumouriez had some thoughts of another expedient, namely, to raise loans from the clergy under the guarantee of France. These loans would supply him with specie, and though they would put the clergy to momentary inconvenience, yet the very circumstance of negotiating with them would dispel all apprehensions respecting their existence and possessions. Lastly, as France would have to demand of the Belgians indemnities for the expenses of a war undertaken for their liberation, these indemnities would be applied to the payment of the loans; and, by means of a slight balance, the whole cost of the war would be paid, and Dumouriez would have lived, as he had promised to do, at the expense of Belgium, without oppressing or disorganizing that country.

But these were plans of genius, and in times of revolution it seems that genius ought to take a decided part. It ought either to foresee the disorders and the outrages which are likely to ensue, and to retire immediately; or, foreseeing, to resign itself to them, and to consent to be violent in order to continue to be serviceable at the head of the armies or of the state. No man has been sufficiently detached from the things of this world to adopt the former course. There is one who has been great, and who has kept himself pure, while pursuing the latter. It was he who, placed by the side of the public welfare, without participating in its political acts, confined himself to the concerns of war, and *organized victory**—a thing pure, allowable, and always patriotic under every system of government.

Dumouriez had employed for his contracts and his financial operations Malus, a commissary, to whom he was strongly attached, because he had found him clever and active, without caring much whether he was moderate in his profits. He had also made use of one d'Espagnac,† formerly a libertine abbé, one of those unprincipled men of talent of the old *régime*, who could turn their hands to any trade with abundance of grace and skill, but left behind them an equivocal reputation in all. Dumouriez despatched him to the ministry to explain his plans, and to obtain the ratification of all the engagements which he had contracted. He already afforded ground for censure by the kind of administrative dictatorship which he assumed, and by the revolutionary moderation which he manifested in regard to the Belgians, without as yet compromising himself by his association with men who were already suspected, or who, if they actually were not then, were soon to become so. At this moment, in fact, a general murmur arose against the old administrations, which were full, it was said, of rogues and aristocrats.

* M. Thiers here alludes to Carnot, who, to quote the language of Napoleon, "organized victory." This eminent republican was a member of the frightful Committee of Public Safety, "but it has been said in his defence," observes a competent authority, "that he did not meddle with its atrocities, limiting himself entirely to the war department, for which he showed so much talent, that his colleagues left it to his exclusive management. He first daringly claimed for France her natural boundaries; and he conquered by his genius the countries which his ambition claimed." E.

† "M. R. Sahuguet, Abbé d'Espagnac, was destined for the church, and obtained a canonry in the metropolitan church of the capital. He first drew attention by his literary talents, but his love of money soon swallowed up every other consideration. He connected himself with Calonne, became his agent, and engaged in several lucrative speculations. He was one of the original members of the Jacobin club. In 1791, he became a purveyor to the army of the Alps, and being denounced by Cambon for fraudulent dealings, was ordered to be arrested. He contrived to clear himself from this accusation, and speculated in the baggage-wagons of Dumouriez's army. Being soon afterwards denounced as an accomplice, and a dishonest purveyor, he was arrested in 1793, and in the following year sent to the guillotine by the revolutionary tribunal. At the time of his death, d'Espagnac was forty-one years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Dumouriez, having attended to the supply of his troops, was occupied in accelerating the march of Labourdonnaye. That general, having persisted in lagging behind, had not entered Tournay till very recently, and there he had excited scenes worthy of the Jacobins, and levied heavy contributions. Dumouriez ordered him to march rapidly upon Ghent and the Scheldt, to proceed to Antwerp, and then to complete the circuit of the country to the Meuse. Valence, having at length arrived in line after involuntary delays, was ordered to be, on the 13th or 14th, at Nivelles. Dumouriez, conceiving that the Duke of Saxe-Teschen would retire behind the canal of Vilverden, intended that Valence should turn the forest of Soignies, get behind the canal, and there receive the duke at the passage of the Dyle.

On the 11th he set out from Mons, slowly following the enemy's army, which was retiring in good order, but very leisurely. Ill served by his conveyances, he could not come up with sufficient despatch to make amends for the delays to which he had been subjected. On the 13th, while advancing in person with a mere advanced guard, he fell in with the enemy at Anderlech, and had well-nigh been surrounded; but, with his usual skill and firmness, he deployed his little force, and made such a show of a few pieces of artillery that he had with him, as to cause the Austrians to believe that he was on the field of battle with his whole army. He thus succeeded in keeping them off till he had time to be relieved by his soldiers, who, on being apprized of his dangerous situation, advanced at full speed to disengage him.

On the 14th he entered Brussels, and there he was detained by fresh administrative embarrassments, having neither money nor any of the resources requisite for the maintenance of the troops. He there learned that the ministry had refused to ratify the contracts which he had made, excepting one, and that all the former military administrations had been dismissed and their place supplied by a committee called the committee of contracts. This committee alone was for the future to have a right to purchase supplies for the troops—a business with which the generals were not to be permitted to interfere in any way whatever. This was the commencement of a revolution which was preparing in the administration, and which was about to plunge them for a time into complete disorganization.

The administrations which require long practice as a special application are those which a revolution is longest in reaching, because they excite least ambition, and besides, the necessity for keeping capable men in them secures them from arbitrary changes. Accordingly, scarcely any change had been made in the staffs, in the scientific corps of the army, in the offices of the different ministers, in the old victualling office, and above all in the navy, which, of all the departments of the military art, is that which requires the most special qualifications. Hence people did not fail to cry out against the aristocrats, with whom those bodies were filled, and the executive council was censured for not appointing others in their stead. The victualling department was the one against which the greatest irritation was excited. Just censures were levelled at the contractors, who, winked at by the state, but more especially under favour of this moment of disorder, required exorbitant prices in all their bargains, supplied the troops with the worst articles, and impudently robbed the public. On all sides one general cry was raised against their extortions. They had a most inexorable adversary in Cambon, the deputy of Montpellier.* Passionately addicted to the study of finance and political economy, this deputy had acquired a great ascendency in discussions of this nature, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the Assembly. Though a decided democrat, he had never ceased to inveigh against the exactions of the commune, and he

* "J. Cambon, a merchant, born of Protestant parents, eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In the Legislative Assembly he devoted himself chiefly to finance; and to him is owing the formation of the Great Book of the public debt. In 1792, he caused assignats to be issued for thirty millions, and proposed that the statues of the tyrants in the capital should be converted into cannon. Cambon was the last president of the Legislative Assembly. In 1792, his influence obtained the famous decree which set bounds to the power of generals in a hostile country—a measure which removed Dumouriez's mask. In the following year he voted for the immediate death of the King. After the fall of Robespierre, Cambon directed the finance, but was outlawed soon afterwards, and was subsequently restored to liberty. He then went to live in obscurity at Montpellier."—*Biographie Moderne.*

astonished those who did not comprehend that he condemned as a financier the irregularities which he would perhaps have excused as a Jacobin. He launched out with still greater energy against all contractors, and followed them up with all the zeal of his disposition. Every day he denounced new frauds and required that a stop should be put to them, and on this point all agreed with him. Honest men, because they wished rogues to be punished; Jacobins, because they loved to persecute aristocrats; and intriguers, because they wished to make vacant places.

The idea was therefore conceived of forming a committee composed of a few individuals, appointed to make all contracts on behalf of the republic. It was conceived that this committee, sole and responsible, would spare the state the frauds of the host of separate contractors, and that, purchasing alone for all the administrations, it would not cause prices to be raised by competition, as was the case when each minister, and each army, bargained individually for their respective supplies. This measure was adopted with the approbation of all the ministers; and Cambon, in particular, was its warmest partisan, because this new and simple form was agreeable to his absolute mind. It was intimated, therefore, to Dumouriez, that he would have no more contracts to make, and he was ordered to cancel those which he had just signed. The chests of the paymasters were at the same time suppressed; and with such rigour was the execution enforced, that difficulties were made about the payment of a loan advanced by a Belgian merchant to the army upon a bond of Dumouriez.

This revolution in the victualling department, originating in a laudable motive, concurred unfortunately with circumstances that soon rendered its effects disastrous. Servan had, during his ministry, to supply the first wants of the troops hastily collected in Champagne, and it was accomplishing much to have relieved the embarrassments of the first moment. But, after the campaign of the Argonne, the supplies brought together with such difficulty were exhausted: the volunteers, who had left home with a single coat, were almost naked, and it was necessary to furnish each of the armies with a complete equipment; and this renewal of the whole of the *matériel* had to be provided for in the heart of winter, and notwithstanding the rapidity of the invasion of Belgium. Pache, Servan's successor, had consequently a prodigious task to perform, and unluckily, though a man of great intelligence and application, he had an easy and supple disposition, which, inducing a desire to please everybody, especially the Jacobins, prevented him from commanding any one, and from imparting the requisite energy to a vast administration. If then we add to the urgency, and immense extent of the wants of the troops, to the difficulties of the season, and the necessity for great promptitude, the weakness of a new ministry, the general disorder of the state, and above all, a revolution in the administrative system, we shall have some conception of the utter destitution of the armies, their bitter complaints, and the vehemence of the reproaches between the generals and the ministers.

At the intelligence of these administrative changes Dumouriez was violently enraged. During the interval occupied by the organization of the new system, he saw his army exposed to the risk of perishing from want, unless the contracts which he had concluded were upheld and executed. He therefore took it upon himself to maintain them, and ordered his agents, Malus, d'Espagnac, and a third named Petit-Jean, to continue their operations upon his own responsibility. He wrote at the same time to the minister in so high a tone, as to increase the suspicions entertained by jealous, distrustful demagogues, dissatisfied with his revolutionary lukewarmness, and his administrative dictatorship. He declared that, if he was expected to continue his services, he required to be allowed to provide for the wants of his army. He insisted that the committee of contracts was an absurdity, because it would export laboriously, and from a distance, that which was to be obtained more easily upon the spot; that the carriage would occasion enormous expense and delays, during which the armies would perish of hunger, cold, and privation; that the Belgians would lose all interest in the presence of the French, and no longer assist the circulation of assignats; that the pillage of the contractors would continue just the same, because the facility of robbing the state in the furnishing of supplies always had made, and always would make, men plunderers; and that nothing

would prevent the members of the committee of contracts from turning contractors and purchasers, though forbidden to do so by the law; that it was, therefore, a mere dream of economy, which, were it even not chimerical, would produce for a moment a disastrous interruption in the different services. What tended not a little to exasperate Dumouriez against the committee of contracts was, that in the members who composed it, he beheld creatures of Clavières, the minister, and that he regarded the measure as arising from the jealousy felt towards himself by the Girondins. It was, nevertheless, a measure adopted in honest sincerity, and approved of on all sides, without any party motives.

Pache, like a firm and patriotic minister, ought to have endeavoured to satisfy the general, in order to secure the continuance of his services to the republic. To this end he ought to have investigated his demands, ascertained what part of them was just, adopted it, rejected the rest, and have conducted all matters with authority and vigour, so as to prevent reproaches, disputes, and confusion. Instead of this, Pache, already charged by the Girondins with weakness, and unfavourably disposed towards them, suffered himself to be jostled between them, the general, the Jacobins, and the Convention. In the council, he communicated the hasty letters in which Dumouriez openly complained of the distrust of the Girondin ministers in regard to him. In the Convention, he made known the imperative demands of Dumouriez, and the offer of his resignation in case of their refusal. Censuring nothing, but explaining nothing, and affecting a scrupulous fidelity in his reports, he suffered everything to produce its most mischievous effects.

The Girondins, the Convention, the Jacobins, were each irritated in their own way by the high tone of the general. Cambon inveighed against Malus, d'Espagnac, and Petit-Jean, quoted the prices of their contracts, which were exorbitant, dwelt on the prodigal licentiousness of d'Espagnac and the former peculations of Petit Jean, and caused a decree to be issued by the Assembly against all three. He declared that Dumouriez was surrounded by intriguers, from whom it was necessary to deliver him; he maintained that the committee of contracts was an excellent institution; that to take articles of consumption from the theatre of war was depriving French artisans of work, and running the risk of seditions on account of want of employment; that, with regard to assignats, there was no need whatever for contrivance to make them circulate; that the general was wrong not to make them pass current by authority, and not to transport into Belgium the entire revolution, with its form of government, its systems, and its money; and that the Belgians, to whom they were giving liberty, ought along with it to take its advantages and its disadvantages. At the tribune of the Convention, Dumouriez was considered merely as having been duped by his agents; but at the Jacobins, and in Marat's paper, it was flatly asserted that he was a partner with them and shared their gains, of which, however, there was no other proof than the too frequent example of generals.

Dumouriez was therefore obliged to deliver up the three commissaries, and he had the further mortification to see them arrested, in spite of the guarantee which he had given them. Pacha wrote to him with his accustomed mildness, intimating that his demands should be examined, that his wants should be supplied, and that the committee of contracts would make considerable purchases for this purpose. He informed him, at the same time, that large convoys had been despatched, though this was not the case. Nothing arrived, and Dumouriez was perpetually complaining; so that, to read on the one hand the letters of the minister, one would have imagined that there was abundance of everything, while those of the general on the other would induce a belief in absolute destitution. Dumouriez had recourse to expedients, to loans from the chapters of churches; he subsisted upon a contract made by Malus, which he was allowed to maintain, owing to the urgency of the occasion, and he was again detained from the 14th to the 19th at Brussels.

During this interval, Stengel, detached with the advanced guard, had taken Malines. This was an important capture on account of the stores of gunpowder and arms of every kind which that place contained, and which made it the arsenal of Belgium. Labourdonnaye, who had entered Antwerp on the 18th, was organiz-

ing clubs, alienating the Belgians by the encouragement which he gave to popular agitators, and meanwhile neglecting to act vigorously in the siege of the castle. Dumouriez, unable to put up any longer with a lieutenant, who attended so much to clubs and so little to war, sent as his successor Miranda, a Peruvian of extraordinary bravery, who had come to France at the epoch of the Revolution, and obtained high rank through the friendship of Petion. Labourdonnaye, deprived of his command, and returning to the department of the North, took pains to inflame the zeal of the Jacobins there against *Cæsar Dumouriez**—the name which began already to be given to the general.

The enemy had at first intended to place himself behind the canal of Vilvorden and to keep in communication with Antwerp. He thus committed the same fault as Dumouriez did when he meant to approach the Scheldt, instead of running along the Meuse, as they ought both to have done, the one to effect, the other to prevent, his retreat. At length Clairfayt, who had assumed the command, felt the necessity of promptly recrossing the Meuse and leaving Antwerp to its fate. Dumouriez then ordered Valence to march from Nivelles upon Namur, and to lay siege to that place. It was a grievous blunder that he committed not to direct him, on the contrary, along the Meuse, in order to cut off the retreat of the Austrians. The defeat of the defensive army would naturally have led to the surrender of the place. But the example of grand strategical manœuvres had not yet been set, and, moreover, Dumouriez, in this instance, as on many other occasions, lacked the necessary reflection. He set out from Brussels on the 19th, passed through Louvain on the 20th; overtook the enemy on the 22d at Tirlemont, and killed three or four hundred of his men. Thence, detained once more by absolute want, he did not set out before the 26th. On the 27th he arrived before Liege, and had to sustain a brisk action at Varoux with the rear-guard of the enemy. General Starai, who commanded it, defended himself gloriously, and received a mortal wound. At length, on the morning of the 28th, Dumouriez entered Liege amidst the acclamations of the people, who there entertained the most Revolutionary sentiments. Miranda had taken the citadel of Antwerp on the 29th, and was enabled to complete the circuit of Belgium, by marching as far as Ruremonde. Valence occupied Namur on the 2d of December. Clairfayt proceeded towards the Roer, and Beaulieu towards Luxemburg.

At this moment all Belgium was occupied as far as the Meuse; but the country to the Rhine still remained to be conquered, and Dumouriez had to encounter great difficulties. Either owing to the difficulty of conveyance or the negligence of the offices, nothing reached his army; and though there were considerable stores at Valenciennes, yet there was a want of everything on the Meuse. Pache, in order to gratify the Jacobins, had opened his office to them, and the utmost confusion prevailed there. Business was neglected, and from inattention the most contradictory orders were issued. All duty, therefore, was rendered nearly impossible, and, while the minister believed that convoys were despatched, nothing of the sort had been done. The institution of the committee of contracts had served to increase the disorder.

The new commissary, named Ronsin,† who had succeeded Malus and d'Espagnac on denouncing them, was in the utmost embarrassment. Most unfavourably received by the army, he had been deterred from fulfilling his commission, and in spite of the recent decisions, continued to make contracts on the spot. The army had, in consequence been supplied with bread and butcher's meat; but it was absolutely destitute of clothing, the means of transport, ready money, and forage, and all the horses were dying of hunger. Another calamity thinned that army, namely,

* "Though I were to be called 'Cæsar,' 'Cromwell,' or 'Monk,' I will save my country, in spite of the Jacobins, and the conventional regicides who protect them. I will re-establish the constitution of 1791."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

† "Ronsin was born at Soissons in 1752. He figured in the early scenes of the Revolution, and in 1789 brought out a tragedy at one of the minor Paris theatres, which, though despicable in point of style, had a considerable run. Being denounced by Robespierre, he was guillotined in 1794. His dramatic pieces were collected, and published after his death."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

desertion. The volunteers, who, in the first enthusiasm, had hastened to Champagne, had cooled after the moment of danger was past. They were moreover disgusted by the privations of all kinds which they had to endure, and deserted in great numbers. The corps of Dumouriez alone had lost at least ten thousand, and was daily losing more. The Belgian levies, which the French flattered themselves with the prospect of raising, were not brought to bear, because it was almost impossible to organize a country where the different classes of the population and the different provinces of the territory were by no means disposed to agree. Liege was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Revolution; but Brabant and Flanders beheld with distrust the ascendency of the Jacobins in the clubs which efforts had been made to establish in Ghent, Antwerp, Brussels, and other towns. The people of Belgium were not on the best terms with our soldiers, who wanted to pay in assignats. Nowhere would they take our paper money, and Dumouriez refused to give it a forced circulation. Thus, though victorious and in possession of the country, the army was in an unfortunate situation, owing to want, desertion, and the uncertain and almost unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants. The Convention, puzzled by the contradictory reports of the general, who most bitterly complained, and the minister, who declared with modesty but with confidence, that abundant supplies had been despatched, sent four commissioners, selected from among its members, to ascertain with their own eyes the real state of affairs. These four commissioners were Danton, Camus,* Lacroix,† and Cossuin.

While Dumouriez had employed the month of November in occupying Belgium as far as the Meuse, Custine, still overrunning the environs of Frankfort and the Mayne, was threatened by the Prussians, who were ascending the Lahn. He had been desirous that the whole stress of the war should take place in his direction, for the purpose of covering his rear, and protecting his silly incursions in Germany. Accordingly he was incessantly complaining of Dumouriez, because he did not arrive at Cologne, and of Kellermann for not proceeding to Coblentz. We have seen what difficulties prevented Dumouriez from advancing more expeditiously, and rendering Kellermann's movement possible. Custine,‡ relinquishing incursions which drew forth acclamations from the tribune of the Jacobins and the newspapers, must have confined himself within the boundary of the Rhine, and, fortifying Mayence, made up his mind to descend to Coblentz. But he wished everything to be done in his rear, that he might have the honour of taking the offensive in Germany. Urged by his solicitations and complaints the executive council recalled Kellermann, appointed Beurnonville his successor, and gave the latter tardy instructions to take Treves, in a very advanced season, and in a country not only poor, but difficult to occupy. There had never been more than one good way of executing this enterprise, namely, to march at first, between Luxemburg and Treves, and thus reach Coblentz, while Custine should proceed thither along the Rhine. The Prussians, still disheartened by their defeat in Champagne, would thus have been crushed; and at the same time a hand would have been lent to

* "A. G. Camus, deputy to the States-general, and to the National Convention, was counsel for the clergy at Paris, at the period of the Revolution. In 1792, he was deputed to go into Holland to inquire into the truth of the complaints brought by Dumouriez against the war-minister and the commissioners of the treasury, when he obtained the adoption of plans to improve the commissariat department. In the following year he voted for the King's death. Being appointed one of five commissioners to arrest Dumouriez, he was anticipated by that general who delivered up him and his colleagues to the Austrians. He was, however, soon afterwards exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. Camus died at Paris of an apoplectic attack, in 1804."—*Biographie Moderne.* E,

† "Lacroix, who was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal in 1794, was originally a country lawyer; in two or three months he became a colonel and a major-general, acquired wealth, was the accomplice of Danton, long held a secret correspondence with Dumouriez, whom he pretended to denounce; favoured the tribunes and the tumults of the sections, was one of the opposers of the Convention by caressing the anarchical commune, and defending it with his stentorian voice."—*Mercier's Nouveau Paris.* E.

‡ "Custine, a general who had done much for the republic, used, when his fortune began to fail him, to account for his ill luck, by saying, 'Fortune was a woman, and his hairs were growing gray."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

Dumouriez, who would have reached Cologne, or who would have been assisted to reach it, if not already there.

In this manner Luxemburg and Treves, which it was impossible to take by main force, must have fallen through famine and want of succour. But Custine, having persisted in his excursions in Wetteravia, and the army of the Moselle having continued in its cantonments, it was too late at the end of November to proceed thither for the purpose of supporting Custine against the Prussians, who had recovered their confidence, and were ascending the Rhine. Beurnonville did not fail to urge these reasons; but people were in the mood to conquer; they wished to punish the elector of Treves for his conduct towards France; and Beurnonville was ordered to make an attack, which he attempted with as much ardour as if he had approved of it. After several brilliant and obstinate actions, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprise and to fall back upon Lorraine. In this situation, Custine found himself compromised on the banks of the Mayne; but he would not, by retiring, acknowledge his rashness and the insolidity of his conquest; and he persisted in maintaining himself there without any well-defended hope of success. He had placed in Frankfort, a garrison of two thousand four hundred men, and, though this force was wholly inadequate in an open place and amidst a population irritated by unjust contributions, he ordered the commandant to maintain his position; while he himself, posted at Ober Yssel and Haimburg, a little below Frankfort, affected a ridiculous firmness and determination. Such was the state of the army at this point, at the end of November, and the beginning of December.

Nothing was yet accomplished along the Rhine. At the Alps, Montesquiou, whom we have seen negotiating with Switzerland, and striving at the same time to bring Geneva and the French ministry to reason, had been obliged to emigrate. An accusation had been preferred against him, because, it was alleged, he had compromised the dignity of France, by admitting into the plan of convention an article according to which our troops were to withdraw, and above all, by carrying this article into execution. A decree was launched against him, and he sought refuge at Geneva. But his work was rendered durable by its moderation; and while he was subjected to a decree of accusation, negotiations were carrying on with Geneva upon the bases which he had fixed. The Bernese troops retired; the French troops cantoned themselves at the distance agreed upon; the neutrality of Switzerland, so valuable to France, was secured, and one of her flanks was protected for several years. This important service had not been appreciated, owing to the declamation of Clavières, and owing likewise to the susceptibility of upstarts occasioned by our recent victories.

In the county of Nice we had gloriously recovered the post of Sospello, which the Piedmontese had for a moment taken from us, and which they had again lost, after sustaining a considerable check. This success was due to the ability of General Brunet. Our fleets, which commanded the Mediterranean, sailed to Genoa, to Naples, where a branch of the house of Bourbon reigned, and to all the Italian states, to obtain their recognition of the new French republic. After a cannonade off Naples, its rulers recognised the republic, and our fleet returned proud of the concession which they had extorted. At the Pyrenees absolute immobility prevailed; and, owing to the want of means, Servan had the greatest difficulty to recompose the army of observation. Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions per month, all the armies of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Moselle, were in the same distress, from the disorganization of the services, and the confusion pervading the war department. Amidst all this wretchedness, however, the nation was not the less proud of, and intoxicated with, victory. At this moment, when men's imaginations were heated by Jemappes, by the capture of Frankfort, by the occupation of Savoy and Nice, by the sudden revulsion of European opinion in our favour, they fancied that they could hear the crash of monarchies, and for a moment indulged the notion that all other nations were about to overturn thrones, and to form themselves into republics. "Oh! that it were but true," exclaimed a member of the Jacobins, with reference to the annexation of Savoy to France, "that it were but true that the awakening of

nations had arrived; that it were but true that the overthrow of all thrones should be the speedy consequence of the success of our armies and of the revolutionary volcano; that it were true that the republican virtues should at length avenge the world for all the crimes of crowned heads; that every country, become free, should then frame a government conformable to the greater or less extent which nature has given to it; and that a certain number of extraordinary deputies from all these national conventions should form at the centre of the globe one general convention, to watch constantly over the maintenance of the rights of man and the universal freedom of commerce!"*

At this moment, the Convention, being apprized of certain harsh proceedings of the Duke of Deux-Ponts against some of his subjects, passed, in a fit of enthusiasm, the following decree:

"The National Convention declares that it will grant succour and fraternity to all the nations that shall be desirous of recovering their liberty; and it charges the executive power to give orders to the generals of the French armies to aid those citizens who have been, or who shall be, harshly treated on account of liberty.

"The National Convention orders the generals of the French armies to cause the present decree to be printed and posted in all places to which they shall carry the arms of the republic.

"*Paris, November* 19, 1792."

* Speech of Milhaud, deputy of the Cantal, delivered at the Jacobins in November, 1792.

THE TRIAL OF LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

THE Trial of Louis the Sixteenth was at length about to commence, and the parties awaited this occasion for measuring their strength, disclosing their intentions, and for forming a definite judgment of one another. The Girondins, in particular, were closely watched by their adversaries, who were intent on detecting in them the slightest emotion of pity, and accusing them of royalism, in case they should betray the least feeling for fallen greatness.

The party of the Jacobins, which made war upon all monarchy in the person of Louis XVI., had certainly made progress, but it still met with strong opposition in Paris, and still greater in the rest of France. It domineered in the capital, by means of its club, the commune and the sections; but the middle class resumed courage, and still made some resistance to it. Petion having refused the mayoralty, Chambon, the physician, had obtained a great majority of votes, and had reluctantly taken upon himself an office, which was by no means suited to his moderate and unambitious disposition. This selection proves the power which the *bourgeoise* still possessed even in Paris. In the rest of France its power was much greater. The landed proprietors, the tradesmen, in short, all the middle classes, had not yet forsaken either the municipal councils, the councils of departments, or the popular societies, and sent addresses to the majority of the Convention, in harmony with the laws and in a spirit of moderation. Many of the affiliated societies of the Jacobins censured the mother society, and loudly demanded the erasure of Marat, and some even that of Robespierre, from the list of its members. Lastly, new federalists were setting out from the Bouches du Rhône, Calvados, Finistère, and La Gironde, and, anticipating the decrees as on the 10th of August, were coming to protect the Convention and to insure its independence.

The Jacobins were not yet masters of the armies. From these the staffs and the military organization continued to keep them aloof. They had, however, secured to themselves one department of the administration—that of war. This had been thrown open to them by Pache from weakness, and he had dismissed all his old *employés* to make room for members of the club. These *thou'd* one another in his office, appeared there in squalid apparel, and made motions: among them were a great number of married priests, introduced by Audouin, Pache's son-in-law, and himself a married priest. One of the heads of this department was Hassenfratz, formerly resident at Metz, expatriated on account of bankruptcy, and who, like many others had raised himself to a high office by displaying extraordinary democratic zeal. While the administrations of the army were thus renewed, all possible pains were taken to fill the army itself with a new class of persons, and with new opinions. Hence it happened that, while Roland was an object of the sworn hatred of the Jacobins, Pache was a favourite and highly extolled by them. They lauded his mildness, his modesty, his extraordinary capacity, and contrasted them with the austerity of Roland, which they termed pride.

Roland, in fact, had not allowed the Jacobins any access to the office of his department. To superintend the reports of the constituted bodies, to bring back within bounds those which overstepped them, to maintain the public tranquillity, to

watch the popular societies, to attend to the supply of provisions, to protect trade and property; in short, to supervise the whole internal administration of the state —such were his immense duties, and he performed them with uncommon energy. Every day he denounced the commune, condemned the excess of its powers, its peculations, and its despatch of commissioners. He stopped its correspondence, as well as that of the Jacobins, and, instead of their violent papers, he substituted others replete with moderation, which everywhere produced the best effect. He superintended all the property of emigrants which had devolved to the state, bestowed particular attention on the supply of the prime necessaries of life, repressed disturbances of which they were the occasion, and multiplied himself, so to speak, to oppose law and force whenever he could to the revolutionary passions. It is easy to conceive what a difference the Jacobins must have made between Pache and Roland. The families of the two ministers contributed themselves to render this difference the more striking. Pache's wife and daughters went to the clubs and the sections; they even visited the barracks of the federalists, for the purpose of gaining them over to the cause, and distinguished themselves by a low Jacobinism from the polished and proud wife of Roland, who was moreover surrounded by those orators so eloquent and so detested.

Pache and Roland were, therefore, the two persons around whom the members of the council rallied. Clavières, at the head of the finances, though he was frequently embroiled with both from the extreme irritability of his temper, always returned to Roland when he was appeased. Lebrun, a weak man, but attached by his talents to the Girondins, received much assistance in business from Brissot; and the Jacobins called the latter an intriguer, and asserted that he was the master of the whole government, because he aided Lebrun in his diplomatic labours. Garat, contemplating parties from a metaphysical elevation, was content to judge, and did not deem himself bound to combat them. He seemed to think that, because he discovered faults in the Girondins, he was justified in withholding his support from them, and a really wise course was the result of his weakness. The Jacobins, however, accepted the neutrality of so distinguished a mind as a valuable advantage, and repaid it with some commendations. Lastly, Monge,* an eminent mathematician, and a decided patriot, not very favourably disposed towards the somewhat vague theories of the Girondins, followed the example of Pache, suffered his office to be overrun by the Jacobins, and without disavowing the Girondins to whom he owed his elevation, he received the praises of their adversaries, and shared in the popularity of Pache.

Thus the Jacobin party finding two complaisant tools in Pache and Monge, an indifferent metaphysician in Garat, but an inexorable adversary in Roland, who rallied about him Lebrun and Clavières, and frequently brought over the others to his way of thinking—the Jacobin party had not yet in its hands the government of the state, and everywhere repeated that in the new order of things there was only a king the less, but that, with this single exception, there existed the same despotism, the same intrigues, and the same treasons. They asserted that the Revolution would not be complete and irrevocable, till the secret author of all machinations and of all resistance, confined in the Temple, should be destroyed.

We observe what was the respective force of the parties, and the state of the Revolution, at the moment when the trial of Louis XVI. commenced. This prince and his family occupied the great tower of the Temple. The communes, having the disposal of the armed force and the superintendence of the police of the capital, had also the guard of the Temple; and to its jealous, restless, and ungenerous authority the royal family was subjected. That unfortunate family, being guarded by a class of men far inferior to that of which the Convention was composed, could

* "G. Monge, was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards of the French Institute. In 1793, acting as war minister for Servan, he signed the order for the execution of Louis. In the following year he was made secretary and president of the Jacobin club. Having attached himself to the fortunes of Bonaparte, he was appointed in 1804 to the situation of grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Monge was the author of several scientific works."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

not look either for that moderation or that respect which a good education and polished manners always inspire for adversity. It had at first been placed in the little tower, but afterwards removed to the larger, because it was thought that it could be watched there with greater ease and security. The King occupied one floor, and the princesses, with the children, had another. In the daytime they were allowed to pass together the sorrowful moments of their captivity. A single attendant had obtained permission to follow them to their prison. This was the faithful Clery,* who, having escaped the massacres of the 10th of August, had returned to Paris to serve in misfortune those whom he had formerly served in the splendour of their power. He was accustomed to rise at daybreak, and strove by his assiduities to supply the place of the numerous servants who had once surrounded his employers. They breakfasted at nine o'clock in the King's apartment. At ten the whole family met in that of the Queen. Louis XVI. then occupied himself in instructing his son. He made him learn by heart passages in Racine and Corneille, and taught him the first rudiments of geography, a science which he had himself cultivated with great ardour and success. The Queen, on her part, attended to the education of her daughter, and then spent some time with her sister in working tapestry. At one o'clock, when the weather was fine, the whole family was conducted into the garden, to take air and exercise. Several members of the municipality and officers of the guard accompanied them, and at times they met with kind and humane, at others with harsh and contemptuous faces.

Uncultivated men are rarely generous, and with them greatness when it has fallen, is not to be forgiven. Let the reader figure to himself rude and ignorant artisans, masters of that family, whose power they reproached themselves with having so long endured, and whose profusion they had contributed to supply, and he will be able to conceive what low revenge they must sometimes have wreaked upon it.† The King and Queen were frequently doomed to hear cruel remarks, and found upon the wall of the courts and corridors the expression of the hatred which the former government had often merited, but which neither Louis XVI. nor his consort had done anything to excite.‡ Sometimes, however, they found

* "Clery we have seen and known, and the form and manners of that model of pristine faith and loyalty can never be forgotten. Gentleman-like and complaisant in his manners, his deep gravity and melancholy features announced that the sad scenes in which he had acted a part so honourable, were never for a moment out of his memory. He died at Hitzing, near Vienna, in 1809. In the year 1817, Louis XVIII. gave letters of nobility to his daughter."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"Louis XVI. was attended during the whole term of his imprisonment, and in his last moments, by his old servant, Clery, who never left him. The names of those who are faithful in misfortune, are sacred in the page of history!"—*Hazlitt.* E.

† "A man named Simon, a shoemaker and municipal officer, was one of the six commissioners appointed to inspect the works and the expenses at the Temple. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the royal family, always treated them with the vilest insolence; and would frequently say to me, so near the King, as to be heard by him, 'Clery, ask Capet if he wants anything, that I mayn't have the trouble of coming up twice.' One of the doorkeepers of the tower, whose name was Rocher, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the King wanted to go out, but did not open it till his majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many which he had, and which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the royal family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the royal family, as they went out, and chiefly at the Queen and princesses. Some national guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room, to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, which was itself sufficiently narrow."—*Clery.*

‡ "One of the soldiers within wrote one day, on the King's chamber-door, and that, too, on the inside, 'The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis.' The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were 'Madame Veto shall swing.'—'The little wolves must be strangled.'—Under a gallows with a figure hanging, were these words: 'Louis taking an air-bath,' and similar ribaldry."—*Clery.* E.

relief in furtive demonstrations of interest, and they continued these painful walks on account of their children, who needed such exercise. While they sadly traversed the court of the Temple, they perceived at the windows of the neighbouring houses a great number of old subjects still attached to their sovereign, and who came to survey the narrow space in which the fallen monarch was confined.* At two o'clock the walk finished, and dinner was served. After dinner, the King lay down, and, during his nap, his wife, sister, and daughter, worked in silence, while Clery, in another room, exercised the young prince in the games suitable to his age. The family afterwards read some book together, then supped, and retired to their respective apartments, after a sorrowful adieu, for they never parted without grief. The King read for some hours longer. Montesquieu, Buffon, Hume's History, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, and some Latin and Italian classics, were the books that he usually read. He had finished about two hundred and fifty volumes when he quitted the Temple.

Such was the life of this monarch during his sad captivity. Reduced to private life, he was restored to all his virtues, and proved himself worthy of the esteem of all honest hearts. His very enemies, had they but seen him, so simple, so calm, so pure, would not have been able to suppress an involuntary emotion, and would have forgiven the faults of the prince on account of the virtues of the man.

The committee, in the excess of its distrust, resorted to the most irksome precautions. Municipal officers never suffered any of the members of the royal family to be out of their sight; and it was only when their prisoners retired to rest that they suffered a locked door to interpose them. They then placed a bed against the entrance of each apartment, so as to prevent all egress, and there passed the night. Santerre, with his staff, made every day a general visit of inspection throughout the whole tower, and rendered a regular account of it. The municipal officers on duty formed a kind of permanent council, which, placed in an apartment of the tower, was authorized to issue orders and to return answers to all the demands of the prisoners. Pen, ink, and paper, had at first been left in the prison, but these articles were soon taken away, as well as all sharp instruments, such as razors, scissors, or penknives, and the strictest and most offensive search was made to discover any such implements that might have been concealed. This was a great affliction for the princesses, who were thenceforward deprived of their needlework, and could no longer repair their apparel, which was in a very bad state, as they had not been supplied with anything new since their transfer to the Temple. The wife of the English ambassador sent body-linen to the Queen, and on the application of the King, the commune directed some to be made for the whole family. As for outer garments, neither the King nor the Queen† cared to ask for them; but no doubt they would have obtained them had they expressed any wish to that effect. With respect to money, the sum of two thousand francs was given to them in September for their petty expenses, but they were not supplied with more, for fear of the use which might be made of it. A sum was placed in the hands of the governor of the Temple, and, on the application of the prisoners, the different articles which they needed were purchased for them.

We must not exaggerate the faults of human nature, and suppose that, adding an execrable meanness to the fury of fanaticism, the keepers of the imprisoned family imposed on it unworthy privations, with the intention of rendering the

* "During the hour allowed for walking, a sight was presented to the royal family that often awakened their sensibilities, and moved them to tears. Many of their faithful subjects, placing themselves at the windows of the houses round the garden of the Temple, took the opportunity of this short interval to see their King and Queen; and it was impossible to be deceived in their sentiments and their wishes. In particular, they would anxiously follow the dauphin with their eyes, when he ran to any distance from their majesties."—*Clery.*

† "I have heard Mr. Northcote describe the Queen, in her happier and younger days, as entering a small ante-room where he was standing, with her large hoop sideways, and gliding by him from one end to the other as if borne on a cloud. It was possibly to 'this air with which she trod, or rather disdained the earth,' as if descended from some higher sphere, that she owed the indignity of being conducted to the scaffold."—*Hazlitt.* E.

remembrance of its past greatness the more painful. Distrust was the sole cause of certain refusals. Thus, while the dread of plots and secret communications prevented them from admitting more than one attendant into the interior of the prison, a numerous establishment was employed in preparing their food. Thirteen persons were engaged in the duties of the kitchen, situated at some distance from the tower. The reports of the expenses of the Temple, where the greatest decency is observed, where the prisoners are mentioned with respect, where their sobriety is commended, where Louis XVI. is justified from the low reproach of being too much addicted to wine—these reports, which are not liable to suspicion, make the total expense for the table amount in two months to 28,745 livres. While thirteen domestics occupied the kitchen, one only was allowed to enter the prison, and to assist Clery in waiting upon the prisoners at table. So ingenious is captivity that it was by means of this domestic, whose sensibility Clery had contrived to excite, that news from without sometimes penetrated into the Temple. The unfortunate prisoners had always been kept in ignorance of the occurrences outside that building. The representatives of the commune had merely sent to them the newspapers which recorded the victories of the republic, and which thus deprived them of every hope.

Clery had devised a clever expedient to make them acquainted with circumstances as they occurred, and which had succeeded tolerably well. By means of communications which he had formed outside the prison, he had caused a public hawker to be engaged and paid. This man came daily beneath the windows of the Temple, and, under pretext of selling newspapers, he bawled out with all his might the principal details contained in them. Clery, who had fixed the hour for his coming, was sure to be at the window above, noted all that he heard, and at night, stooping over the King's bed, at the moment when he drew his curtains, he communicated to him the intelligence which he had thus obtained. Such was the condition of the illustrious family thrust from the throne into a prison, and the manner in which the ingenious zeal of a faithful servant baffled the jealous caution of its gaolers.

The committees had at length presented their report relative to the trial of Louis XVI. Dufriche-Valazé had made a first report on the charges alleged against the monarch, and the documents that could furnish proofs of them. This report, too long to be read through, was printed by order of the Convention and sent to each of its members. On the 7th of November, Mailhe, in the name of the committee of legislation, presented the report on the great question to which the trial gave rise:

Can Louis XVI. be tried?

What tribunal shall pronounce judgment?

Such were the two essential questions, which were about to engage all minds, and to agitate them profoundly. The report was ordered to be printed immediately. Being translated into all languages, and numerous copies circulated, it was soon spread throughout France and Europe. The discussion was adjourned till the 13th, in spite of Billaud-Varennes, who insisted that the Assembly should decide by acclamation the question of bringing the King to trial.

Now was about to ensue the last conflict between the ideas of the Constituent Assembly and the ideas of the Convention; and this conflict was destined to be the more violent, inasmuch as the life or death of the King was to be the result of it. The Constituent Assembly was democratic in its ideas and monarchical in its sentiments. Thus, while it constituted the entire state a republic, from a remnant of affection and delicacy towards Louis XVI., it retained royalty with the attributes invariably allotted to it in the system of a well-regulated feudal monarchy. Hereditary succession, executive power, participation in the legislative power, and above all inviolability—such are the prerogatives assigned to the throne in modern monarchies, and which the first assembly had left to the reigning house. Participation in the legislative power and the executive power, are functions which may vary in their extent, and which do not constitute modern royalty so essentially, as hereditary succession and inviolability. Of these two latter, the one

insures the perpetual and natural transmission of royalty; the second places it beyond all attack in the person of every heir: and both make it something perpetual, which is never interrupted, and something inaccessible, which no penalty can reach. Doomed to act solely by ministers, who are responsible for its actions, royalty is accessible only in its agents; and thus there is a point where it may be struck without being shaken. Such is feudal monarchy, successively modified by time, and reconciled with the degree of liberty which modern nations have attained.

The Constituent Assembly, however, had been induced to lay a restriction on this royal inviolability. The flight to Varennes, and the enterprises of the emigrants, had led it to think that the ministerial responsibility would not guarantee a nation from all the faults of royalty. It had therefore provided for the case when a monarch should put himself at the head of a hostile army to attack the constitution of the state, or else should not oppose by a *formal act* an enterprise of this nature undertaken in his name. In this case, it had declared the monarch not amenable to the ordinary laws against felony, but to have forfeited the crown. He was *deemed to have abdicated royalty*. Such is the precise language of the law which it had passed. The proposal to accept the constitution made by it to the King, and the acceptance on the part of the King, had rendered the contract irrevocable, and the Assembly had bound itself by a solemn engagement to hold sacred the person of the monarchs.

It was in the presence of such an engagement that the Convention found itself when deciding upon the fate of Louis XVI. But these new constituents, assembled under the name of Convention, did not conceive themselves to be more bound by the institutions of their predecessors, than these latter imagined themselves to be by the old institutions of feudalism. Men's minds had been hurried along with such rapidity, that the laws of 1791 appeared as absurd to the generation of 1792 as those of the thirteenth century had appeared to the generation of 1789.* The Conventionalists, therefore, did not deem themselves bound by a law which they regarded as absurd, and they declared themselves in insurrection against it, as the States-general did against that of the three orders.

As soon, therefore, as the discussion commenced, two systems were seen in decided opposition to each other. Some maintained the inviolability, others absolutely rejected it. Such had been the change of ideas that no member of the Convention durst defend the inviolability as good in itself, and even those who were in favour of it defended it solely as an anterior arrangement, the benefit of which was guaranteed to the monarch, and of which the Assembly could not dispossess him without violating a national engagement. Nay, there were but very few deputies who supported it as an engagement contracted, and the Girondins even condemned it in this point of view. They abstained, however, from taking part in the debate, and coldly watched the discussion raised between the rare partisans of inviolability and its numerous adversaries.

"In the first place," said the adversaries of inviolability, "in order that an engagement shall be binding, it is requisite that the party contracting such engagements shall have a right to bind himself. Now, the national sovereignty is inalienable, and cannot bind itself for the time to come. The nation may certainly, in stipulating the inviolability, have rendered the executive power inaccessible to the attacks of the legislative power. It is a politic precaution, the motive of which may be easily conceived, in the system of the Constituent Assembly; but, if it has rendered the King inviolable for the constituted bodies, it cannot have rendered him inviolable for itself, for it never can renounce the faculty of doing and willing anything at all

* "One of the most eminent members of the Gironde party contradicts this assertion. "It must not be dissembled," he says, "that the majority of Frenchmen desired royalty and the constitution of 1791. There were only a few noble and elevated minds who felt themselves worthy to be republicans. The rest of the nation, with the exception of the ignorant wretches, without either sense or substance, who vomited abuse against royalty, as at another time they would have done against a commonwealth, and all without knowing why—the rest of the nation were all attached to the constitution of 1791."—*Buzott's Memoirs*. E.

times. This faculty constitutes its omnipotence, which is inalienable. The nation, therefore, cannot have bound itself in regard to Louis XVI., and it cannot be met with an engagement which it had not the power to make.

"Secondly, even supposing the engagement possible, it would be requisite that it should be reciprocal. Now, it never has been so on the part of Louis XVI. That constitution, on which he now wishes to support himself, he never liked, he always protested against; he has continually laboured to destroy it, not only by internal conspiracies, but by the sword of enemies. What right has he then to avail himself of it?

"Let us even admit the engagement as possible and reciprocal, it is further requisite, in order that it should have any validity, that it be not absurd. Thus we can readily conceive the inviolability which applies to all the ostensible acts for which a minister is responsible instead of the King. For all acts of this kind there exists a guarantee in the ministerial responsibility; and inviolability, not being impunity, ceases to be absurd. But for all secret acts, such as underhand machinations, correspondence with the enemy; in short, treason, is there a minister at hand to countersign and to be responsible? And should these latter acts nevertheless pass unpunished, though the most important and the most culpable of all? This is inadmissible, and it must be acknowledged that the King, inviolable for the acts of his administration, ceases to be so for the secret and criminal acts which attack the public safety. Thus a deputy, inviolable for his legislative functions, an ambassador for his diplomatic functions, are not so for all the other acts of their private life. Inviolability, therefore, has limits, and there are points at which the person of the king ceases to be unassailable. Will it be urged that forfeiture of the throne is the penalty pronounced against perfidies for which a minister is not responsible? That is to say, is the mere privation of power the only punishment to be inflicted on the monarch for having so atrociously abused it? Shall the people whom he has betrayed, given up to the sword of foreigners, and to every scourge at once, do no more than say to him, 'Get you gone?' This would be an illusory justice, and a nation cannot fail so egregiously in its duty to itself as to leave unpunished the crime committed against its existence and its liberty.

"There is required," added the same speakers, "there is indeed required a known punishment, enacted by an anterior law, before it can be applied to a crime. But, are there not the ordinary penalties against treason? Are not these penalties alike in all codes? Is not the monarch forewarned by the morality of all ages and of all countries that treason is a crime; and by the legislature of all nations that this crime is punished with the most terrible of punishments? Besides a penal law, there must be a tribunal. But here is the sovereign nation, which unites in itself all powers, that of trying as well as that of enacting laws, and of making peace and war; here it is with its omnipotence, with its universality, and there is no function but it is capable of fulfilling. This nation is the Convention which represents it, commissioned to do everything on its behalf, to avenge, to constitute, and to save it. The Convention, then, is competent to try Louis XVI. It possesses sufficient powers. It is the most independent, the most elevated tribunal, that an accused person can choose; and, unless he needs partisans or hirelings of the enemy in order to obtain justice, the monarch cannot wish for other judges. True, he will have the same men for accusers and judges. But if, in the ordinary tribunals, exposed in a lower sphere to individual and particular causes of error, the functions are separated, and care has been taken that the accusation shall have other judges than those who have supported it, in the general council of the nation, which is placed above all individual interests and motives, the same precautions are not necessary. *The nation can do no wrong*, and the deputies who represent it partake of its inviolability and its powers.

"Thus," proceeded the adversaries of the inviolability, "the engagement contracted in 1791 being incapable of binding the national sovereignty, that engagement being without any reciprocity, and containing moreover an absurd clause, that of allowing treason to pass unpunished, is absolutely null, and Louis XVI. can be put upon his trial. With respect to the punishment, it has been known in all ages, it is specified in all laws. As for the tribunal, it is in the Convention, invested

with all the powers, legislative, executive, and judicial." These speakers therefore demanded, with the committee, that Louis XVI. should be tried; that he should be tried by the National Convention; that a statement declaratory of the acts imputed to him should be drawn up by commissioners appointed for the purpose; that he should appear personally to answer the charges; that counsel should be assigned him to defend himself; and that, immediately after he should be heard, the National Convention should pronounce judgment by putting the question to the vote.*

The defenders of the inviolability had left none of these reasons unanswered and had refuted the whole system of their adversaries.

"It is alleged," said they, "that the nation had not the power to alienate its sovereignty and to interdict itself from punishing a crime committed against itself; that the inviolability enacted in 1791 bound the legislative body alone but not the nation itself. In the first place, if it be true that the national sovereignty cannot be alienated, and that it cannot interdict itself from renewing its laws, it is likewise true that it has no power over the past. It cannot therefore make that which has been not be. It cannot prevent the laws which it has enacted from having had their effect, and that which they absolved from being absolved. It certainly can for the future declare that monarchs shall be no longer inviolable; but, with reference to the past, it cannot prevent their being so, since so it has declared them to be; it cannot, above all, break engagements contracted with third persons, towards whom it became a simple party in treating with them. Thus, then, the national sovereignty possessed the power of binding itself for a time. It determined to do so in an absolute manner, not only for the legislative body, to which it interdicted all judicial action against the King, but also for itself, for the political aim of the inviolability would have been missed, if royalty had not been placed beyond all attack whatever, on the part of the constituted authorities as well as on the part of the nation itself.

"With regard to the want of reciprocity in the execution of the engagement, that was all foreseen," argued the same speakers. "The want of fidelity to the engagement, was provided for by the engagement itself. All the modes of failing in it are comprised in one alone, the most heinous of all, war against the nation, and are punished by forfeiture, that is to say, by the dissolution of the contract between the nation and the King. The want of reciprocity is not then a reason which can release the nation from the promise of inviolability.

"The engagement being, then, real and absolute, common to the nation as to the legislative body, the want of reciprocity was foreseen, and cannot be a cause of nullity. It will be perceived, in short, that in the system of the monarchy, this engagement was not unreasonable, and that it cannot be set aside on account of absurdity. In fact, this inviolability left not, as has been asserted, any crime unpunished. The ministerial responsibility extended to all the acts, because a king can no more conspire than govern without agents, and thus public justice always had something to lay hold of. Lastly, those secret crimes, differing from the ostensible delinquencies of administration, were provided for and punished by forfeiture, for every fault on the part of the King was reduced in this legislation to the cessation of his functions. Against this it has been argued that forfeiture is no punishment, that it is only the privation of an instrument which the monarch has abused. But, in a system where the royal person was to be unassailable, the severity of the punishment was not the most important matter. The essential point was its political result, and this result was attained by the privation of power.

"Besides, was not the loss of the first throne in the world a punishment? Can a man without extreme pain lose a crown, which at his birth he found upon his head, with which he has passed his life, and under which he has been adored for twenty years? To minds bred to sovereignty is not this punishment equal to that of death? Moreover, were the punishment too mild, it is so agreeably to an express stipulation, and an insufficiency of punishment cannot be in any law a cause

* "It was by means of a chain of the most ingenious sophisms that the committee transformed the Convention into a tribunal. The party of Robespierre showed itself much more consistent, in urging only reasons of state, and rejecting forms as illusory."—*Mignet.* E.

of nullity. It is a maxim in criminal legislation that the accused ought to have the benefit of all the faults of the legislation, because the feeble and disarmed ought not to be made to suffer for the errors of the strong. Thus, then, the engagement, being demonstrated to be valid and absolute, involves nothing absurd. No impunity was stipulated in it, and treason was to find its punishment. There is no reason then to recur to the law of nature or to the nation, since the forfeiture is already pronounced by an anterior law. This penalty the King has undergone, without any tribunal to pronounce it, and according to the only possible form, that of a national insurrection. As he is dethroned at this moment, beyond all possibility of acting, France can do nothing more against him, than take measures of police for his safety. Let her banish him from her territory for her own security; let her detain him, if she will, till the peace; or let her suffer him to remain in her bosom! to become a man again, by the practice of private life. That is all she ought to do—all she can do. There is no occasion, then, to constitute a tribunal, to inquire into the competence of the Convention. On the 10th of August all was accomplished for Louis XVI. On the 10th of August, he ceased to be King. On the 10th of August, he was tried, sentenced, deposed, and all was consummated between him and the nation."

Such was the answer with which the advocates of the inviolability met their adversaries. The national sovereignty being understood as people then understood it, their answers were victorious, and all the arguments of the committee of legislation were but laboured sophisms, without frankness and without truth.

The reader has just seen what was said on both sides in the regular discussion. But from the agitation of minds and passions sprang another system and another opinion. At the Jacobins, in the ranks of the Mountain, people already asked if there was any need for a discussion, for sentence, for forms, in short, in order to rid themselves of what they called a tyrant, taken with arms in his hand, and spilling the blood of the nation. This opinion found a terrible organ in the young St. Just,* a cold and austere fanatic, who at the age of twenty was devising a perfectly ideal state of society, in which absolute equality, simplicity, austerity, and an indestructible force should reign. Long before the 10th of August, he had brooded in the recesses of his gloomy mind over this supernatural society, and he had arrived through fanaticism at that extremity of human opinions, to which Robespierre had arrived solely by dint of hatred. New to the Revolution, upon which he had scarcely entered, as yet a stranger to all its struggles, to all its wrongs, to all its crimes, ranged in the party of the Mountain by the violence of his opinions, delighting the Jacobins by the boldness of his sentiments, captivating the Convention by his talents, still he had not yet acquired popular reputation. His ideas, always favourably received, but not always comprehended, had not their full effect till they had become, through the plagiarisms of Robespierre, more common, more clear, and more declamatory.

He spoke after Morisson, the most zealous of the advocates for the inviolability; and without employing personalities against his adversaries, because he had not yet had time to contract personal enmities, he appeared at first to be indignant only at the meanness of the Assembly and the quibblers of the discussion. "What," said he, "you, the committee, his adversaries, are laboriously seeking forms for the

* "St. Just was austere in manners, like Robespierre, but more enthusiastic; and the image of a thousand religious or political fanatics, who, being of a gloomy temperament, and full of visionary aspirations, think that good is always to be worked out of evil, and are ready to sacrifice themselves and the whole world to any scheme they have set their minds upon. St Just was nicknamed the Apocalyptic."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"St. Just exhibited the true features of gloomy fanaticism; a regular visage, dark and lank hair, a penetrating and severe look, a melancholy expression of countenance, revived the image of those desperate Scottish enthusiasts of whom modern genius has drawn so graphic a picture. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, austere in private, and indefatigable in public, St. Just was the most resolute, because the most sincere, of the Decemvirs. Enthusiastic in his passion for the multitude, he disdained to imitate its vices, or pander to its desires. Steeled against every sentiment of pity, he demanded the execution of victims in the same manner as the supply of armies."—*Alison.* E.

purpose of trying the *ci-devant* King! You are striving to make a citizen of him, to raise him to that quality, that you may find laws which are applicable to him! And I, on the contrary, I say that the King is not a citizen, that he ought to be tried as an enemy, that we have rather to fight than to try him, and that, telling for nothing in the contract which unites the French, the forms of the proceedings are not in the civil law, but in *the law of nations*."

Thus, then, St. Just discovered in the proceedings not a question of justice but a question of war. "Try a king like a citizen!" he exclaimed: "that word will astonish cool posterity. To try is to apply the law; a law is a relation of justice; what relation of justice is there, then, between humanity and kings?

"To reign is of itself a crime, a usurpation, which nothing can absolve, which a nation is culpable in suffering, and against which every man has an entirely personal right. It is impossible to reign innocently. The madness of the thing is too great. This usurpation ought to be treated as kings themselves treat that of their pretended authority. Was not the memory of Cromwell brought to trial for having usurped the authority of Charles I.? And assuredly one was no more a usurper than the other; for, when a nation is so base as to suffer itself to be ruled by tyrants, domination is the right of the first comer, and is not more sacred, more legitimate, on the head of one, than on that of the other!"

Passing to the question of forms, St. Just discovered in it only fresh and inconsistent errors. Forms in the trial are but hypocrisy. It is not the mode of procedure which has justified all the recorded vengeance of nations against kings; but the right of force against force.

"Some day," said he, "people will be astonished that we, in the 18th century, were less advanced than the Romans in the time of Cæsar. Then the tyrant was immolated in full senate, without any other formality than twenty-three dagger wounds, and without any other law than the liberty of Rome. And now we set most respectfully about the trial of a man, the assassin of the people, taken in the very fact!"

Considering the question in a different point of view, without any reference to Louis XVI., St. Just inveighed against subtle arguments and nice distinctions, which were injurious, he said, to great things. The life of Louis XVI. was nothing. It was the mind which his judges were going to give proof of that alarmed him. It was the measure which they were about to furnish of themselves that struck him. "The men who are going to try Louis have a republic to found, and those who attach any importance to the just punishment of a king will never found a republic. . . . Since the presentation of the report, a certain wavering has manifested itself. Each approaches the trial of the King with his own particular views. Some seem apprehensive of having hereafter to pay the penalty of their courage; others have not renounced monarchy; these dread an example of virtue which would be a bond of unity.

"We all judge each other with severity. I will even say with fury. We think only how to modify the energy of the people and of liberty; while the common enemy is scarcely accused; and all, either filled with weakness or steeped in crime, look at one another before they venture to strike the first blow.

"Citizens, if the Roman people, after six hundred years of virtue and hatred of kings, if Great Britain after Cromwell's death, beheld kings restored in spite of their energy, what ought not the good citizens, the friends of liberty, among us to fear, on seeing the axe quivering in our hands, and a nation on the very first day of its liberty respecting the memory of its fetters? What republic will you establish amidst our private quarrels and our common weaknesses! I shall never cease to bear in mind that the spirit in which the King is tried will be the same as that in which the republic shall be established. The measure of your philosophy in this judgment will be also the measure of your liberty in the constitution!"

There were, however, minds which, less tinctured with fanaticism than that of St. Just, strove to place themselves in a less false position, and to bring the Assembly to consider things in a more just point of view. "Look," said Rouzet, "at the real situation of the King in the constitution of 1791. He was placed in

presence of the national representation for the purpose of being a rival to it. Was it not natural that he should seek to recover as much as possible of the power which he had lost? Was it not you who threw open to him these lists, and called him to battle there with the legislative power? Well, then, in these lists he has been vanquished. He is alone, disarmed, trampled under foot by twenty-five millions of men, and would these twenty-five millions of men be guilty of such unprofitable baseness as to immolate the conquered? Moreover," added Rouzet, "has not Louis XVI. repressed in his bosom, more than any sovereign in the world, that everlasting love of rule, a feeling which fills the hearts of all men? Did he not make, in 1789, a voluntary sacrifice of part of his authority? Has he not renounced part of the prerogatives which his predecessors permitted themselves to exercise? Has he not abolished servitude in his dominions? Has he not called to his councils philosophic ministers, and even those empirics whom the public voice designated to him? Has he not convoked the States-general, and restored to the third estate a portion of its rights?"

Fauve, deputy of the Seine-Inférieure, had displayed still greater boldness. Referring to the conduct of Louis XVI., he had ventured to awaken the recollection of it. "The will of the people," said he, "might have dealt severely with Titus as well as with Nero, and it might have found crimes in him, were they but those committed before Jerusalem. But where are those which you impute to Louis XVI.? I have paid the utmost attention to the papers that have been read against him; I find in them nothing but the weakness of a man who suffers himself to be led away by all the hopes held out to him of recovering his former authority; and I maintain that all the monarchs who died in their beds were more culpable than he. The good Louis XII. himself, in sacrificing fifty thousand Frenchmen in Italy, for his own private quarrel, was a thousand times more criminal. Civil list, *veto*, choice of ministers, women, relatives, courtiers—here are Caput's seducers! And what seducers! I appeal to Aristides, Epictetus—let them say if their firmness would have been proof against such trials. It is on the hearts of frail mortals that I found my principles or my errors. Exalt yourselves, then, to all the greatness of the national sovereignty. Conceive all the magnanimity that ought to comport with such power. Summon Louis XVI., not as a criminal, but as a Frenchman, and say to him, Those who once lifted thee upon the shield and called thee their king, now set thee down; thou hast promised to be their father, and thou hast not been such. . . . Make amends by thy virtues as a citizen for the conduct which thou hast pursued as a king."

In the extraordinary exaltation of men's minds, each was led to consider the question under different bearings. Fauchet,* the constitutional priest, who had gained celebrity in 1789 for having used in the pulpit the language of the Revolution, asked if society had a right to inflict the punishment of death. "Has society," said he, "a right to deprive a man of life which it has not given to him. It is its duty, undoubtedly, to provide for its own conservation; but is it true that it cannot do so but by the death of the criminal? And if it can do it by other means, has it not a right to employ them? In this cause," added he, "more than in any other, this truth is peculiarly applicable. What! is it for the public interest, for the invigoration of the nascent republic, that you would sacrifice Louis XVI.? But is his whole family to perish by the same stroke that is to fall upon him? According to the system of hereditary succession, does not one king immediately step into the place of another! Will you release yourselves by the death of Louis XVI. from the rights to which a whole family deems itself entitled by a possession of several centuries? The destruction of one only is therefore useless. On the contrary, let the present head, who shuts the door to all others, continue to live. Let him live with the hatred which he excites in all aristocrats for his vacillation and his

* "Cl. Fauchet, a priest, born at Dorne, embraced the principles of the Revolution with eagerness, and distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille, where he appeared at the head of the assailants with a sabre in his hand. At the time of Louis's trial, he declared that he had indeed deserved death, but that, nevertheless, he ought to be saved. Fauchet was condemned to death as a Girondin, in his forty-ninth year."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

concessions. Let him live with the reputation of his weakness, with the debasement of his defeat, and you will have less to fear from him than from any other. Let this dethroned King wander through the vast extent of your republic, without that train which attended him in the days of his grandeur; show how insignificant a king is when reduced to his own person; manifest a profound disdain for the remembrance of what he was, and that remembrance will no longer be a subject of apprehension: you will have given a great lesson to mankind; you will have done more for the security and the instruction of the republic, than by spilling blood which does not belong to you. As for the son of Louis XVI.," proceeded Fauchet, "if he can become a man we will make him a citizen, like young Egalité. He shall fight for the republic, and we shall have no fear that a single soldier of liberty will ever second him, if he should be mad enough to think of turning a traitor to the country. Let us thus show other nations that we are afraid of nothing; let us prevail on them to follow our example; let altogether form a European congress, let them depose their sovereigns, let them send those contemptible creatures to drag on their obscure lives in wandering through the republics, and let them even allow them small pensions, for those beings are so destitute of faculties, that necessity itself would not teach them to earn their bread. Set, then, this great example of the abolition of a barbarous punishment. Suppress that iniquitous way of spilling blood, and, above all, wean the people from the habit of spilling it. Strive to allay in them that thirst which perverse men would fain excite, in order to make it subservient to the overthrow of the republic. Remember that barbarous men are demanding of you one hundred and fifty thousand more heads, and that, after you have granted them that of the *ci-devant* King, you will not have it in your power to refuse them any. Prevent crimes which would agitate for a long time the bosom of the republic, dishonour liberty, retard its progress, and prove a bar to the acceleration of the happiness of the world."

This discussion had lasted from the 13th to the 30th of November, and had excited general agitation. Those whose imaginations were not entirely swayed by the new order of things, and who still retained some recollection of 1789, of the benevolence of the monarch, and of the affection that had been felt for him, could not comprehend how it was that this King, suddenly transformed into a tyrant, should be consigned to the scaffold. Admitting even his secret concert with foreigners, they imputed this fault to his weakness, to the persons around him, to the invincible fondness for hereditary power; and they were shocked at the idea of an ignominious punishment. They durst not, however, openly take up the defence of Louis XVI. The danger to which the country had been exposed by the invasion of the Prussians, and the opinion generally entertained that the court had brought them upon the frontiers, had excited an irritation, the effects of which fell upon the unfortunate monarch, and which nobody durst condemn. They contented themselves with opposing in a general manner those who demanded vengeance. They characterized them as the instigators of disturbances, as Septembrisers, who wanted to cover France with blood and ruins. Without defending Louis XVI. by name, they recommended moderation towards fallen enemies, and vigilance against an hypocritical energy, which, while appearing to defend the republic by executions, sought only to rule it by terror, or to compromise it with the rest of Europe. The Girondins had not yet spoken. Their opinion was surmised rather than known, and the Mountain, in order to have occasion to accuse them, asserted that they wished to save Louis XVI. They were, however, undecided in this cause. On the one hand, rejecting the inviolability, and regarding Louis XVI. as the accomplice of foreign invasion; on the other, moved by the sight of a great misfortune, and inclined on every occasion to oppose the violence of their adversaries; they knew not what course to steer, and maintained an equivocal and threatening silence.

Another question at this moment agitated people's minds, and produced not less perturbation than the preceding. It related to the supply of provisions, which had been a great cause of discord in all the epochs of the Revolution.

We have already seen what uneasiness and what trouble this subject had caused to Bailly and Necker, at its commencement in 1789. The same difficulties had

recurred, but with increased urgency, at the conclusion of 1792, and had been attended with the most dangerous disturbances. The stagnation of trade in all articles not of the first necessity may certainly be injurious to industry, and eventually to the labouring classes; but when corn, the prime necessary of life, becomes scarce, distress and disturbance immediately ensue. Accordingly, the old police had, in the list of its duties, ranked attention to the supply of the markets as one of the objects that most concerned the public tranquillity.

The corn crop in 1792 was not a bad one; but the harvest had been retarded by the weather, and the thrashing of the grain delayed by want of hands. The great cause of the scarcity, however, was to be sought elsewhere. In 1792, as in 1789, the state of insecurity, the fear of pillage by the way, and the extortions in the markets, had prevented the farmers from bringing their commodities. An outcry was instantly raised against forestalling. People inveighed most bitterly against the wealthy farmers, whom they called aristocrats, and whose too extensive farms ought, they said, to be divided. The greater the irritation expressed against them, the less they were disposed to show themselves in the markets, and the more the dearth increased. The assignats had likewise contributed to produce it. Many farmers, who sold merely for the purpose of hoarding, disliked to accumulate a variable paper, and preferred keeping their corn. As, moreover, corn daily became scarce, and assignats more abundant, the disproportion between the sign and the thing kept constantly increasing, and the dearth became more and more sensibly felt. By an accident common in all kinds of scarcity, precaution being augmented by fear, every one wished to lay in supplies; families, the municipalities, the government, made considerable purchases, and rendered provisions still scarcer and dearer. In Paris especially, the municipality committed a very serious and a very old blunder. It bought up corn in the neighbouring departments, and sold it under the regular price, with the twofold intention of relieving the lower classes and increasing its popularity. The consequence was that the dealers, ruined by this new rivalry, withdrew from the market, and the country-people, attracted by the low price, came and absorbed part of the supplies which the police had collected at great cost. These vicious measures, resulting from false economical ideas, and from an excessive ambition of popularity, were destructive to trade, more necessary in Paris than in any other place, and where it is requisite to accumulate a greater quantity of corn in a small space than anywhere else. The causes of the dearth were, therefore, very numerous; namely, terror, which drove the farmers from the markets, the rise in price occasioned by the assignats, the mania for laying in stores of provisions, and the interference of the Parisian municipality, which injured trade by its powerful competition.

In such difficulties, it is easy to guess what course would be pursued by the two classes of men who divided between them the sovereignty of France. The violent spirits, who were for putting down all opposition by destroying the opposers; who, in order to prevent the conspiracies which they dreaded, had sacrificed all those whom they suspected of being adverse to themselves—such spirits could think of only one way of putting an end to the dearth, and that again was force. They proposed that the farmers should be roused from their inertness, that they should be compelled to attend the markets, and there sell their commodities at a price fixed by the communes; that the corn should not be removed from the spot, or go to be stowed away in the granaries of what were called the forestallers. They insisted therefore on forced presence in the markets, a fixed price or *maximum*, the prohibition of all circulation, and lastly, the obedience of commerce to their desires, not from the ordinary motive of profit, but from the fear of punishments and death.

Men of moderate sentiments proposed, on the contrary, that the administration should leave commerce to resume its course, by dispelling the fears of the farmers, by allowing them to fix their own prices, by offering them the inducement of a free, sure, and advantageous exchange, and by permitting the circulation from one department to another, in order to accommodate those which grew no corn. They thus proscribed a fixed price and prohibitions of every kind, and demanded, with

the economists, the complete freedom of the trade in corn throughout all France. On the suggestion of Barbaroux, who was conversant in such matters, they recommended that exportation to foreign countries should be subjected to a duty, which should increase whenever the prices rose, and which would thus act as a check upon the sending of corn abroad at those times when it was most wanted at home. They demanded administrative interference solely for the establishment of certain markets, destined for extraordinary cases. They were for employing severity against such riotous persons only as should molest the farmers on the high roads and in the markets. Lastly, they proscribed the use of punishments in regard to trade; for fear may be a medium of repression, but it is never a medium of action; it paralyzes men, but it never encourages them.

When a party becomes master in a state, it becomes the government, forms its wishes, and contracts its prejudices; it wishes to advance all things, at any price, and to employ force as the universal medium. Hence it was that the ardent friends of liberty had the predilection of all governments for prohibitive systems, and that they found adversaries in those who, more moderate, desired liberty not only in the end but in the means, and claimed security for their enemies, deliberation in the forms of justice, and absolute freedom of commerce.

The Girondins, therefore, were advocates of all the systems devised by speculative minds against official tyranny. But these new economists, instead of encountering, as formerly, a government ashamed of itself and always condemned by public opinion, found minds intoxicated with the idea of the public welfare, and which believed that force employed for this end was but the energy of virtue.

This discussion led to another subject of severe reproaches. Roland daily accused the commune of wasting money in the purchase of provisions, and of increasing the dearth at Paris, by reducing the prices out of a vain ambition of popularity. The party of the Mountain answered Roland by accusing him of misapplying considerable sums granted to his office for the purchase of corn, of being the chief of the forestallers, and of making himself the real dictator of France, by getting into his hands the whole stock of the prime necessaries of life.

While this subject was under discussion in the Assembly, the inhabitants of certain departments, particularly in that of the Eure and Loire, were in a state of insurrection. The country people, excited by the want of bread, and by the instigations of the *curés*, upbraided the convention with being the cause of all their sufferings, and, while they complained that it would not fix a *maximum* price for corn, it accused it at the same time of an intention to overthrow religion. It was Cambon who furnished occasion for the latter charge. A passionate hunter after savings, which did not bear upon the war department, he had declared that the expense of the church establishment should be suppressed, and that *those who wanted mass might pay for it.* Accordingly, the insurgents failed not to say that religion was undone, and, from a singular contradiction, they reproached the Convention on the one hand with moderation on the subject of provisions, and on the other with violence in regard to the church.

Two members, sent by the Convention, found in the neighbourhood of Courville an assemblage of several thousand peasants, armed with pitchforks and fowling-pieces, and to save their lives they were obliged to sign an order fixing the price of grain. Their compliance was censured by the Convention. It declared that they ought to have suffered death, and annulled the order which they had signed. The armed force was sent to disperse the rioters. Thus did the disturbances in the West commence, owing to want and attachment to religion.

On the motion of Danton, the Assembly, in order to appease the people of the West, declared that it had no intention to abolish religion; but it persisted in rejecting the *maximum.* Thus, still firm amid storms, and preserving a sufficient freedom of mind, the majority of the Convention declared for liberty of commerce against the prohibitory systems. If we then consider what was passing in the armies, in the administrations, and in respect of the trial of Louis XVI., we shall behold a terrible and a singular spectacle. Hotheaded enthusiasts wanted to renew *in toto* the composition of the armies and the administrations, in order to

turn out of them such as were lukewarm or suspected; they wanted to employ force against commerce, to prevent it from standing still, and to wreak terrible vengeance for the purpose of daunting all enemies. Moderate men, on the other hand, were afraid of disorganizing the armies by renewing them, of ruining commerce by using constraint, of revolting minds by employing terror; but their adversaries were irritated even by these fears, and were still more enthusiastically bent on their scheme for renewing, forcing, and punishing, without exception. Such was the spectacle presented at this moment by the left against the right side of the Convention.*

* Here is the picture of the two sides of the Convention, drawn by Garat, the acutest observer we have had of the actors in the Revolution :

"To this side of the Convention almost all the men of whom I have been just speaking belonged: I could never discover in them any other spirit than that which I had known in them. There I saw, then, both that republicanism of sentiment which does not consent to obey any man, unless that man speaks *in the name* of the nation, and *as* the law itself, and that much more rare republicanism of thought, which has taken to pieces and put together again all the springs of the organization of a society of men, alike in rights as in nature; which has found out by what happy and profound contrivance it is possible to associate in a great republic what appears inassociable—equality and submission to the magistrates, the agitation fertile in minds and souls, and a constant, immutable order; a government, whose power shall always be absolute over individuals and over the multitude, and always submissive to the nation; and executive power, whose show and forms of useful splendour shall always awaken ideas of the splendour of the republic, and newer ideas of the greatness of a person.

"On this same side I beheld seated the men best acquainted with those doctrines of political economy, which teach how to open and to enlarge all the channels of private and of national wealth; how to combine the public revenue with the precise portions due to it from the fortune of every citizen; how to create new sources and new rivers for private fortunes by a good use of what they have poured into the coffers of the republic; how to protect and to leave unshackled all the branches of industry, without favouring any; how to regard great properties, not as those sterile lakes which absorb and retain all the waters poured by the mountains into their bosom, but as reservoirs necessary for multiplying and cherishing the germs of universal fecundity, for the purpose of diffusing them farther and farther over all those places which would otherwise be left dry and sterile—admirable doctrines, which introduced liberty into the arts and commerce before it existed in governments, but peculiarly adapted by their essence to the essence of republics, alone capable of giving a solid foundation to *equality*, not in a general *frugality* which is always violated, and which shackles desires much less than industry, but in a universal opulence, in those labours, whose ingenious variety and continual revival can alone absorb, happily for liberty, that turbulent activity of democracies, which, after it had long agitated, at length swept away the ancient republics amidst the storms and tempests in which their atmosphere was constantly enveloped.

"On the right side, there wers five or six men whose genius was capable of conceiving those grand theories of social and of economic order, and a great number whose understandings could comprehend and diffuse them. On that side, too, were ranged a certain number of spirits, in times past extremely impetuous, extremely violent, but who, having run the entire round of their demagogic extravagances, aspired only to disavow and to combat the follies which they had propagated. There also sat, as the pious kneel at the foot of the altar, those men whom mild passions, a decent fortune, and an education which had not been neglected, disposed to honour with all the private virtues that republic which permitted them to enjoy their repose, their easy benevolence, and their happiness.

"On turning my eyes from this right side to the left, on casting them upon the Mountain, what a contrast struck me! There I saw a man agitating himself with all possible emotions, whose face, of a copper-yellow hue, made him look as if he had issued from the blood-stained caves of cannibals, or from the scorching threshold of hell; a man whom, by his convulsive, abrupt, and unequal gait, you recognised as one of those murderers who had escaped from the executioner but not from the furies, and who seem desirous of annihilating the human race, to spare themselves the dread which the sight of every man excites in them. Under despotism, which he had not covered with blood as he had liberty, this man had cherished the ambition of producing a revolution in the sciences; and he had attacked, in systems more daring than ingenious, the greatest discoveries of modern times and of the human mind. His eyes, roving through the history of ages, had dwelt upon the lives of four or five great exterminators who converted cities into deserts, for the purpose of repeopling those deserts with a race formed in their own image or in that of tigers; this was all that he had retained of the annals of nations, all that he knew and that he cared to imitate. From an instinct resembling that of ravenous beasts rather than from any deep vein of perversity, he had perceived into how many follies and crimes it is possible to lead an immense people, whose religious and political chains have just been broken. This is the idea which dictated all his writings, all his

The sitting of the 30th had been very stormy, owing to the complaints of Roland against the misconduct of the municipality in regard to provisions, and to the report of the commissioners sent into the department of Eure and Loire. Everything is recollected at once when a person commences the catalogue of his grievances. On the one hand mention had been made of the massacres, and of the inflammatory publications; on the other, of the vacillation, the relics of royalism, and the delays opposed to the national vengeance. Marat had spoken and excited a general murmur. Robespierre commenced a speech amidst the noise. "He was about to propose," he said, "a more effective medium than any other for restoring the public tranquillity, a medium which would bring back impartiality and concord amidst the Assembly, which would impose silence on all libellers, on all the authors of placards, and sweep away their calumnies."—"What is it?" inquired a member, "what is this medium?"—Robespierre resumed. "It is to condemn to-morrow the tyrant of the French to suffer the penalty of his crimes, and thus to destroy the rallying-point of all the conspirators. The next day you will decide what is to be done in the matter of provisions, and on the following, you will lay the foundations of a free constitution."

This manner, at once emphatic and astute, of proclaiming the means of national

words, all his actions. And he fell but by the dagger of a woman! and more than fifteen thousand images of him were set up throughout republic!

"Beside him were seated men who would not, themselves, have conceived such atrocities, but who, thrown along with him, by an act of extreme audacity into events whose height turned them dizzy, and whose dangers made them shudder, while disavowing the maxims of the monster, had perhaps already followed them, and were not sorry that it should be feared that they could follow them still. They abhorred Marat, but they did not abhor making use of him. They placed him in their midst, they put him in their van, they bore him, as it were, upon their breast, like a head of Medusa. As the horror of such a man was everywhere, you fancied that you perceived him everywhere; you almost imagined that he was the whole Mountain, or that the whole Mountain was, as it were, he. Among the leaders, in fact, there were several who found no other fault with the misdeeds of Marat but that they were too undisguised.

"But among these leaders—and here nothing but truth makes me differ in opinion from many worthy men—among these leaders themselves were a great number of persons who, connected with others by events much more than by their sentiments, turned their eyes and their regrets towards wisdom and humanity; who would have had many virtues, and might have rendered many services at the moment when they should have begun to be thought capable of them. To the Mountain repaired, as to military posts, those who had much passion for liberty and little theory, those who deemed equality threatened or even violated by grandeur of ideas and elegance of language; those who, elected in hamlets and in workshops, could not recognise a republican in any other costume than that which they wore themselves; those who, entering for the first time upon the career of the Revolution, had to signalize that impetuosity and that violence in which the glory of almost all the great revolutionists began; those who, still young, and better qualified to serve the republic in the field than in the sanctuary of the laws, having seen the republic start into existence amid the crash of thunder, conceived that it was with the crash of thunder that it ought to maintain itself and promulgate its decrees. On this side also several of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a seat, who, having been brought up in the proscribed castes of the nobility and the priesthood, though always pure, were always liable to suspicions, and fled to the top of the Mountain from the charge of not attaining the height of principles. Thither repaired, to feed their suspicions and to live among phantoms, those austere and melancholy characters who, having too frequently seen falsehood united with politeness, believe in virtue only when it is gloomy, and in liberty when it is wild. There range themselves some of those minds who had borrowed from the exact sciences stiffness at the same time with rectitude, who, proud of possessing knowledge immediately applicable to the mechanical arts, were glad to separate themselves by their place as well as by their disdain from those scholars, those philosophers, whose acquirements are not so promptly beneficial to the weaver or to the smith, and do not reach individuals until they have enlightened society in general. There, lastly, those liked to vote, whatever might be in other respects their sentiments and their talents, who, from the springs of their character being too tightly wound up, were disposed to go beyond rather than to fall short of the limit that it was necessary to set to revolutionary energy and enthusiasm.

"Such was the idea which I formed of the *elements* of the two sides of the National Convention.

"To judge of each side from the majority of its elements, both appeared to me capable of rendering, in different ways and degrees, great services to the republic: the right side for organizing the interior with wisdom and grandeur; the left, for infusing from their own souls into the souls of all Frenchmen those republican and popular passions so necessary to a nation assailed on all sides by the league of kings and the soldiery of Europe."

salvation, and of making them consist in a measure opposed by the right side, roused the Girondins, and forced them to speak out on the great question of the trial. "You talk of the King," said Buzot; "the fault of the disturbances lies at the door of those who wished to step into his place. When the time comes for expressing my sentiments concerning his fate, I shall do it with the severity which he has deserved; but that is not the question now. The question before us relates to the disturbances, and they proceed from anarchy. Anarchy proceeds from non-execution of the laws. The non-execution of the laws will subsist so long as the Convention shall do nothing to insure order." Legendre* immediately succeeded Buzot, conjured his colleagues to abstain from all personality, and to direct their attention exclusively to the public welfare and the disturbances, which, having no other object than to save the King, would cease when he should be no more. He proposed, therefore, to the Assembly to direct that the opinions drawn up respecting the trial should be laid upon the bureau, printed, and sent to all the members, and that they should then decide whether Louis XVI. ought to be tried, without wasting time in hearing too long speeches. Jean-Bon-St.-André,† exclaimed that there was not even need for these preliminary questions; and that all they had to do, was to pronounce immediately the condemnation and the form of the execution. The Convention at length adopted Legendre's proposal and decreed that all the speeches should be printed. The discussion was adjourned to the 3d of December.

On the 3d there were calls from all quarters for the putting upon trial, the drawing up of the act of accusation, and the determination of the forms according to which the proceedings were to be conducted. Robespierre asked leave to speak, and though it had been decided that all the opinions should be printed and not read, yet he obtained permission, because he meant to speak not concerning the proceedings, but against any proceedings at all, and for a condemnation without trial.

He insisted that to commence a process was to open a deliberation; that to admit of deliberation was to admit of doubt, and even of a solution favourable to the accused. Now, to make the guilt of Louis XVI. problematical was to accuse the Parisians, the federalists; in short, all the patriots who had achieved the Revolution of the 10th of August. It was to absolve Louis XVI., the aristocrats, the foreign powers, and their manifestoes. It was, in one word, to declare royalty innocent, and the republic guilty.

"Observe, too," continued Robespierre, "what audacity the enemies of liberty have acquired since you have proposed to yourselves this doubt. In the month of August last, the King's partisans hid themselves. Whoever had dared to undertake his apology would have been punished as a traitor. . . Now, they lift up their audacious heads with impunity; now, insolent writings inundate Paris and the departments; armed men, men brought within these walls, unknown to you and contrary to the laws, have made this city ring with seditious cries, and are demanding the impunity of Louis XVI. All that you have left to do is to throw open this

* "The revolutionary life of Legendre is more original than one would suppose, when considered from the time of his connexion with the Lameths. His drinking tea at the house of Mirabeau and Robert of Paris, with Orleans; the twenty or thirty soldiers whom he received at his house; his intimacy with Marat and Danton; his behaviour on the death of the latter; the part he played in the Mountaineer faction and the Jacobin society; the defence he would have afforded Robespierre by interposing his own body; and his fetching the keys to shut up the hall of the Jacobins,—form a string of events which show a man not wholly incapable, and of singular versatility of character."—*Prudhomme.* E.

† "Jean-Bon-Saint-André, a Protestant minister, and deputy to the Convention, declared against an appeal to the people on the King's trial, and voted for his death. He was one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety during the reign of the Mountain, and took possession of the marine department. Being despatched on a mission to Brest, he filled the prisons; put the public authorities into the hands of the Jacobins; admitted all the galley-slaves to depose against the soldiers and the citizens; and caused the erection of two permanent guillotines. He also converted two of the churches into temples of Reason. He was afterwards present, in the French fleet, at the celebrated battle of the First of June, in which Lord Howe was victorious; and, being slightly wounded, withdrew into a frigate, where he remained in the hold to have his wound dressed. In the time of the consulate, Saint-André was made prefect of the department of Mont Tonnerre."—*Bibliographie Moderne.* E.

place to those who are already canvassing for the honour of defending him. What do I say?—this very day Louis divides the representatives of the people. They are speaking for or against him. Two months ago, who could have suspected that here the question would be raised whether he is inviolable? But," added Robespierre, "since citizen Petion has submitted as a serious question, and one that ought to be separately discussed, the question whether the King could be tried, the doctrines of the Constituent Assembly have again made their appearance here. O crime! O shame! The tribune of the French people has rung with the panegyric of Louis XVI.! We have heard the virtues and the beneficence of the tyrant extolled. While we have had the greatest difficulty to screen the best citizens from the injustice of a precipitate decision, the cause of the tyrant alone is so sacred that it cannot be discussed either at too great length or with too much freedom! If we may credit his apologists, the trial will last several months; it will continue till next spring, when the despots are to make a general attack upon us. And what a career opened to conspirators! . . . what food given to intrigue and aristocracy! . .

"Just Heaven! the ferocious hordes of despotism are preparing to rend afresh the bosom of our country in the name of Louis XVI.! Louis XVI. is still fighting against us from the recesses of his prison, and we doubt whether he is guilty, whether it is right to treat him as an enemy! We ask what are the laws which condemn him! We invoke the constitution in his behalf! The constitution forbade what you have done; if he could be punished by deposition only, you could not have pronounced it without trying him; you have no right to keep him in prison; he has a right to demand damages and his enlargement. The constitution condemns you. Throw yourselves at the feet of Louis and implore his clemency!"

These declamations, full of gall, which contained nothing that St. Just had not already said, nevertheless produced a profound sensation in the Assembly, which was for coming to an immediate determination. Robespierre had demanded that Louis XVI. should be tried forthwith; but Petion and several other members insisted that before the form of the proceedings was fixed, the putting upon trial should at least be pronounced; for that, they asserted, was an indispensable preliminary, with whatever celerity they might wish that proceeding to be carried through. Robespierre desired to speak again, and seemed determined to be heard; but his insolence was offensive, and he was forbidden the tribune. The Assembly at length (December 3d) passed the following decree:

"The National Convention declares that Louis XVI. shall be tried by it."

On the 4th the forms of the trial were taken into consideration. Buzot, who had heard a great deal said about royalism, claimed permission to speak upon a motion of order, and to obviate, as he said, all suspicion, he demanded the punishment of death against any one who should propose the re-establishment of royalty in France. Such are the means frequently adopted by parties to prove that they are incapable of what is laid to their charge. This useless motion was hailed with numerous plaudits; but the party of the Mountain, who, according to their system, ought not to have offered any impediment, opposed it out of spleen. Bazire desired to be heard against it. Cries of *Vote! Vote!* ensued. Philipeaux, joining Bazire, proposed that they should not attend to any other subject than Louis XVI. and that they should hold a permanent sitting till his trial was over. It was then asked what motive the opposers of Buzot's proposition had for rejecting it, for there was none who could regret royalty. Lejeune replied that it was reviving a question which had been decided at the time when royalty was abolished. "But," said Rewbel,* "the point under consideration is the addition of a penal clause to

* "Rewbel, born at Colmar in 1746, chief of the barristers in the supreme council of Alsace, was long the agent of several German princes who had possessions in Alsace, and afterwards undertook different causes against them, which at the time of the Revolution, he represented as a mark of patriotism. In 1791 he presided in the National Assembly, and next to Robespierre, was the member who most plainly showed his desire for a republic. In the following year he earnestly pressed the King's trial, and demanded that the Queen should be included in the same decree of accusation. Rewbel took care to keep in the back-ground during the stormiest period of Robes-

the decree of abolition. It is not therefore reviving a question which has already been decided."

Merlin, more clumsy than his predecessors, moved an amendment and proposed to make one exception to the punishment of death, namely, in case the proposal for the re-establishment of royalty should be brought forward in the primary assemblies. At these words cries arose from all quarters. "There!" it was said, "the secret is out! They want a king, but one taken from among the primary assemblies, from which Marat, Robespierre, and Danton have sprung." Merlin endeavoured to justify himself by alleging that he meant to pay homage to the sovereignty of the people. He was silenced by being told that he was a royalist, and it was proposed to call him to order. Guadet, with an insincerity which the most honourable men sometimes carry into a rancorous debate, insisted that the Assembly ought to respect the freedom of opinion, to which it owed the discovery of an important secret, and which furnished a key to a great machination. "The Assembly," he added, "ought not to regret having heard this amendment, which demonstrates to it that a new despotism was intended to succeed the despotism which had been destroyed, and we ought to thank Merlin instead of calling him to order." An explosion of murmurs succeeded the speech of Guadet. Bazire, Merlin, Robespierre, cried out against calumny; and it is quite true that the charge of a design to substitute a plebeian king instead of the dethroned monarch, was just as absurd as that of federalism preferred against the Girondins. The Assembly at length decreed the penalty of death against any one who should propose the restoration of royalty in France under any denomination whatever.

The consideration of the forms of the trial and the proposal for a permanent sitting was then resumed. Robespierre again insisted that judgment should be immediately pronounced. Petion, still victorious through the support of the majority, induced the Assembly to determine that the sitting should not be permanent, that the judgment should not be instantaneous, but that, setting aside all other business, the Assembly should devote its exclusive attention to this subject from eleven till six o'clock every day.

The following days were occupied by the reading of the papers found at Laporte's, and others more recently discovered in the palace in a secret closet which the King had directed to be constructed in a wall. The door was of iron, whence it was afterwards known by the name of the *iron chest*. The workman employed to construct it, gave information of the circumstance to Roland, who, being anxious to ascertain the truth of the statement, had the imprudence to hasten to the spot unaccompanied by witnesses selected from the Assembly, which gave his enemies occasion to assert that he had abstracted some of the papers.* There Roland found all the documents relative to the communications which the court had held with the emigrants and with different members of the assemblies. The negociations with Mirabeau were there detailed, and the memory of the great orator was about to be proscribed, when, at the suggestion of Manuel, his passionate admirer, the committee of public instruction was directed to make a more minute examination of those documents. A commission was afterwards appointed to draw up from these papers a declaration of the facts imputed to Louis XVI. This declaration when prepared was to be submitted to the approval of the Assembly. Louis XVI. was then to appear in person at the bar of the Convention, and to be interrogated by the president upon every article of the declaration. After this examination, two days were to be allowed for his defence, and on the following day judgment was

pierre's reign, and after his fall, declared loudly against the Jacobins. He was a violent man, and terminated his legislative career at the overthrow of the Directory, under which his eldest son was adjutant-general."—*Biographie Moderne.*

* "Roland acted very imprudently in examining the contents of the chest, alone and without witnesses, instead of calling in the commissioners who were in the palace at the time. One document of importance was found, which the Jacobins turned into an implement against the Girondins. It was on overture from that party addressed to Louis XVI., shortly before the 10th of August, engaging to oppose the motion for his forfeiture, provided he would recall to his councils, the three discarded ministers of the Girondin party."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

to be pronounced by the vote. The executive power was directed to take all necessary measures for insuring the public tranquillity during the passage of the King to and from the Assembly. These arrangements were decreed on the 9th.

On the 10th the declaration was presented to the Assembly, and the appearance of Louis XVI. was fixed for the following day, December the 11th.*

The unfortunate monarch was thus about to appear before the National Convention, and to undergo an examination concerning all the acts of his reign. This intelligence had reached Clery by the secret means of correspondence which he had secured outside the prison, and it was with trembling that he imparted it to the disconsolate family. Not daring to tell the King himself, he had communicated it to Madame Elizabeth, and had moreover informed her that during the trial the commune had determined to separate Louis XVI. from his family. He agreed with the princess upon a method of corresponding during this separation. This method consisted in a handkerchief which Clery, who was to remain with the King, was to transmit to the princesses, if Louis XVI. should be ill. This was all that the unfortunate prisoners could calculate upon communicating to one another. The King was apprized by his sister of his speedily required appearance, and of the separation which they were to undergo during the trial. He received the tidings with perfect resignation, and prepared to encounter with firmness that painful scene.

The commune had given directions that early in the morning of the 11th all the administrative bodies should meet; that all the sections should be under arms; that the guard of all the public places, chests, depôts, &c., should be augmented by two hundred men for each post; that numerous reserves should be stationed at different points, with a strong artillery; and that an escort of picked men should accompany the carriage.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, the *generale* announced to the capital this novel and melancholy scene. Numerous troops surrounded the Temple, and the din of arms and the tramp of horses reached the prisoners, who affected ignorance of the cause of all this bustle. At nine in the morning, the family repaired as usual to the King's apartment to breakfast. The municipal officers, more vigilant than ever, prevented, by their presence, any outpouring of affection. The family was at length separated. In vain the King desired that his son should be left with him for a few moments. In spite of his entreaties, the young prince was taken away, and he remained alone for about two hours.† The mayor of Paris, and the *procureur* of the commune then arrived, and communicated to him the decree of the Convention, summoning him to its bar by the name of Louis Capet. "Capet," replied the prince, "was the name of one of my ancestors, but it is not mine." He then rose, and entered the carriage of the mayor, which was waiting for him. Six hundred picked men surrounded the vehicle. It was preceded by three pieces of cannon and followed by three more. A numerous body of cavalry formed the advance and the rear guard. A great concourse of people surveyed in silence this

* "Early on that day, the dauphin, who often prevailed on his majesty to play a game of Siam with him, was so pressing, that the King, in spite of his situation, could not refuse him. The young prince lost every game, and twice he could get no farther than *sixteen*. 'Whenever,' cried he, in a little pet, 'I get to the point of *sixteen*, I am sure not to win the game.' The King said nothing, but be seemed to feel the singular coincidence of the words."—*Clery*. E.

† "At eleven o'clock when the King was hearing the dauphin read, two municipal officers walked in, and told his majesty that they were come to carry the young Louis to his mother. The King desired to know why he was taken away; the commissioners replied, that they were executing the orders of the council of the commune. The King tenderly embraced his son, and charged me to conduct him. On my return, I assured his majesty that I had delivered the prince to the Queen, which appeared a little to relieve his mind. His majesty afterwards for some minutes walked about his room in much agitation, then sat down in an arm-chair at the head of the bed. The door stood ajar, but the officer did not like to go in, wishing, as he told me, to avoid questions; but half an hour passing thus in dead silence, he became uneasy at not hearing the King move, and went softly in; he found him leaning with his head upon his hand, apparently in deep thought. The King, on being disturbed, said, 'What do you want with me?'—'I was afraid,' answered the officer, 'that you were unwell.'—'I am obliged to you,' replied the King, in an accent replete with anguish, 'but the manner in which they have taken my son from me cuts me to the heart.' The municipal officer withdrew, without saying a word."—*Clery*. E.

sad cavalcade, and suffered this rigour as it had long submitted to that of the old government. There were some shouts but very few. The prince was not moved by them, and calmly conversed upon the objects that presented themselves on the way. Having arrived at the Feuillans, he was placed in a room to await the orders of the Assembly.

During this interval, several motions were made relative to the manner in which Louis XVI. should be received. It was proposed that no petition should be heard, that no deputy should be allowed to speak, that no token of approbation or disapprobation should be given to the King. "We must awe him," said Legendre, "by the silence of the grave." Murmurs condemned these cruel words. Defermont proposed that a seat should be provided for the accused. This motion was deemed too just to be put to the vote, and a seat was placed at the bar. Out of a ridiculous vanity, Manuel proposed to discuss the question on the order of the day, that they might not appear to be wholly occupied with the King, even though, he added, they should make him wait at the door. They began accordingly to discuss a law concerning the emigrants.

At length, Santerre communicated the arrival of Louis XVI. Barrère was president. "Citizens," said he, "the eyes of Europe are upon you. Posterity will judge you with inflexible severity; preserve then the dignity and the dispassionate coolness befitting judges. Recollect the awful silence which accompanied Louis, when brought back from Varennes."

It was about half-past two when Louis appeared at the bar. The mayor and Generals Santerre and Wittengoff were at his side. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly. All were touched by the dignity of Louis, by the composure of his looks, under so great a reverse of fortune. The deputies of the centre and the Girondins were deeply affected. Even St. Just, Marat, and Robespierre, felt their fanaticism fail them, and were astonished to find a man in the King whose execution they demanded.

"Be seated,"* said Barrère to Louis, "and answer the questions that shall be put to you." Louis seated himself, and listened to the reading of the *acte énonciatif*, article by article. All the faults of the court were there enumerated and imputed to Louis XVI. personally. He was charged with the interruption of the sittings of the 20th of June, 1789, with the bed of justice held on the 23d of the same month, the aristocratic conspiracy thwarted by the insurrection of the 14th of July, the entertainments of the life-guards, the insults offered to the national cockade, the refusal to sanction the declaration of rights, as well as several constitutional articles; lastly, all the facts which indicated a new conspiracy in October and which were followed by the scenes of the 5th and 6th; the speeches of reconciliation which had succeeded all these scenes, and which promised a change that was not sincere; the false oath taken at the Federation of the 14th of July; the secret practices of Talon and Mirabeau to effect a counter-revolution; the money spent in bribing a great number of deputies; the assemblage of the "knights of the dagger" on the 28th of February, 1791; the flight of Varennes; the fusillade of the Champ de Mars; the silence observed respecting the treaty of Pilnitz; the delay in the promulgation of the decree which incorporated Avignon with France; the commotions at Nimes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès; the continuance of their pay to the emigrant life-guards and to the disbanded constitutional guard; the insufficiency of the armies assembled on the frontiers; the refusal to sanction the decree for the camp of twenty thousand men; the disarming of the fortresses; the tardy communication of the

* "When the president, Barrère, said to his King, 'Louis, asseyez vous,' we feel more indignation even than when he is accused of crimes which he never committed. One must have sprung from the very dust not to respect past obligations, particularly when misfortune has rendered them sacred; and vulgarity joined to crime inspires us with as much contempt as horror."—*Madame de Staël.* E.

"Barrère escaped during the different ebullitions of the Revolution, because he was a man without principle or character, who changed and adapted himself to every side. He had the reputation of being a man of talent, but I did not find him so. I employed him to write, but he displayed no ability. He used many flowers of rhetoric, but no solid argument."—*Napoleon's Conversations with O'Meara.* E.

march of the Prussians; the organization of secret societies in the interior of Paris; the review of the Swiss and the troops composing the garrison of the palace on the morning of the 10th of August; the doubling of that guard; the summoning of the mayor to the Tuileries; and lastly, the effusion of blood, which had been the consequence of these military dispositions.

By refusing to admit as natural regret for his former power, every point in the conduct of the King was capable of being turned into a crime; for his conduct was but one long regret, mingled with some timid efforts to recover what he had lost. After each article the president paused and said; "What have you to answer?" The King, always answering in a firm voice, denied some of the facts, imputed others to his ministers, and constantly supported himself upon the constitution, from which he declared that he had never deviated. His answers were all very temperate; but to the charge, *You spilt the blood of the people on the 10th of August*, he exclaimed with emphasis: "No, sir, no; it was not I!"

All the papers were then shown to him, and, availing himself of a respectable privilege, he refused to avow part of them, and disputed the existence of the iron chest. This denial produced an unfavourable effect, and it was impolitic, because the fact was demonstrated. He then demanded a copy of the act of accusation and of the other papers, and counsel to assist him in his defence.

The president signified that he might retire. He partook of some refreshment provided for him in the next room, and then getting into the carriage, was conveyed back to the Temple. He arrived there at half-past six, and the first thing he did was to ask to see his family. This favour was refused, and he was told that the commune had ordered the separation during the proceedings. At half-past eight, when supper was announced, he again desired to kiss his children. The jealousy of the commune rendered all his keepers hardhearted, and this consolation was again denied him.

The Assembly was meanwhile thrown into a tumult in consequence of the application of Louis XVI. for the assistance of counsel. Petion strongly insisted that this application ought to be granted. It was opposed by Tallien,* Chabot, Merlin, and Billaud-Varennes,† who said that it was nothing but an attempt to delay judgment by means of chicanery. The Assembly in the end granted counsel. A deputation was sent to communicate the circumstance to Louis XVI. and to ask whom he would choose. The King named Target, or, if he could not have him, Tronchet,‡ and both if possible. He also desired to be furnished with pen, ink, and paper, in order to prepare his defence, and to be permitted to see his family. The Convention forthwith decided that he should be supplied with materials for writing, that intimation should be given to the two advocates whom he had chosen, that he should be allowed to communicate freely with them, and that he should be allowed to see his family.

* "Jean Lambert Tallien, son to the porter of a nobleman, became afterwards an attorney's clerk, and, lastly, corrector of the press in the Moniteur office. On the 10th of August, 1792, he was named secretary-general for the commune, and, from that time, began to play a conspicuous part in the Revolution. He warmly urged the trial of Louis XVI., and opposed the granting him counsel. During the year 1793 he was out on missions, and everywhere conducted himself like a zealous partizan of revolutionary measures. Love, however, appeared all at once to change his character. Madame de Fontenai, whose maiden name was Cabarrus, had come to Bordeaux in order to embark for Spain, whither she was going to join her husband; she was imprisoned, and, fearing to increase the number of victims, she, in order to save her life, flattered the violent passion with which she had inspired Tallien, who, from that time, entirely given up to luxury and pleasure, not only ceased to persecute, but, in 1794, dissolved the military and revolutionary tribunals in Bordeaux. In the same year he was one of those who materially assisted in bringing Robespierre to the scaffold. In 1806, Tallien was commissioner of the board of trade at Alicant."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Of all the sanguinary monsters, observed Napoleon, who reigned in the Revolution, Billaud de Varennes was the worst."—*Voice from St. Helena.* E.

‡ "One of Napoleon's first acts on becoming First Consul, was to place Tronchet at the head of the Court of Cassation. 'Tronchet,' he said, 'was the soul of the civil code, as I was its demonstrator. He was gifted with a singularly profound and correct understanding, but he could not descend to developments.' Tronchet died in 1806."—*Las Cases.* E.

Target refused the commission given to him by Louis XVI., assigning as a reason that he had been obliged to discontinue his practice ever since the year 1785.* Tronchet immediately wrote that he was ready to undertake the defence committed to him; and, while the Assembly was considering of the appointment of a new counsel, a letter was received from a citizen of seventy, the venerable Malesherbes,† the friend and companion of Turgot, and the most respected magistrate in France. The noble veteran wrote as follows to the president: "I have been twice called to be counsel for him who was my master, in times when that duty was coveted by every one: I owe him the same service now that it is a duty which many people deem dangerous." He requested the president to inform Louis XVI. that he was ready to devote himself to his defence.

Many other citizens made the like offers, which were communicated to the King. He declined them all; accepting only Tronchet and Malesherbes. The commune decided that the two counsel should undergo the strictest search before they were admitted to their client. The Convention, which had directed *free communication*, renewed its order, and they were allowed to enter the Temple freely. On seeing Malesherbes, the King ran forward to meet him. The venerable old man sank at his feet and burst into tears. The King raised him, and they remained long clasped in each other's embrace.‡ They immediately fell to work upon his defence. Commissioners of the Assembly brought the documents every day to the Temple, and had directions to communicate them, but not to let them go out of their possession. The King perused them with great attention, and with a composure which every time excited more and more astonishment in the commissioners.

The only consolation which he had solicited, that of seeing his family, had not yet been granted him, notwithstanding the decree of the Convention. The commune, continuing to raise obstacles, had demanded a copy of the decree. "It is to no purpose to order," said Tallien to the Convention; "if the commune does not choose to comply, nothing will come of it." These insolent words had raised a violent tumult. The Assembly, however, modifying its decree, ordered that the King should be allowed to have his two children with him, but on condition that they should not return to their mother till the trial was over. The King, sensible that they were more necessary to their mother, would not take them from her, and submitted to this new sorrow with a resignation which no circumstances could shake.

The further the proceedings advanced, the more the importance of the question was felt. Some were aware that, to proceed against ancient royalty by regicide, was to involve themselves in an inexorable system of vengeance and cruelty, and to declare war to the death against the old order of things. They would fain abolish that state of things, but they had no wish to destroy it in so violent a manner. Others, on the contrary, were desirous of engaging in this war to the death, which admitted of no weakness, no turning back, and placed an abyss between the monarchy and the Revolution. In this comprehensive question, the

* "Cambaceres declared that Target's example endangered public morality. Target attempted in vain to repair the disgrace, by publishing a short defence of the King."—*Lacretelle.* E.

† "Christian William de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, an eminent French statesman, was the son of the Chancellor of France, and was born at Paris in 1721. In the year 1750 he succeeded his father as president of the court of aids, and was also made superintendent of the press, in both which offices he displayed a liberal and enlightened policy. On the banishment of the parliaments and the suppression of the court of aids, Malesherbes was exiled to his country-seat. In 1775 he was appointed minister of state. He took no part in the proceedings which led to the overthrow of the monarchy; but on the decree of the Convention for the King's trial, he emerged from his retreat to become the voluntary advocate of his sovereign. Malesherbes was guillotined in 1794, and almost his whole family were extirpated by their merciless persecutors."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

‡ "The first time M. Malesherbes entered the Temple, the King clasped him in his arms and said, 'Ah, is it you, my friend? You fear not to endanger your own life to save mine; but all will be useless; they will bring me to the scaffold; no matter—I shall gain my cause, if I leave an unspotted memory behind me."—*Hue.* E.

person of the King was almost entirely lost sight of; and the inquiry was confined to this one point, whether they ought or ought not to break entirely with the past by a signal and terrible act. They fixed their eyes on the result only, regardless of the victim upon which the stroke was about to fall.

The Girondins, persevering in their attacks on the Jacobins, were continually reminding them of the crimes of September, and holding them up as anarchists who wished to rule the Convention by terror and to sacrifice the King for the purpose of setting up triumvirs in his stead. Gaudet well-nigh succeeded in driving them from the Convention, by procuring a decree that the electoral assemblies of all France should be convoked, in order to confirm or to cashier their deputies. This proposition, decreed and reported in a few minutes, had exceedingly alarmed the Jacobins. Other circumstances annoyed them still more. The federalists continued to arrive from all quarters. The municipalities sent a multitude of addresses, in which, while approving of the republic and congratulating the Assembly on having instituted it, they condemned the crimes and the excesses of anarchy. The affiliated societies still continued to reproach the mother society for harbouring in its bosom bloody-minded men, who perverted the public morals, and were ready to attempt the overthrow of the Convention itself. Some of them denied their mother, declared that they renounced all connection with her, and that at the first signal they would fly to Paris to support the Convention. All of them particularly insisted on the erasure of Marat's name, and some even of that of Robespierre also.

The alarmed Jacobins acknowledged that public opinion was indeed changing for the worse in France; they recommended to each other to keep united, and to lose no time in writing to the provinces for the purpose of enlightening their misled brethren; they accused the traitor Roland of intercepting their correspondence and substituting for it hypocritical papers which perverted people's minds. They proposed a voluntary donation for circulating good papers, and particularly the *admirable* speeches of Robespierre, and sought means for transmitting them in spite of Roland, who, they said, violated the liberty of the post. They agreed, however, on one point, that Marat compromised them by the violence of his writings; and it was necessary, according to them, that the mother society should declare to France, what difference it found between Marat, whose inflammatory disposition carried him beyond all bounds, and the wise and virtuous Robespierre, who, always keeping within proper limits, desired, without weakness, but without exaggeration, what was just and possible. A vehement quarrel ensued between these two. It was admitted that Marat was a man of strong, bold mind, but too hotheaded. He had been serviceable, it was said, to the cause of the people, but he knew not where to stop. Marat's partisans replied that he did not deem it necessary to execute all that he had said, and that he knew better than any one else where to stop. They quoted various expressions of his. Marat had said, "There needs but one Marat in a republic."—"I demand the greater to obtain the less."—"My hand should wither rather than write, if I thought that the people would literally execute all that I advise."—"I cheat the people, because I know that it is driving a bargain with me." The tribunes had supported this justification of Marat by their applause. The society, however, had resolved to issue an address, in which, describing the characters of Marat and Robespierre, it would show what difference it made between the sound sense of the one and the vehemence of the other.* After this

* Among the singular opinions expressed concerning Marat and Robespierre, must not be omitted that which was put forth by the society of the Jacobins, at their sitting of Sunday, December 23, 1792. I know nothing that furnishes a better picture of the spirit and dispositions of the moment than the discussion which took place relative to the character of those two persons. Here follows an extract from it:

"Desfieux read the correspondence. A letter from a society, whose name has escaped us, gave rise to a warm discussion, which cannot fail to suggest some very important reflections. This society informed the mother society that it was invariably attached to the principles of the Jacobins; it observed that it had not suffered itself to be blinded by the calumnies circulated so profusely

measure, they purposed adopting several others, and in particular they intended to demand continually the departure of the federalists for the frontiers. If news

against Marat and Robespierre, and that it retained all its esteem and all its veneration for those two incorruptible friends of the people.

"This letter was loudly applauded, but it was followed by a discussion which Brissot and Gorsas, who are most assuredly prophets, had predicted on the preceding day.

"*Robert.*—'It is very astonishing that the names of Marat and Robespierre are always coupled together. How corrupt the public mind must be in the departments, since no difference is made between these two defenders of the people! Both possess virtues, it is true. Marat is a patriot, he has estimable qualities, I admit, but how different is he from Robespierre! The latter is discreet, moderate in his means, whereas Marat is exaggerated, and has not that discretion which characterizes Robespierre. It is not sufficient to be a patriot; in order to serve the people usefully, it is necessary to be reserved in the means of execution, and most assuredly Robespierre surpasses Marat in the means of execution.

"'It is high time, citizens, to tear off the veil which hides the truth from the eyes of the departments. It is high time that they should know that we can distinguish between Robespierre and Marat. Let us write to the affiliated societies what we think of those two citizens; for I confess I am a stanch partisan of Robespierre, and yet I am not a partisan of Marat. (*Murmurs in the tribunes and in part of the hall.*)

"*Bourdon.*—'We ought long since to have acquainted the affiliated societies with our opinion of Marat. How could they ever connect Marat and Robespierre together! Robespierre is a truly virtuous man, with whom we have no fault to find from the commencement of the Revolution. Robespierre is moderate in his means, whereas Marat is a violent writer, who does great harm to the Jacobins (*murmurs*); and, besides, it is right to observe that Marat does us great injury with the National Convention. The deputies imagine that we are partisans of Marat; we are called Maratists; if we show that we duly appreciate Marat, then you will see the deputies draw nearer to the Mountain where we sit, you will see them come into the bosom of this society, you will see the affiliated societies that have gone astray return and rally anew around the cradle of liberty. If Marat is a patriot, he must accede to the motion that I am going to make. Marat ought to sacrifice himself to the cause of liberty. I move that his name be erased from the list of the members of this society.'

"This motion excited some applause, violent murmurs in part of the hall, and vehement agitation in the tribunes.

"It will be recollected, that a week before this scene of a new kind, Marat had been covered with applause in the society; the population of the tribunes, which has a memory, recollected this circumstance perfectly well; it could not conceive that so speedy a change had been wrought in opinions; and, as the moral instinct of the people is always just, it was highly indignant at the motion of Bourdon: the people therefore defended their *virtuous friend;* they did not imagine that in a week he could have forfeited his claim to the regard of the society; for, though it may be said that ingratitude is a virtue of republics, it will be very difficult to accustom the French people to this kind of virtue.

"The coupling of the names of Marat and Robespierre was not revolting to the people. Their ears had long been accustomed to their being so united in the correspondence; and, after witnessing the indignation of the society on several occasions, when the clubs of the other departments demanded the expulsion of Marat, they did not deem it right on this day to support the motion of Bourdon.

"A citizen of an affiliated society pointed out to the society how dangerous it was in fact to join together the names of Marat and Robespierre. 'In the departments,' said he, 'a great difference is made between Marat and Robespierre; but they are surprised at the silence of the society concerning the differences which exist between those two patriots. I propose to the society, after it has decided the fate of Marat, to make no further mention of affiliation—a word that ought never to be uttered in a republic—but to employ the term *fraternization.*'

"*Dufourny.*—'I oppose the motion for expelling Marat from the society. (*Vehement applause.*) I will not deny the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre. These two writers, who may resemble one another in patriotism, have very striking differences. They have both served the cause of the people, but in different ways. Robespierre has defended the true principles with method, with firmness, and with all becoming discretion; Marat, on the contrary, has frequently passed the bounds of sound reason and prudence. Still, though admitting the difference that exists between Marat and Robespierre, I am not in favour of the erasure: it is possible to be just without being ungrateful to Marat. Marat has been useful to us; he has served the Revolution with courage. (*Vehement applause from the society and the tribunes.*) There would be ingratitude in striking him out of the list. (*Yes, yes, from all quarters.*) Marat has been a necessary man. Revolutions have need of strong heads, capable of uniting states; and Marat is one of those rare men who are necessary for the overthrow of despotism. (*Applause.*) I conclude with proposing that the motion of Bourdon be rejected, and that merely a letter be written to the affiliated societies to acquaint them with the difference that we make between Marat and Robespierre.' (*Applause.*)

"The society resolved that it will cease to use the term affiliation, deeming it offensive to re-

arrived that the army of Dumouriez was weakened by desertion, they cried out that it was indispensably necessary to send off federalists to reinforce it. Marat wrote that the volunteers who had first marched had been gone above a year, and that it was time to send off those who were sojourning in Paris to relieve them. Intelligence had just been received that Custine had been obliged to give up Frankfort, and that Beurnonville had unsuccessfully attacked the electorate of Treves ; and the Jacobins maintained that, if those two generals had had with them the federalists who were uselessly loitering in the capital, they would not have experienced those checks.

The various accounts of the useless attempt of Beurnonville, and the check sustained by Custine, had strongly agitated the public mind. Both these circumstances might easily have been foreseen, for Beurnonville, attacking inaccessible positions in an unfavourable season and without sufficient means, could not possibly succeed ; and Custine, persisting in not falling back spontaneously upon the Rhine, lest he should confess his temerity, was sure to be forced to a retreat upon Mayence. Public misfortunes punish parties with occasions for reproach. The Jacobins, hating the generals suspected of aristocracy, declaimed against them, and accused them of being Feuillans and Girondins. Marat did not fail to inveigh anew against the mania of conquest, which, he said, he had always condemned, and which was nothing but a disguised ambition of the generals to attain a formidable degree of power. Robespierre, directing the censure according to the suggestions of his hatred, maintained that it was not the generals who ought to be accused, but the infamous faction which controlled the Assembly and the executive power. The traitor Roland, the intriguing Brissot, the scoundrels Louvet, Guadet, and Vergniaud, were the authors of all the calamities of France. He longed to be the first whom they should murder, but he desired above all things to have the pleasure of denouncing them. Dumouriez and Custine, he added, knew them and took care not to class themselves along with them ; but everybody feared them, because they had at their disposal money, places, and all the resources of the republic. Their intention was to make themselves its masters ; to this end they fettered all genuine patriots ; they prevented the development of their energy, and thus exposed France to the risk of being conquered by her enemies. Their principal intention was to destroy the society of the Jacobins and to butcher all who should have the courage to oppose them. "And for my part," exclaimed Robespierre, "I desire to be assassinated by Roland!" (Sitting of the 12th of December.)

This furious hatred, spreading throughout the society, agitated it like a stormy sea. It promised itself a mortal combat against the faction. It renounced beforehand all idea of reconciliation, and as there had been talk of a fresh plan of compromise its members bound themselves never on any account to *kiss and be friends.*

Similar scenes were occurring in the Assembly during the time allowed to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence. Every opportunity was seized for repeating that the royalists were everywhere threatening the patriots and circulating pamphlets in favour of the King. Thuriot proposed an expedient which was to punish with death any one who should conceive the design of breaking the unity of the republic, or separating any portion from it. This was a decree directed against the fable of federalism, that is, against the Girondins. Buzot lost no time in replying by another decree, and insisted on the exile of the Orleans family. The parties charged each other with falsehood, and revenged themselves for calumnies by other calumnies. While the Jacobins accused the Girondins of federalism, the latter reproached the former with destroying the throne for the Duke of Orleans, and

publican equality, and substitute the word fraternization in its stead. The society then resolved that Marat should not be erased from the list of its members, but that a circular shall be sent to all the societies having the right of fraternization, in which shall be detailed the resemblances and the differences, the conformities and the difformities, which may be found between Marat and Robespierre, that all those who fraternize with the Jacobins may be able to pronounce, with a thorough knowledge of circumstances, respecting those two defenders of the people, and that they may at length learn to separate two names which they invariably but erroneously couple together."

with desiring the sacrifice of Louis XVI. merely for the purpose of rendering it vacant.

The Duke of Orleans* lived in Paris, striving in vain to make himself be forgotten in the bosom of the Convention. This place most assuredly was not suited to him, amidst furious demagogues. But whither was he to fly? In Europe, the emigrants were ready for him, and insult, nay, perhaps even death, threatened this kinsman of royalty, who had repudiated his birthright and his rank. In France, he strove to disguise that rank under the humblest titles, and he called himself *Egalité*. But still there remained the ineffaceable remembrance of his former existence, and the ever-present testimony of his immense wealth. Unless he were to put on rags, and render himself contemptible by dint of cynicism, how was he to escape suspicion? In the ranks of the Girondins, he would have been undone the very first day, and all the charges of royalism preferred against them would have been justified. In those of the Jacobins, he would have the violence of Paris for a support, but he could not have escaped the accusations of the Girondins; and this it was that actually befel him. The latter, never forgiving him for having joined the ranks of their enemies, supposed that, to make himself endurable, he lavished his wealth on anarchists, and lent them the aid of his mighty fortune.

The suspicious Louvet thought better of him, and sincerely believed that he still cherished the hope of royalty. Without sharing that opinion, but for the purpose of combating the sally of Thuriot by another, Buzot ascended the tribune. "If," said he, "the decree proposed by Thuriot is calculated to restore confidence, I am going to propose one which will do so in no less a degree. The monarchy is overthrown, but it still lives in the habits, in the memory, of its ancient creatures. Let us imitate the Romans. They expelled Tarquin and his family: like them let us expel the family of the Bourbons. One part of that family is in confinement; but there is another, far more dangerous, because it was more popular—I mean that of Orleans. The bust of Orleans was paraded through Paris. His sons, boiling with courage, are distinguishing themselves in our armies, and the very merits of that family render it dangerous to liberty. Let it make a last sacrifice to the country by exiling itself from her bosom; let it carry elsewhere the misfortune of having stood near the throne, and the still greater misfortune of bearing a name which is hateful to us, and which cannot fail to shock the ear of a free man."

Louvet followed Buzot, and, apostrophizing Orleans himself, reminded him of the voluntary exile of Collatinus, and exhorted him to follow his example. Lanjuinais referred to the elections of Paris, at which Orleans was returned, and which were held under the daggers of the anarchical faction. He referred to the efforts that had been made to appoint a chancellor of the house of Orleans to the post of minister at war, and to the influence which the sons of that family had acquired in the army; and for all these reasons he moved the banishment of the Bourbons. Bazire, St. Just, and Chabot, opposed the motion, rather out of opposition to the Girondins than kindness for Orleans. They maintained that it was not the moment to persecute the only one of the Bourbons who had conducted himself with sincerity towards the nation; that they must first punish the Bourbon prisoner, then frame a constitution, and afterwards turn their attention to such citizens as had become dangerous; that, at any rate, to send Orleans out of France was to send him to death, and they ought at least to defer that cruel measure. Banishment was nevertheless decreed by acclamation. The only point, then, was to fix the period

* "The conduct of this nobleman all through the Revolution was, in my opinion, uncalled for, indecent, and profligate, and his fate not unmerited. Persons situated as he was cannot take a decided part one way or the other, without doing violence either to the dictates of reason and justice, or to all their natural sentiments; unless they are characters of that heroic stamp, as to be raised above suspicion or temptation; the only way for all others is to stand aloof from a struggle, in which they have no alternative, but to commit a parricide on their country or their friends; and to await the issue in silence and at a distance. No confidence can be placed in those excesses of public principle, which are founded on the sacrifice of every private affection and of habitual self-esteem."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

of banishment in drawing up the decree. "Since you resort to the ostracism against Egalité," said Merlin, "employ it against all dangerous men, and first and foremost I demand it against the executive power."—"Against Roland!" exclaimed Albitte. "Against Roland and Pache!" added Barrère, who are become a cause of dissension among us. Let them both be banished from the ministry, to give us back tranquillity and union." Kersaint, however, was apprehensive lest England should take advantage of this disorganization of the ministry to commence a disastrous war against us, as she did in 1757, when d'Argenson and Mackau were dismissed.

Rewbel asked if a representative of the people could be banished, and if Philip Egalité did not belong in that quality to the nation which had deputed him.

These different observations checked the excitement. The Assembly stopped short, reverted to the original motion, and, without revoking the decree of banishment against the Bourbons, adjourned the discussion for three days, to allow men's minds time to become calm and to weigh more maturely the question whether Egalité could be banished, and whether the two ministers of the interior and of war could be superseded without danger.

It is easy to conceive the tumult that prevailed in the sections, at the commune, and at the Jacobins, after this discussion. On all sides the ostracism was called for, and petitions were prepared, praying for the resumption of the discussion. The three days having elapsed, the discussion was resumed. The mayor came at the head of the sections to apply for the report of the decree. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, after the reading of the address; but Petion, seeing what a tumult this question excited, proposed its adjournment till after the trial of Louis XVI. This sort of compromise was adopted, and then the victim against whom all passions were whetted was anew assailed. The celebrated trial was therefore immediately resumed.

The time granted to Louis XVI. for preparing his defence was scarcely sufficient for the examination of the immense mass of materials upon which it was to be founded. His two defenders demanded permission to associate with themselves a third, younger and more active, to draw up and to deliver the defence, while they would seek and prepare matter for it. This young adjunct was Desèze,* the advocate, who had defended Bezenval after the 14th of July. The Convention, having granted the defence, did not refuse an additional counsel, and Desèze, like Malesherbes and Tronchet, had free access to the Temple. The papers were carried thither every day by a commission, and shown to Louis XVI., who received them with great coolness, "just as if the proceedings concerned some other person," said a report of the commune. He showed the greatest politeness to the commissioners, and had refreshments brought for them when the sittings lasted longer than usual. While he was thus engaged with his trial, he had devised a method of corresponding with his family. The papers and pens furnished for the purpose of his defence enabled him to write to it, and the princesses pricked their answer upon the paper with a pin. Sometimes these notes were doubled up in balls of thread, which an attendant belonging to the kitchen threw under the table when he brought in the dishes; sometimes they were let down by a string from one story to the other. The unhappy prisoners thus acquainted each other with the state of their health, and it was a great consolation to them to know that they were all well.

At length, M. Desèze, labouring night and day, completed his defence. The King insisted on retrenching from it all that was too rhetorical, and on confining it to the mere discussion of the points which it was essential to urge.† On the 26th,

* "Raymond Desèze was of an ancient family. His father was a celebrated parliamentary advocate at Bordeaux, in which town Raymond was born in 1750. He displayed uncommon talents in the legal profession, and was intrusted with the defence of Louis XVI. which was considered a masterpiece. He survived the Reign of Terror, and refused all office under Napoleon. On the return of the Bourbons, he was appointed first president of the court of cassation, and grand treasurer of the royal order. He was afterwards made a peer of France. Desèze died at Paris in 1828."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† "When the pathetic peroration of M. Desèze was read to the King, the evening before it was

at half-past nine in the morning, the whole armed force was in motion to conduct him from the Temple to the Feuillans, with the same precautions and in the same order as had been observed on the former occasion. Riding in the carriage of the mayor, he conversed on the way with the same composure as usual; talked of Seneca, of Livy, of the hospitals; he even addressed a very neat joke to one of the municipal officers who sat in the carriage with his hat on.* Arrived at the Feuillans, he showed great anxiety for his defenders; he seated himself beside them in the Assembly, surveyed with great composure the benches where his accusers and his judges sat, seemed to examine their faces with the view of discovering the impression produced by the pleading of M. Desèze, and more than once he conversed smiling with Tronchet and Malesherbes. The Assembly received his defence in sullen silence and without any tokens of disapprobation.

The advocate considered in the first place the principles of law, and in the second the facts imputed to Louis XVI. Though the Assembly, in deciding that the King should be tried by it, had explicitly decreed that the inviolability could not be invoked, M. Desèze very ably demonstrated that nothing could limit the defence, and that it remained intact even after the decree; that, consequently, if Louis deemed the inviolability maintainable, he had a right to lay stress on it. He was obliged at the outset to admit the sovereignty of the people; and with all the defenders of the constitution of 1791, he insisted that the sovereignty, though absolute mistress, could bind itself; that it had chosen to do so in regard to Louis XVI. in stipulating the inviolability; that it had not willed an absurd thing according to the system of the monarchy; that, consequently, the engagement ought to be executed; and that all possible crimes, had the King been guilty of them, could not be punished otherwise than by dethronement. He asserted that without this the constitution of 1791 would be but a barbarous snare laid for Louis XVI., since a promise would have been made him with the secret intention of not performing it. He then said that, if Louis was denied his rights as King, those of citizen ought at least to be left him; and he asked where were the conservative forms which every citizen had a right to claim, such as the distinction between the jury of accusation and that of judgment, the faculty of rejection, the majority of the two-thirds, the secret vote, and the silence of the judges while forming their opinion.

He added with a boldness that met with nothing but absolute silence, that he sought everywhere for judges, and found none but accusers. He then proceeded to the discussion of the facts, which he classed under two heads, those which had preceded, and those which had followed, the acceptance of the constitutional act. The former were shielded by the acceptance of that act; the latter by the inviolability. Still, he refused not to discuss them, and he did so with advantage, because a multitude of insignificant circumstances had been collected, in default of precise proof of concert with foreigners, of which people felt persuaded, but of which no positive evidence had yet been obtained. He repelled victoriously the charge of shedding French blood on the 10th of August. On that day, in fact, the aggressor was not Louis XVI., but the people. It was lawful for Louis XVI., when attacked, to strive to defend himself and to take the necessary precautions. The magistrates themselves had approved this course, and had given the troops a formal order to repel force by force. Notwithstanding this, said M. Desèze, the King, unwilling to avail himself of this authority, which he held both from nature and the law, had withdrawn into the bosom of the legislative body, for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed. With the conflict that followed he had nothing to do. Nay, it ought to earn him thanks rather than vengeance, since it was in compliance with an order from his hand, that the Swiss gave up the defence of the palace, and their lives.

to be delivered to the Assembly, 'I have to request of you,' he said, 'to make a painful sacrifice; strike out of your pleading the peroration. It is enough for me to appear before such judges, and show my entire innocence; I will not move their feelings."—*Lacretelle.* E.

* "When Santerre took the King to his trial, he kept on his hat the whole way; on which his majesty jocularly remarked, 'The last time, sir, you conveyed me to the Temple, in your hurry you forgot your hat, and now, I perceive, you are determined to make up for the omission.'"—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

It was, therefore, a crying injustice to charge Louis XVI. with having spilt French blood. On that point he had been irreproachable. He had, on the contrary, proved himself to be full of delicacy and humanity.

The advocate concluded with this brief and just passage; the only one in which the virtues of Louis XVI. were touched upon:

"Louis ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and at the age of twenty he gave, upon the throne, an example of morality. He carried to it no culpable weakness, no corrupting passion. In that station he was economical, just, and severe, and proved himself the constant friend of the people. The people wished for the abolition of a disastrous impost which oppressed them;—he abolished it. The people demanded the abolition of servitude;—he began by abolishing it himself in his domains. The people solicited reforms in the criminal legislation to alleviate the condition of accused persons;—he made those reforms. The people desired that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of our customs had till then deprived of the rights belonging to the citizens, might either acquire or be restored to those rights;—he extended that benefit to them by his laws. The people wanted liberty; and he conferred it. He even anticipated their wishes by his sacrifices; and yet it is in the name of this very people that men are now demanding—— Citizens, I shall not finish——I pause before history. Consider that it will judge your judgment, and that its judgment will be that of ages!"

As soon as his defender had finished, Louis XVI. delivered a few observations which he had written. "My means of defence," said he, "are now before you. I shall not repeat them. In addressing you, perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my defenders have told you the truth.

"I was never afraid that my conduct should be publicly examined; but it wounds me to the heart to find in the act of accusation the imputation that I caused the blood of the people to be spilt, and, above all, that the calamitous events of the 10th of August are attributed to me.

"I confess that the multiplied proofs which I have given at all times of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, ought in my opinion to demonstrate that I was not afraid to expose myself in order to prevent bloodshed, and to clear me for ever from such an imputation."*

The president then asked Louis XVI. if he had anything more to say in his defence. Louis having declared that he had not, the president informed him that he might retire. Conducted to an adjoining room with his counsel, he showed great anxiety about young Desèze, who appeared to be fatigued with the long defence. In riding back, he conversed with the same serenity with those who accompanied him, and reached the Temple at five o'clock.

No sooner had he left the hall of the Convention, than a violent tumult arose there. Some were for opening the discussion. Others, complaining of the everlasting delays which postponed the decision of this process, demanded the vote immediately, remarking that, in every court, after the accused had been heard, the judges proceed to give their opinion. Lanjuinais harboured from the commencement of the proceedings an indignation, which his impetuous disposition no longer suffered him to repress.† He darted to the tribune, and, amidst the cries excited

* "The example of Charles I., who had proceeded to extremities with the parliament and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making the defence which he ought to have done against the Revolutionists. When brought to trial, he ought merely to have said that by the law, he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. It would have had no effect in saving his life, but he would have died with more dignity."—*Voice from St. Helena.* E.

† "J. D. Lanjuinais, an advocate and professor of civil law, was one of the original founders of the Breton club, which afterwards became the Jacobin society. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention; but, in proportion to the increasing horrors of the Revolution, he became more moderate in his principles. On the King's trial, he declared that his majesty was guilty, and voted for his imprisonment, and his exile when a peace should take place. In 1794 the Convention outlawed him, but, having evaded all research, he solicited to be reinstated in the legislative body,

by his presence, he demanded not the postponement of the discussion, but the annulling of the proceedings altogether. He exclaimed that the days of ferocious men were gone by, that the Assembly ought not to be so dishonoured as to be made to sit in judgment on Louis XVI., that no authority in France had that right, and the Assembly in particular had no claim to it; that if it resolved to act as a political body, it could do no more than take measures of safety against the *ci-devant* King; but that if it was acting as a court of justice it was overstepping all principles, for it was subjecting the vanquished to be tried by the very conqueror: since most of the present members had declared themselves the conspirators of the 10th of August. At the word *conspirators*, a tremendous uproar arose on all sides. Cries of *Order! To the Abbaye! Down with the Tribune!* were heard. Lanjuinais strove in vain to justify the word *conspirators*, saying that he meant it to be taken in a favourable sense, and that the 10th of August was a glorious conspiracy. He proceeded amidst noise, and concluded with declaring that he would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to all laws, even the most execrable of tyrants.

A great number of speakers followed, and the confusion kept continually increasing. The members, determined not to hear any more, mingled together, formed groups, abused, and threatened, one another. After a tempest of an hour's duration, tranquillity was at last restored, and the Assembly, adopting the opinion of those who demanded the discussion on the trial of Louis XVI., declared that the discussion was opened, and that it should be continued to the exclusion of all other business, till sentence should be passed.

The discussion was therefore, resumed on the 27th. The numerous speakers who had already been heard again appeared at the tribune. Among these was St. Just. The presence of Louis XVI., humbled, vanquished, and still serene in misfortune, had caused some objections to arise in his mind. But he answered these objections by calling Louis a modest and supple tyrant, who had oppressed with modesty, who defended himself with modesty, and against whose insinuating mildness it was necessary to be guarded with the greatest care. He convoked the States-general, but it was with a view to humble the nobility and to reign by causing division. Accordingly, when he saw the power of the States rising so rapidly, he strove to destroy it. On the 14th of July, and on the 5th and 6th of October, he was seen secretly amassing means for crushing the people; but every time that his plots were thwarted by the national energy, he pretended to change his conduct and manifested a hypocritical joy—a joy that was not natural, at his own defeat and the victory of the people. Subsequently, having it no longer in his power to employ force, he plotted with foreigners, and placed his ministers in the most embarrassing situation, so that one of them wrote to him, "Your secret relations prevent me from executing the laws, and I shall resign." In short, he had employed all the means of the deepest perfidy till the 10th of August; and now he still put on a feigned mildness, to warp his judges, and to escape from their hands.

It was in this light that the very natural indecision of Louis XVI. appeared to a violent mind, which discovered a wilful and premeditated perfidy where there was nothing but weakness and regret of the past. Other speakers followed St. Just, and considerable impatience was felt that the Girondins should express their sentiments. They had not yet spoken, and it was high time for them to explain themselves. We have already seen how undecided they were, how disposed to be moved, and how prone to excuse in Louis XVI. a resistance, which they were more capable of comprehending than their adversaries. Vergniaud admitted, with a few friends, how deeply his feelings were affected.* The others, without being

and was recalled in 1795. In the year 1800, Lanjuinais became a member of the conservative senate, and showed himself, on several occasions, the inflexible defender of the true principles of morality and justice."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

* "It is known that, throughout the King's trial, the deputy Vergniaud seemed in despair, and passed the whole night immediately after the monarch's condemnation in tears; and it is probable that the same night was as dreadful to all his colleagues, if we except a small number who in their

so sensibly touched, perhaps, were all disposed to interest themselves in behalf of the victim; and in this situation they devised an expedient which evinces their sympathy and the embarrassment of their position. That expedient was an appeal to the people. To rid themselves of a dangerous responsibility, and to throw upon the nation the charge of barbarity if the King should be condemned, or that of royalism if he should be acquitted, was the aim of the Girondins; and this was an act of weakness. Since they were touched by the sight of the deep distress of Louis XVI., they ought to have had the courage to defend him themselves, and not kindle civil war by referring to the forty-four thousand sections into which France was divided, a question that was likely to array all the parties against one another, and to rouse the most furious passions. They ought to have seized the authority with a strong hand, and to have had the courage to employ it themselves, without shifting from their own shoulders to those of the multitude an affair of which it was incapable, and which would have exposed the country to frightful confusion.* Here the Girondins gave their adversaries an immense advantage, by authorizing them to assert that they were fomenting civil war, and giving them reason to suspect their courage and their sincerity. Hence some did not fail to say at the club of the Jacobins, that those who wished to acquit Louis XVI. were more sincere and more estimable than those who were for appealing to the people. But such is the usual conduct of moderate parties. Behaving on this occasion as on the 2d and 3d of September, the Girondins hesitated to compromise themselves for a King whom they considered as an enemy, and who, they were persuaded, had meant to destroy them by the sword of foreigners; yet, moved at the sight of this vanquished enemy, they strove to defend him, they were indignant at the violence committed in regard to him, and they did enough to ruin themselves without doing sufficient to save him.

Salles,† who, of all the members of the Assembly, lent himself most readily to the fancies of Louvet, and who even surpassed him in the supposition of imaginary plots, first proposed and supported the system of appeal to the people in the sitting of the 27th. Giving up the conduct of Louis XVI. to all the censure of the republicans, and admitting that it deserved all the severity that it was possible to exercise, he insisted nevertheless that it was not an act of vengeance, but a great political act that it was incumbent on the Assembly to perform. He maintained, therefore, that it was with reference to the public interest that the question ought to be decided. Now, in both cases, of acquittal or of condemnation, he perceived

absurd ferocity, declared in the National Assembly that Louis XVI. deserved death for the single crime of being a king, and condemned him merely because they wished to destroy royalty."—*Bertrand de Molleville.* E.

* "The Girondins, said Napoleon, condemned the King to death, and yet the majority of them had voted for the appeal to the people, which was intended to save him. This forms the inexplicable part of their conduct. Had they wished to preserve his life, they had the power to do so; nothing more would have been necessary than to adjourn the sentence, or condemn him to exile or transportation. But to condemn him to death, and at the same time endeavour to make his fate depend on a popular vote, was the height of imprudence and absurdity; it was, after having destroyed the monarchy, to endeavour to tear France in pieces by a civil war. It was this false combination which ruined them. Vergniaud, their main pillar, was the very man who proclaimed, as president, the death of Louis; and he did this at the moment when the force of their party was such in the Assembly, that it required several months' labour, and more than one popular insurrection, to overturn it. That party might have ruled the Convention, destroyed the Mountain, and governed France, if they had at once pursued a manly, straightforward conduct. It was the refinements of metaphysicians which occasioned their fall."—*Las Cases.* E.

† "J. B. Salles, a physician at Vezelise, was a man of an enlightened mind and acute penetration, and showed himself a warm partisan of the Revolution. After the overthrow of monarchy on the 10th of August, he was appointed deputy to the National Convention, and became one of the founders of the republic. In this Assembly he voted for the confinement of Louis XVI., and his banishment, on the conclusion of peace. In 1793, he boldly denounced Marat as exciting the people to murder and pillage, and as having solicited them, especially in his journal, to hang monopolizers at the doors of their magazines. Being outlawed by the Jacobin faction, Salles wandered for a long time from asylum to asylum, and from cavern to cavern, but was at length seized at the house of Gaudet's father, tried at Bordeaux, and executed in 1794. Salles was thirty-four years of age.' —*Biographie Moderne.* E.

prodigious inconveniences. Acquittal would be an everlasting cause of discord, and the King would become the rallying-point of all the parties. The Assembly would be continually reminded of his attempts by way of reproach for its indulgence: this impunity would be a public scandal, which might perhaps occasion popular commotions and furnish a pretext to all the agitators. The atrocious wretches who had already convulsed the state by their crimes would not fail to avail themselves of this impunity to perpetrate fresh horrors, as they had availed themselves of the listlessness of the tribunals to commit the massacres of September. In short, the Convention would be accused on all sides of not having had the courage to put an end to so many agitations, and to found the republic by an energetic and terrible example.

If condemned, the King would bequeath to his family all the pretensions of his race, and bequeath them to brothers more dangerous, because they were in less disrepute for weakness. The people, seeing no longer the crimes but the punishment, would perhaps begin to pity the fate of the King, and the factions would find in this disposition another medium of exasperating them against the National Convention. The sovereigns of Europe would keep a dead silence, awaiting an event, which must, they would hope, awaken general indignation; but the moment the head of the King should have fallen, that moment all of them, profiting by this pretext, would rush at once upon France to tear her in pieces. Then, perhaps, France, blinded by her sufferings, would reproach the Convention for an act which had brought upon her a cruel and disastrous war.

"Such," said Salles, "is the dire alternative offered to the National Convention. In such a situation, it is for the nation itself to decide and to fix its own fate in fixing that of Louis XVI. The danger of civil war is chimerical; for civil war did not break out when the primary assemblies were convoked for the purpose of appointing a convention, which was to decide upon the fate of France; and as little apprehension of it appears to be entertained on an occasion quite as momentous, since to these same primary assemblies is referred the sanction of the constitution. It is idle to oppose the delays and difficulties of a new deliberation in forty-four thousand assemblies; for the point is not to deliberate, but to choose without discussion between two courses proposed by the Convention. Let the question be thus propounded to the primary assemblies: "Shall Louis XVI. be punished with death, or detained till the peace?—and let them answer in these words; *Detained*, or *Put to death*. With extraordinary couriers, the answers may arrive in a fortnight from the remotest extremities of France."

Very different were the feelings with which this opinion was listened to. Serres, deputy of the Hautes Alpes, retracted his first opinion, which was in favour of judgment, and demanded the appeal to the people. Barbaroux combated the justification of Louis XVI. without adopting any conclusions, for he durst not acquit contrary to the opinion of his constituents, nor condemn against that of his friends. Buzot declared for the appeal to the people, but he modified the proposition of Salles, desiring that the Convention should itself take the initiative by voting for death, and requiring of the primary assemblies the mere sanction of that sentence. Rabaut St. Etienne,* the Protestant minister, who had already distinguished himself by his talents in the Constituent Assembly, was indignant at the accumulation of

* "J. P. Rabaut St. Etienne, a lawyer, a man of letters, and a minister of the reformed religion, was an ardent convert to the Revolution, and a sworn enemy to the Catholic clergy. He was one of those whose sectarian spirit added greatly to the Revolutionary enthusiasm. When, however, he had only monarchy to contend against, he became more moderate. On the occasion of the King's trial, he forcibly combated the opinion of those who desired that the Convention should itself try Louis. At the time of the nominal appeal concerning the punishment to be inflicted on the King, St. Etienne voted for his confinement, and his banishment in the event of a peace, as well as for the appeal to the people to confirm the sentence. In 1793, he was president of the National Convention; but, opposing the Terrorist party, a decree of outlawry was passed against him, and he was executed at Paris, having been delivered up by an old friend, of whom he went to beg an asylum. Rabaut St. Etienne was fifty years of age, and a native of Nimes. He was the author of 'Letters on the Primitive History of Greece,' and of an 'Historic Summary of the French Revolution.' He also assisted in editing the 'Moniteur.'"—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

powers arrogated to itself by the Convention. "For my part," said he, "I am weary of my portion of despotism. I am fatigued, harassed, tormented, with the tyranny which I exercise for my share, and I long for the moment when you shall have created a tribunal that shall divest me of the forms and the look of a tyrant. You seek reasons of policy. Those reasons are in history. Those people of London, who had so strongly urged the execution of the King, were the first to curse his judges, and to fall prostrate before his successor. When Charles II. ascended the throne, the City gave him a magnificent entertainment, the people indulged in the most extravagant rejoicings, and ran to witness the execution of those same judges whom Charles sacrificed to the manes of his father. People of Paris, parliament of France, have ye heard me?"

Faure moved for copies of all the decrees issued relative to the trial. At length, the gloomy Robespierre again came forward, full of wrath and bitterness. He, too, he said, had been touched, and had felt republican virtue waver in his heart, at the sight of the culprit, humbled before the sovereign power. But the last proof of devotedness due to the country was to stifle every movement of sensibility. He then repeated all that he had said on the competence of the Convention, on the everlasting delays thrown in the way of the national vengeance, on the indulgence shown to the tyrant, while the warmest friends of liberty were attacked without any kind of reserve. He declared that this appeal to the people was but a resource similar to that devised by Guadet, when he moved for the purificatory scrutiny, that this perfidious resource was designed to unsettle everything—the actual deputation, and the 10th of August, and the republic itself. Constantly reverting to himself and his enemies, he compared their existing situation with that of July, 1791, when it was proposed to try Louis XVI. on account of his flight to Varennes. On that occasion, Robespierre had acted an important part. He recounted his dangers as well as the successful efforts of his adversaries to replace Louis XVI. on the throne, the fusillade of the Champ de Mars which had followed, and the perils in which Louis XVI., when replaced on the throne, had involved the public weal. He perfidiously ranked his adversaries of that day with those of former times, and represented himself and France as being in one and the same danger, and still from the intrigues of those scoundrels who called themselves exclusively the honest men. "Now," added Robespierre, "they have nothing to say upon the most important interests of the country; they abstain from pronouncing their opinion concerning the last King; but their underhand and baneful activity produces all the disturbances which agitate the country; and in order to mislead the sound, but frequently mistaken, majority, they persecute the most ardent patriots under the designation of the factious minority. The minority," he exclaimed, "has often changed into a majority, by enlightening the deluded assemblies. Virtue was always in a minority upon earth! But for this the earth would be peopled by tyrants and slaves. Hampden and Sidney were in the minority, for they expired on a scaffold.* A Critias, an Anitus, a Cæsar, a Clodius, were in the majority; but Socrates was in the minority—for he swallowed hemlock: Cato was in the minority—for he plunged his sword into his bowels." Robespierre then recommended quietness to the people, in order to take away every pretext from their adversaries, who represented the mere applause bestowed on its faithful deputies as rebellion. "People!" cried he, "restrain your plaudits. Shun the theatre of our debates. Out of your sight we shall not fight the less stoutly." He concluded by demanding that Louis XVI. should be immediately declared guilty, and condemned to death.

There was a constant succession of speakers from the 28th to the 31st. Vergniaud at length ascended the tribune for the first time, and an extraordinary eagerness was manifested to hear the Girondins express their sentiments by the lips of their greatest orator, and break that silence of which Robespierre was not the only one to accuse them.

Vergniaud commenced by expounding the principles of the sovereignty of the

* It is scarcely necessary to point out this palpable historical blunder, as every English reader knows that Hampden fell in battle with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrave in Oxfordshire. E.

people, and distinguished the cases in which it was the duty of the representatives to appeal to it. It would be too long, too difficult, to recur to a great nation for all the legislative acts : but, in regard to certain acts of extraordinary importance, the case is totally different. The constitution, for example, has been destined beforehand to be submitted to the national sanction. But this object is not the only one that deserves an extraordinary sanction. The trial of Louis possesses such grave characteristics, either from the accumulation of powers exercised by the Assembly, or from the inviolability which had been constitutionally granted to the monarch ; or, lastly, from the political effects which must result from a condemnation, that it is impossible to deny its high importance, and the necessity of submitting it to the nation itself. After developing this system, Vergniaud, who refuted Robespierre in particular, at length came to the political inconveniences of the appeal to the people, and touched upon all the great questions which divided the two parties.

He first considered the disturbances which were apprehended from referring to the people the sanction of the sentence passed upon the King. He repeated the reasons adduced by other Girondins, and maintained that, if no fear of civil war was felt in convoking the primary assemblies for the purpose of sanctioning the constitution, he did not see why such a result should be dreaded from calling them together in order to sanction the sentence upon the King. This reason, frequently repeated, was of little weight, for the constitution was not the real question of the Revolution. It could but be the detailed regulation of an institution already decreed and assented to—the republic. But the death of the King was a formidable question. The point was to decide if, in proceeding by the way of death against royalty, the Revolution would break irretrievably with the past, and advance, by vengeance and an inexorable energy, to the goal which it proposed to itself. Now, if so terrible a question produced such a decided division in the Convention and Paris, there would be the greatest danger in again proposing it to the forty-four thousand sections of the French territory. Tumultuous disputes took place at all the theatres, in all the popular societies ; and it was requisite that the Convention should have the nerve to decide the question itself, that it might not have to refer it to France, which would perhaps have resolved it by arms.

Vergniaud, holding the same opinion as his friends on this subject, maintained that civil war was not to be apprehended. He said that, in the departments, agitators had not gained the preponderance which a base weakness had suffered them to usurp in Paris ; that they had certainly spread themselves over the face of the republic, but had everywhere met with nothing but contempt, and that the people had furnished a signal example of obedience to the law, by sparing the impure blood which flowed in their veins. He then refuted the fears which had been expressed respecting the real majority, which was said to be composed of intriguers, royalists, and aristocrats ; and inveighed against the supercilious assertion that virtue was in a minority upon earth. "Citizens!" he exclaimed, "Catiline was in a minority in the Roman senate, and, had this minority prevailed, all had been over with Rome, the senate, and liberty. In the Constituent Assembly, Maury and Cazalès were in a minority, and, had they prevailed, it had been all over with you! Kings also are in a minority upon earth ; and in order to fetter nations they, too, assert that virtue is in a minority. They, too, say that the majority of the people is composed of intriguers, who must be reduced to silence by terror, if empires are to be preserved from one general convulsion."

Vergniaud asked if, to form a majority suitable to the wishes of certain persons, it was right to employ banishment and death, to change France into a desert, and thus deliver her up to the schemes of a handful of villains.

Having avenged the majority and France, he avenged himself and his friends, whom he represented as resisting constantly, and with equal courage, all sorts of despotisms, the despotism of the court, as well as that of the brigands of September. He represented them during the commotion of the 10th of August, sitting amidst the pealing of the cannon of the palace, pronouncing the forfeiture of the crown before the victory of the people, while those Brutuses, now so eager to take the

lives of prostrate tyrants, were hiding their terrors in the bowels of the earth, and thus awaiting the issue of the uncertain battle which liberty was fighting with despotism.

He then hurled upon his adversaries the reproach of provoking civil war. "Yes," said he, "those are desirous of civil war who, preaching up the murder of all the partisans of tyranny, give that appellation to all the victims whom their hatred would fain sacrifice; those who call down daggers upon the representatives of the people, and demand the dissolution of the government and of the Convention; those who wish that the minority may become the ruler of the majority, that it may be able to enforce its opinions by insurrections, and that the Catilines may be called to reign in the senate. They are desirous of civil war who inculcate these maxims in all the public places, and pervert the people by stigmatizing reason as Feuillantism, justice as pusillanimity, and sacred humanity as conspiracy.

"Civil war!" exclaimed the orator, "for having invoked the sovereignty of the people! . . . . Yet, in July, 1791, ye were more modest. Ye had no desire to paralyze it, and to reign in its stead. Ye circulated a petition for consulting the people on the judgment to be passed upon Louis on his return from Varennes! Ye then wished for the sovereignty of the people, and did not think that invoking it was capable of exciting civil war! Was it that then it favoured your secret views, and that now it is hostile to them?"

The orator then proceeded to other considerations. It had been said that it behoved the Assembly to show sufficient greatness and courage to cause its judgment to be carried into execution itself, without calling the opinion of the people to its support. "Courage!" said he; "it required courage to attack Louis XVI. in the height of his power. Does it require as much to send Louis, vanquished and disarmed, to execution? A Cimbrian soldier entered the prison of Marius with the intention of murdering him. Terrified at the sight of his victim, he fled without daring to strike. Had this soldier been a member of a senate, do you suppose that he would have hesitated to vote the death of the tyrant? What courage do you find in the performance of an act of which a coward would be capable?"

He then spoke of a different kind of courage, that which is to be displayed against foreign powers. "Since people are continually talking of a great political act," said he, "it may not be amiss to examine the question in that point of view. There is no doubt that the powers are waiting for this last pretext, to rush all together upon France. There is as little doubt that we shall conquer them. The heroism of the French soldiers is a sure guarantee of victory; but there must be an increase of expense, of efforts of every kind. If the war constrains us to resort to fresh issues of assignats; if it inflicts new and mortal injuries on commerce; if it causes torrents of blood to be shed upon land and upon sea; what very great services will you have rendered to humanity! What gratitude will the country owe you for having performed in its name, and in contempt of its misconstrued sovereignty, an act of vengeance, that has become the cause or merely the pretext for such calamitous events! I put out of the question," cried the speaker, "all idea of reverses; but will you dare boast to it of your services? There will not be a family but will have to deplore either a father or a son; the farmer will soon be in want of hands; the manufactories will be forsaken; your exhausted treasury will call for new taxes; the social body, harassed by the attacks made upon it by armed enemies from without, and by raging factions within, will sink into a deadly languor. Beware lest, amid these triumphs, France be like those celebrated monuments in Egypt which have vanquished Time; the stranger who passes is astonished at their magnitude; if he attempts to penetrate into them, what does he find? Inanimate dust, and the silence of the grave."

Besides these fears, there were others which presented themselves to the mind of Vergniaud. They were suggested to him by English history and by the conduct of Cromwell, the principal, though secret author, of the death of Charles I. This man, continually urging the people, at first against the King, then against the Parliament itself, at length broke in pieces his weak instrument, and seized the supreme

power. "Have you not," added Vergniaud, "have you not heard in this place and elsewhere men crying out, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Temple; if specie is scarce, if our armies are scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Temple; if we are shocked every day by the sight of indigence, the cause of it is in the Temple!'

"And yet those who hold this language well know that the dearness of bread, the want of circulation in provisions, the maladministration in the armies, and the indigence, the sight of which afflicts us, spring from other causes than those in the Temple. What then are their designs? Who will guarantee to me that these same men who are continually striving to degrade the Convention, and who might possibly have succeeded if the majesty of the people, which resides in it, could depend on their perfidies; that those same men, who are everywhere proclaiming that a new revolution is necessary; who are causing this or that section to be declared in a state of permanent insurrection; who say that when the Convention succeeded Louis we only changed tyrants, and that we want another 10th of August; that those same men who talked of nothing but plots, death, traitors, proscriptions, who insist in the meetings of sections and in their writings that a *defender* ought to be appointed for the republic, and that nothing but a chief can save it;—who, I say, will guarantee to me that these very men will not, after the death of Louis, cry out with greater violence than ever, 'If bread is dear, the cause of it is in the Convention; if money is scarce, if our armies is scantily supplied, the cause of it is in the Convention; if the machine of the government can hardly keep moving, the cause of it is in the Convention charged with the direction of it; if the calamities of war are increased by the declarations of England and Spain, the cause of it is in the Convention, which has provoked those declarations by the hasty condemnation of Louis!'

"Who will guarantee to me that these seditious outcries of anarchical turbulence will not have the effect of rallying the aristocracy eager for revenge, poverty eager for change, and even pity itself, which inveterate prejudices will have excited for the fate of Louis! Who will guarantee to me that, amid this tempest, in which we shall see the murderers of the 2d of September issuing from their lairs, there will not be presented to you, dripping with blood, and by the title of liberator, that *defender*, that chief who is said to be so indispensable! A chief! Ah! if such were their audacity, the instant he appeared, that instant he would be pierced by a thousand wounds! But to what horrors would not Paris be consigned—Paris, whose heroic courage against kings posterity will admire, while it will be utterly incapable of conceiving her ignominious subjection to a handful of brigands, the scum of mankind, who rend her bosom by the convulsive movements of their ambition and their fury! Who could dwell in a city where terror and death would hold sway! And ye, industrious citizens, whose labour is all your wealth, and for whom the means of labour would be destroyed; ye, who have made such great sacrifices at the Revolution, and who would be deprived of the absolute necessaries of life; ye, whose virtues, whose ardent patriotism, and whose sincerity have rendered your seduction so easy, what would become of you? What would be your resources? What hand would dry your tears and carry relief to your perishing families?

"Would you apply to those false friends, those treacherous flatterers, who would have plunged you into the abyss? Ah! shun them rather! Dread their answer! I will tell you what it would be. You would ask them for bread; they would say to you, 'Go to the quarries, and dispute with the earth the possession of the mangled flesh of the victims whom ye have slaughtered!' Or, 'Do you want blood? here it is, take it—blood and carcasses. We have no other food to offer you!' . . . Ye shudder, citizens! O my country, I call upon thee in my turn to attest the efforts that I make to save thee from this deplorable crisis!"

This extempore speech of Vergniaud produced a deep impression and general admiration in his hearers of all classes. Robespierre was thunderstruck by his earnest and persuasive eloquence. Vergniaud, however, had but shaken, not convinced, the Assembly, which wavered between the two parties. Several members were successively heard, for and against, the appeal to the people. Brissot,

Gensonné, Petion, supported it in their turn. One speaker at length had a decisive influence on the question. This was Barrère. By his suppleness, and his cold and evasive eloquence, he was the model and oracle of the centre. He spoke at great length on the trial, reviewed it in all its bearings, those of facts, of laws, and of policy, and furnished all those weak minds who only wanted specious reasons for yielding, with motives for the condemnation of the King. His arguments, weak as they were, served as a pretext for all those who wavered; and from that moment the unfortunate King was condemned. The discussion lasted till the 7th, and nobody would listen any longer to the everlasting repetition of the same facts and the same arguments. It was therefore declared to be closed without opposition, but the proposal of a fresh adjournment excited a commotion among the most violent, and ended in a decree which fixed the 14th of January for putting the questions to the vote.

That fatal day having arrived, an extraordinary concourse of spectators surrounded the Assembly and filled the tribunes. A multitude of speakers pressed forward to propose different ways of putting the questions. At length, after a long debate the Convention comprised all the questions in the three following:

Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general safety of the state?

Shall the judgment, whatever it may be, be referred to the sanction of the people?

What punishment shall be inflicted upon him?

The whole of the 14th was occupied in deciding upon the questions. The 15th was reserved for voting. The Assembly decided, in the first place, that each member should deliver his vote from the tribune; that he should write and sign it, and, if he pleased, assign his motive for it; that members absent without cause should be censured, but that such as should come in afterwards, might give their votes even after the general voting was over. At length the fatal voting on the first question commenced. Eight members were absent on account of illness, twenty upon commissions from the Assembly. Thirty-seven, assigning various motives for their votes, acknowledged Louis XVI. to be guilty, but declared themselves incompetent to pronounce sentence, and merely proposed measures of general safety against him. Lastly, six hundred and eighty-three members declared Louis XVI. guilty without explanation. The Assembly consisted of seven hundred and forty-nine members.

The president in the name of the National Convention declared Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and attempts against the general welfare of the state.

The voting commenced on the second question, that of the appeal to the people. Twenty-nine members were absent. Four, Lafon, Waudelaincourt, Morisson, and Lacroix, refused to vote. Noel also declined. Eleven gave their opinion with different conditions. Two hundred and eighty-one voted for the appeal to the people. Four hundred and twenty-three rejected it. The president declared, in the name of the National Convention, that the judgment on Louis Capet should not be submitted to the ratification of the people.

The whole of the 15th was taken up by these two series of votes. The third was postponed till the sitting of the following day.

The nearer the moment approached, the greater became the agitation in Paris. At the theatres, voices favourable to Louis XVI. had been raised on occasion of the performance of the play entitled *L'Ami des Lois*.* The commune had ordered all the playhouses to be shut up; but the executive council had revoked that measure, as a violation of the liberty of the press, in which was comprehended the liberty of the theatre. Deep consternation pervaded the prisons. A report was

* "At the representation of the comedy called 'L'Ami des Lois,' at the Français, every allusion to the King's trial was caught and received with unbounded applause. At the Vaudeville, on one of the characters in 'La Chaste Susanne' saying to the two elders 'You cannot be accusers and judges at the same time,' the audience obliged the actor to repeat the passage several times."—*Clery*. E.

circulated that the atrocities of September were to be repeated there, and the prisoners and their relatives beset the deputies with supplications that they would snatch them from destruction. The Jacobins, on their part, alleged that conspiracies were hatching in all quarters to save Louis XVI. from punishment, and to restore royalty. Their anger, excited by delays and obstacles, assumed a more threatening aspect; and the two parties thus alarmed one another, by supposing that each harboured sinister designs.

The sitting of the 16th drew together a still greater concourse than any that had preceded. It was the decisive sitting, for the declaration of culpability would be nothing if Louis XVI. should be condemned to mere banishment, and the object of those who desired to save him would be accomplished, since all that they could expect at the moment was, to save him from the scaffold. The tribunes had been early occupied by the Jacobins, and their eyes were fixed on the bureau at which every member was to appear to deliver his vote. Great part of the day was taken up by measures of public order, in sending for the ministers, in hearing them, in obtaining an explanation from the mayor relative to the closing of the barriers, which were said to have been shut during the day. The Convention decreed that they should remain open, and that the federalists at Paris should share with the Parisians the duty of the city, and of all the public establishments.

As the day was advanced, it was decided that the sitting should be permanent till the voting was over. At the moment when it was about to commence, it was proposed that the Assembly should fix the number of votes by which sentence should be passed. Lehardy proposed two-thirds, as in the criminal courts. Danton, who had just arrived from Belgium, strongly opposed this motion, and required a bare majority, that is to say, one more than half. Lanjuinais exposed himself to fresh storms by insisting that, after so many violations of the forms of justice, they should at least observe that which demands two-thirds of the votes. "We vote," he exclaimed, "under the daggers and the cannon of the factions." At these words new outcries burst forth, and the Convention put an end to the debate by declaring that the form of its decrees was unique, and that according to this form they were all passed by a bare majority.

The voting began at half-past seven in the evening, and lasted all night. Some voted merely death;* others declared themselves in favour of detention and banishment on the restoration of peace; whilst others again pronounced death, but with this restriction, that they should inquire whether it was not expedient to stay the execution. Mailhe† was the author of this restriction, which was designed to save Louis XVI., for in this case time was everything, and delay an acquittal. A considerable number of deputies expressed themselves in favour of this course. The voting continued amidst tumult. At this moment the interest which Louis XVI. had excited was at its height; and many members had arrived with the intention of voting in his favour; but, on the other hand also, the rancour of his enemies had increased, and the people had been brought to identify the cause of the republic with the death of the last King, and to consider the republic as condemned and royalty as restored, if Louis XVI. were saved.

Alarmed at the fury excited by this notion, many members were in dread of civil war, and, though deeply moved by the fate of Louis XVI., they were afraid of the consequences of an acquittal. This fear was greatly augmented at sight of the Assembly, and the scene that was passing there. As each deputy ascended the steps of the bureau, silence was observed in order that he might be heard; but

* "Many great and good men mournfully inclined to the severer side, from an opinion of its absolute necessity to annihilate a dangerous enemy, and establish an unsettled republic. Among these must be reckoned Carnot, who, when called on for his opinion, gave it in these words: 'Death, and never did word weigh so heavily on my heart!'"—*Alison.* E.

† "Jean Mailhe was a lawer and attorney syndic of Upper Garonne, whence he was deputed to the legislature. At the time of the King's trial he voted for death, but moved an amendment to the effect that execution should be delayed. Having escaped the proscriptions of the Reign of Terror, he was, in 1800, appointed by the consuls secretary-general to the prefecture of the Upper Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

after he had given his vote, tokens of approbation or disapprobation immediately burst forth, and accompanied his return to his seat. The tribunes received with murmurs all votes that were not for death : and they frequently addressed threatening gestures to the Assembly itself. The deputies replied to them from the interior of the hall, and hence resulted a tumultuous exchange of menaces and abusive epithets. This fearfully ominous scene had shaken all minds, and changed many resolutions. Lecointe, of Versailles, whose courage was undoubted, and who had not ceased to respond to the gesticulation of the tribunes, advanced to the bureau, hesitated, and at length dropped from his lips the unexpected and terrible word: *Death.* Vergniaud, who had appeared deeply affected by the fate of Louis XVI., and who had declared to his friends that he never could condemn that unfortunate prince,—Vergniaud, on beholding this tumultuous scene, imagined that he saw civil war kindled in France, and pronounced sentence of death, with the addition, however, of Mailhe's amendment. On being questioned respecting his change of opinion, he replied that he thought he beheld civil war on the point of breaking out, and that he durst not balance the life of an individual against the welfare of France.

Almost all the Girondins adopted Mailhe's amendment. A deputy whose vote excited a strong sensation, was the Duke of Orleans. Reduced to the necessity of rendering himself endurable to the Jacobins or perishing, he pronounced the death of his kinsman, and returned to his place, amidst the agitation caused by his vote.* This melancholy sitting lasted the whole night of the 16th and the whole day of the 17th till seven in the evening. The summing up of the votes was awaited with extraordinary impatience. The avenues were thronged with an immense crowd, each inquiring of his neighbour the result of the scrutiny. In the Assembly itself, all was yet uncertainty ; for it seemed as though the words *Imprisonment* or *Banishment*, had been as frequently pronounced as *Death.* According to some there was one vote deficient for condemnation. According to others there was a majority, but only by a single voice. On all sides it was asserted that one vote more would decide the question ; and people looked around with anxiety to see if any other deputy was coming. At this moment a man came forward, who could scarcely walk, and whose head, wrapped up, indicated illness. This man, named Duchastel, deputy of the Deux Sevres, had left his bed to which he had been confined, in order to give his vote. At this sight tumultuous shouts arose. It was alleged that the intriguers had hunted him out for the purpose of saving Louis XVI. Some wanted to question him, but the Assembly refused to allow this, and authorized him to vote, by virtue of the decision which admitted of the vote after the calling of the names. Duchastel ascended to the tribune with firmness, and, amidst the general suspense, pronounced in favour of banishment.

Fresh incidents followed. The minister for foreign affairs desired permission to speak, in order to communicate a note from the Chevalier d'Ocariz, the Spanish ambassador. He offered the neutrality of Spain, and her mediation with all the powers, if Louis XVI. were suffered to live. The impatient Mountaineers pretended that this was an incident contrived for the purpose of raising fresh obstacles, and moved the order of the day. Danton suggested that war should be immediately declared against Spain. The Assembly adopted the order of the day. A new application was then announced. The defenders of Louis XVI. solicited admission for the purpose of making a communication. Fresh outcries proceeded from the Mountain. Robespierre declared that the defence was finished, that the council had no right to submit anything further to the Convention, that the judgment was

* "The Duke of Orleans, when called on to give his vote, walked with a faltering step, and a face paler than death itself, to the appointed place, and there read these words : 'Exclusively governed by my duty, and convinced that all those who have resisted the sovereignty of the people deserve death, my vote is for death !' Important as the accession of the first prince of the blood was to the terrorist faction, his conduct in this instance was too obviously selfish and atrocious not to excite a general feeling of indignation ; the agitation of the Assembly became extreme ; it seemed as if by this single vote the fate of the monarch was irrevocably sealed."—*History of the Convention.* E.

given, and only remained to be pronounced. It was decided that the counsel should not be admitted till after the pronouncing of judgment.

Vergniaud presided. "Citizens," said he, "I am about to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You will observe, I hope, profound silence. When justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn."

The Assembly was composed of seven hundred and forty-nine members: fifteen were absent on commissions, eight from illness, five had refused to vote, which reduced the number of deputies present to seven hundred and twenty-one, and the absolute majority to three hundred and sixty-one votes. Two hundred and eighty-six had voted for detention or banishment with different conditions. Two had voted for imprisonment; forty-six for death with reprieve either till peace, or till the ratification of the constitution. Twenty-six had voted for death, but with Mailhe, they had desired that the Assembly should consider whether it might not be expedient to stay the execution. Their vote was nevertheless independent of the latter clause. Three hundred and sixty-one had voted for death unconditionally.

The president then in a sorrowful tone, declared in the name of the Convention that, *the punishment pronounced against Louis Capet is—Death!**

At this moment the defenders of Louis XVI. were introduced at the bar. M. Desèze addressed the Assembly and said that he was sent by his client to put in an appeal to the people from the sentence passed by the Convention. He founded this appeal on the small number of votes which had decided the condemnation, and maintained that, since such doubts had arisen in the minds of the deputies, it was expedient to refer the matter to the nation itself. Tronchet added that, as the penal code had been followed in respect to the severity of the punishment, they were bound to follow it also in respect to the humanity of the forms; and that the form which required two-thirds of the voices, ought not to have been neglected. The venerable Malesherbes spoke in his turn. With a voice interrupted by sobs, "Citizens," said he, "I am not in the habit of public speaking. . . . I see with pain that I am refused time to muster my ideas on the manner of counting the votes. . . I have formerly reflected much on this subject; I have many observations to communicate to you . . . but . . . Citizens . . . forgive my agitation . . . grant me time till to-morrow to arrange my ideas."

The Assembly was moved at the sight of the tears and the gray hair of the venerable old man. "Citizens," said Vergniaud to the three counsel, "the Convention has listened to the remonstrances, which it was a sacred duty incumbent on you to make—Will you," added he, addressing the Assembly, "decree the honours of the sitting to the defenders of Louis XVI.?"—"Yes, yes," was the unanimous reply.

Robespierre then spoke, and, referring to the decree passed against an appeal to the people, combated the application of the counsel. Guadet proposed that, without admitting of the appeal to the people, twenty-four hours should be allowed to Malesherbes. Merlin of Douai† maintained that nothing whatever could be urged

* "When M. de Malesherbes went to the Temple to announce the result of the vote, he found Louis with his forehead resting on his hands, and absorbed in a deep revery. Without inquiring concerning his fate, he said, 'For two hours I have been considering whether, during my whole reign, I have voluntarily given any cause of complaint to my subjects; and with perfect sincerity I declare that I deserve no reproach at their hands, and that I have never formed a wish but for their happiness.'"—*Lacretelle.* E.

"Louis was fully prepared for his fate. During the calling of the votes he asked M. de Malesherbes, 'Have you not met, near the Temple, the White Lady?'—'What do you mean?' replied he. 'Do you not know,' resumed the King, with a smile 'that when a prince of our house is about to die, a female, dressed in white, is seen wandering about the palace? My friends,' added he to his defenders, 'I am about to depart before you for the land of the just, but there, at least, we shall be reunited.' In fact, his majesty's only apprehension seemed to be for his family."—*Alison.* E.

† "Merlin always pursued a revolutionary career, and never departed from his principles, never accepted a commission to pillage or slay in the departments, and devoted to the fatigue of incessant labour, never manifested undue ambition. He wanted perhaps the courage and firmness

against the manner of counting the votes; for, if the penal code, which was invoked, required two-thirds of the voices for the declaration of the fact, it required only a bare majority for the application of the punishment. Now, in the present case, the culpability had been declared by an almost general unanimity of voices; and therefore it mattered not if only a bare majority had been obtained for the punishment.

After these different observations, the Convention passed to the order of the day upon the demands of the counsel, declared the appeal of Louis to be null, and deferred the question of reprieve to the following day. Next day, the 18th, it was alleged that the enumeration of the votes was not correct, and that it should be taken anew. The whole day was passed in disputation. At length the calculation was ascertained to be correct; and the Assembly was obliged to postpone the question of reprieve till the following day.

At length, on the 19th, this last question was discussed. It was placing the whole of the proceedings in jeopardy, for to Louis XVI. delay was life itself. Thus, after exhausting all their arguments, in discussing the punishment and the appeal, the Girondins and those who wished to save Louis XVI. knew not what further means to employ. They still talked of political reasons, but were told in reply that, if Louis XVI. were dead, people would arm to avenge him; that, if he were alive and detained, they would arm in like manner to deliver him, and that consequently, in either case, the result would be the same. Barrère asserted that it was unworthy of the Assembly thus to parade a head through foreign courts, and to stipulate the life or death of a condemned person as an article of a treaty. He added that this would be a cruelty to Louis XVI. himself, who would suffer death at every movement of the armies. The Assembly, immediately closing the discussion, decided that each member should vote by *Yes* or *No*, without stirring from the spot. On the 20th of January, at three in the morning, the voting terminated, and the president declared, by a majority of three hundred and eighty voices to three hundred and ten, that the execution of Louis Capet should take place without delay.*

At this moment a letter arrived from Kersaint,† in which that deputy resigned his seat. He could no longer, he wrote to the Assembly, endure the disgrace of sitting in the same place with bloodthirsty men, when their sentiments, preceded

necessary to a true statesman, but he had some qualities which are desirable in a minister; more remarkable for address than vigour, he succeeded in all he attempted, by patience, attention, and that persevering spirit which is not character, but which frequently supplies its place."—*Carnot's Memoirs.* E.

* "The sitting of the Convention which concluded the trial lasted seventy-two hours. It might naturally be supposed that silence, restraint, a sort of religious awe would have pervaded the scene. On the contrary, everything bore the marks of gaiety, dissipation, and the most grotesque confusion. The farther end of the hall was converted into boxes, where ladies, in a studied dishabille, swallowed ices, oranges, liqueurs, and received the salutations of the members who went and came, as on ordinary occasions. Here, the doorkeepers on the Mountain side opened and shut the boxes reserved for the mistresses of the Duke of Orleans-Egalité; and there, though every sound of approbation or disapprobation was strictly forbidden, you heard the long and indignant 'Ha, ha's!' of the mother-duchess, the patroness of the band of female Jacobins, whenever her ears were not loudly greeted with the welcome sounds of death. The upper gallery, reserved for the people, was during the whole trial constantly full of strangers of every description drinking wine, as in a tavern. Bets were made as to the issue of the trial in all the neighbouring coffee-houses. Ennui, impatience, disgust, sat on almost every countenance. The figures passing and repassing, and rendered more ghastly by the pallid lights, and who in a slow, sepulchral voice only pronounced the word death; others calculating if they should have time to go to dinner before they gave their verdict; women pricking cards with pins in order to count the votes; some of the deputies fallen asleep, and only waked up to give their sentence;— all this had the appearance of a hideous dream than of a reality."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "Comte de A. G. S. Kersaint was a captain in the royal navy, and at the period of the Revolution attached himself to the Girondins. On the king's trial, when sentence of death had been pronounced, in opposition to his vote for imprisonment till the peace, Kersaint sent in his resignation as member of the Convention. In 1793 he was guillotined by the Jacobin faction. He was born in Paris, was a man of good natural abilities, and of moderate principles, and at the time of his death was fifty-two years old."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

by terror, prevailed over those of upright minds; when Marat prevailed over Petion. This letter caused an extraordinary agitation. Gensonné spoke, and took this opportunity to avenge himself on the Septembrisers, for the decree of death which had just been issued. It was doing nothing, he said, to punish the misdeeds of tyranny, if they did not punish other misdeeds that were still more mischievous. They had performed but half their task, if they did not punish the crimes of September, and if they did not direct proceedings to be instituted against their authors. At this proposition, the greater part of the Assembly rose with acclamation. Marat and Tallien opposed the movement. "If," cried they, "you punish the authors of September, punish those conspirators also who were intrenched in the palace on the 10th of August." The Assembly, complying with all these demands, immediately ordered the minister of justice to prosecute as well the authors of the atrocities committed in the first days of September, as the persons found in arms in the palace during the night between the 9th and 10th of August, and the functionaries who had quitted their posts and returned to Paris to conspire with the court.

Louis XVI. was definitively condemned. No reprieve could defer the execution of the sentence, and all the expedients devised for postponing the fatal moment were exhausted. All the members of the right side, whether secret royalists or republicans, were dismayed at that cruel sentence, and at the ascendency just acquired by the Mountain. Profound stupor pervaded Paris. The audacity of the new government had produced the effect which force usually produces upon the mass; it had paralyzed and reduced to silence the greater number, and excited the indignation of merely a few minds of greater energy. There were still some old servants of Louis XVI., some young gentleman, some of the life-guards, who proposed, it was said, to fly to the succour of the monarch, and to rescue him from death. But to meet, to concert together, to make arrangements, amidst the profound terror of the one party, and the active vigilance of the other, was impracticable; and all that could be done, was to attempt some unconnected acts of despair. The Jacobins, delighted with their triumphs, were nevertheless astonished at it. They recommended to one another to keep close together during the next twenty-four hours, to send commissioners to all the authorities, to the commune, to the staff of the national guard, to the department, and to the executive council, for the purpose of rousing their zeal, and insuring the execution of the sentence. They asserted that this execution would take place—that it was infallible; but, from the care which they took to repeat this, it was obvious that they themselves did not entirely believe what they said. The execution of a king, in the bosom of a country which, but three years before, had been by its manners, customs, and laws, an absolute monarchy, appeared still doubtful, and was rendered credible only by the event.

The executive council was charged with the melancholy commission of carrying the sentence into execution. All the ministers were assembled in the hall where they met, and they were struck with consternation. Garat, as minister of justice, had the most painful of all tasks imposed upon him, that of acquainting Louis XVI. with the decrees of the Convention.* He repaired to the Temple, accompanied by Santerre, by a deputation of the commune and of the criminal tribunal, and by the secretary of the executive council. Louis XVI. had been four days expecting his defenders, and applying in vain to see them. On the 20th of January, at two in the afternoon, he was still awaiting them, when all at once he heard the sound of a numerous party. He stepped forward, and perceived the envoys of the executive council. He stopped with dignity at the door of his apartment, apparently unmoved. Garat then told him sorrowfully that he was commissioned to communicate to him the decrees of the Convention. Grouvelle, secretary of the executive council, read them to him. The first declared Louis XVI. guilty of treason against

* "The sentence of death was announced by Garat. No alteration took place in the King's countenance; I observed only at the word 'conspiracy' a smile of indignation appear on his lips; but at the words 'shall suffer the punishment of death,' the expression of his face when he looked on those around him, showed that death had no terrors for him.'—*Clery*. E.

the general safety of the state; the second condemned him to death; the third rejected any appeal to the people; and the fourth and last, ordered his execution in twenty-four hours. Louis, looking calmly around upon all those who were about him, took the paper from the hand of Grouvelle, put it in his pocket, and read Garat a letter in which he demanded from the Convention three days to prepare for death, a confessor to assist him in his last moments, liberty to see his family, and permission for them to leave France. Garat took the letter, promising to submit it immediately to the Convention. The King gave him at the same time the address of the ecclesiastic whose assistance he wished to have in his last moments.

Louis XVI. went back into his room with great composure, ordered his dinner, and ate as usual. There were no knives on the table, and his attendants refused to let him have any. "Do they think me so weak," he exclaimed, "as to lay violent hands on myself? I am innocent, and I am not afraid to die." He was obliged to dispense with a knife. On finishing his repast, he returned to his apartment, and calmly awaited the answer to his letter.

The Convention refused the delay, but granted all the other demands which he had made. Garat sent for Edgeworth de Firmont,* the ecclesiastic whom Louis XVI. had chosen, and took him in his own carriage to the Temple. He arrived there at six o'clock, and went to the great tower, accompanied by Santerre. He informed the King that the Convention allowed him to have a minister, and to see his family alone, but that it rejected the application for delay. Garat added that M. Edgeworth had arrived, that he was in the council-room, and should be introduced. He then retired, more astonished and more touched than ever by the calm magnanimity of the prince.

M. Edgeworth, on being ushered into the presence of the King, would have thrown himself at his feet, but Louis instantly raised him, and both shed tears of emotion. He then, with eager curiosity, asked various questions concerning the clergy of France, several bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of Paris, requesting him to assure the latter that he died faithfully attached to his communion. The clock having struck eight, he rose, begged M. Edgeworth to wait, and retired with emotion, saying that he was going to see his family. The municipal officers, unwilling to lose sight of the King, even while with his family, had decided that he should see it in the dining-room, which had a glass-door, through which they could watch all his motions without hearing what he said. He walked anxiously to and fro, awaiting the painful moment when those who were so dear to him should appear. At half-past eight, the door opened. The Queen, holding the dauphin by the hand, Madame Elizabeth, and Madame Royale, rushed sobbing into the arms of Louis XVI. The door was closed, and the municipal officers, Clery, and M. Edgeworth, placed themselves behind it to witness the agonizing interview. During the first moments, it was but a scene of confusion and despair. Cries and lamentations prevented those who were on the watch from distinguishing anything. At length, tears ceased to flow, the conversation became more calm, and the princesses, still holding the King clasped in their arms, spoke to him for some time in a low tone. After a long conversation, interrupted by silence and grief, he rose to put an end to this painful meeting, and promised to see them again at eight the next morning. "Do you promise that you will?" earnestly inquired the princesses. "Yes, yes," sorrowfully replied the King. At this moment the

* "Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, father-confessor of Louis XVI., was born in Ireland in 1745, in the village of Edgeworthstown. His father, an episcopalian clergyman, adopted the Catholic faith with his family, and went to France. His piety and good conduct obtained him the confidence of the Princess Elizabeth, who chose him for her confessor, and made him known to Louis, who after his condemnation, sent for him to attend him in his last moments. M. Edgeworth accompanied the King to the place of execution; and, having succeeded in escaping from France, arrived in England in 1796. Pitt offered him a pension, which he declined. He soon after followed Louis XVIII. to Blankenburg, in Brunswick, and thence to Mittau. M. Edgeworth died, in 1807, of a contagious fever, caught in attending to some sick French emigrants. The Duchess d'Angoulême waited on him in his last moments; the royal family followed him to the tomb; and Louis XVIII. wrote his epitaph.—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

Queen held him by one arm, Madame Elizabeth by the other, while the princess royal clasped him round the waist: and the young prince stood before him, with one hand in that of his mother, and the other in his aunt's. At the moment of retiring, the princess royal fainted; she was carried away, and the King returned to M. Edgeworth deeply depressed by this painful interview.* In a short time he rallied, and recovered all his composure.

M. Edgeworth then offered to say mass, which he had not heard for a long time. After some difficulties, the commune assented to that ceremony, and application was made to the neighbouring church for the ornaments necessary for the following morning. The King retired to rest about midnight, desiring Clery to call him before five o'clock. M. Edgeworth threw himself upon a bed; and Clery took his place near the pillow of his master, watching the peaceful slumber which he enjoyed the night before he was to ascend the scaffold.

Meanwhile, a frightful scene had passed in Paris. A few ardent minds were in a ferment here and there, while the great mass, either indifferent or awe-struck, remained immoveable. A life-guardsman, named Paris, had resolved to avenge the death of Louis XVI. on one of his judges. Lepelletier St. Fargeau† had, like many others of his rank, voted for death, in order to throw the veil of oblivion over his birth and fortune. He had excited the more indignation in the royalists, on account of the class to which he belonged. On the evening of the 20th he was pointed out to Paris, when he was just sitting down to table at a restaurateur's in the Palais Royal. The young man, wrapped in a great cloak, stepped up to him, and said, "Art thou Lepelletier, the villain who voted for the death of the King?" "Yes," replied the deputy, "but I am not a villain; I voted according to my conscience."—"There, then," rejoined the life-guardsman, "take that for thy

* "At eight o'clock the King came out of his closet, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to his family. They replied, that could not be, but his family should be brought down if he desired it. 'Be it so,' said his majesty; and accordingly, at half-past eight, the door opened, and his wife and children made their appearance. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes, only broken by sighs and sobs. The Queen made an inclination towards his majesty's chamber. 'No,' said the King, 'we must go into this room; I can only see you there.' They went in, and I shut the glass-door. The King sat down; the Queen was on his left hand; Madame Elizabeth on his right; Madame Royale nearly opposite; and the young prince stood between his legs. All were leaning on the King, and often pressed him to their arms. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three-quarters, during which it was impossible to hear anything. It could, however, be seen, that after every sentence uttered by the King, the agitation of the Queen and princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the King began to speak again. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation. At a quarter past ten the King rose first; they all followed. I opened the door. The Queen held the King by his right arm; their majesties gave each a hand to the dauphin. Madame Royale, on the King's left, had her arms round his body; and behind her Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you, said the King, 'that I will see you again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.'—'You promise,' said they all together. 'Yes, I promise.'—'Why not at seven o'clock?' asked the Queen. 'Well—yes, at seven,' replied the King; 'farewell!' He pronounced 'farewell' in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the King, round whom she had clung. His majesty, willing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. 'Farewell! farewell!' said he, and went into his chamber. The Queen, princesses, and dauphin, returned to their own apartments; and, though both the doors were shut, their screams and lamentations were heard for some time on the stairs. The King went back to his confessor in the turret closet."—*Clery.* E.

† "L. M. de Lepelletier St. Fargeau, president of the parliament of Paris, was deputed by the nobility of that city to the States-general. He possessed an immense fortune, and was noted before the Revolution for very loose morals, but, at the same time, for a gentle disposition. In 1790 he declared in favour of the abolition of honorary titles, and filled the president's chair of the Assembly. In 1792 he was appointed secretary to the Convention, and on the occasion of the King's trial, voted for his death. He was assassinated four days after at the Palais Royal, in the house of the cook Fevrier, where he was going to dine. He immediately expired, having barely time to pronounce these words: 'I am cold!' Lepelletier was born at Paris in the year 1760."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

reward," plunging his sword into his side. Lepelletier fell, and Paris escaped before the persons present had time to secure him.

The news of this event instantly spread to all quarters. It was denounced to the Convention, the Jacobins, and the commune; and it served to give more consistency to the rumours of a conspiracy of the royalists for slaughtering the left side, and rescuing the King at the foot of the scaffold. The Jacobins declared their sitting permanent, and sent fresh commissioners to all the authorities and to all the sections, to awaken their zeal, and to induce the entire population to rise in arms.

Next morning, the 21st of January, the clock of the Temple struck five. The King awoke, called Clery, inquired the hour, and dressed with great calmness.* He congratulated himself on having recovered his strength by sleep. Clery kindled a fire, and moved a chest of drawers, out of which he formed an altar. M. Edgeworth put on his pontifical ornaments, and began to celebrate mass. Clery waited on him, and the King listened, kneeling with the greatest devotion. He then received the communion from the hands of M. Edgeworth, and, after mass, rose with new vigour, and awaited with composure, the moment for going to the scaffold. He asked for scissors, that he might cut his hair himself, and thus escape the performance of that humiliating operation by the hand of the executioner; but the commune refused to trust him with a pair.

At this moment the drums were beating in the capital. All those who belonged to the armed sections repaired to their company with complete submission. Those who were not called by any obligation to figure on that dreadful day kept close at home. Windows and doors were shut up, and every one awaited in his own habitation the melancholy event. It was reported that four or five hundred devoted men were to make a dash upon the carriage, and rescue the King.† The Convention, the commune, the executive council, and the Jacobins, were sitting.

At eight in the morning, Santerre, with a deputation of the commune, the department, and the criminal tribunal, repaired to the Temple. Louis XVI., on hearing the noise, rose, and prepared to depart. He had declined seeing his family again, to avoid the renewal of the painful scene of the preceding evening. He desired Clery to transmit his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children; he gave him a sealed packet, hair, and various trinkets, with directions to deliver these

* "On hearing five o'clock strike, I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the King, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bedside. 'I have slept soundly,' said his majesty, 'and I stood in need of it; yesterday was a trying day to me. Where is M. Edgeworth?' I answered, on my bed. 'And where were you all night?'—'On this chair.'—'I am sorry for it,' said the King, and gave me his hand, at the same time tenderly pressing mine. I then dressed his majesty, who, as soon as he was dressed, bade me go and call M. Edgeworth, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended the King to the turret. Meanwhile, I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and arranged it in the form of an altar for saying mass. The necessary articles of dress had been brought at two o'clock in the morning. The priest's garments I carried into my chamber, and, when everything was ready, I went and informed his majesty. He had a book in his hand, which he opened, and, finding the place of the mass, gave it me; he then took another book for himself. The priest, meanwhile, was dressing. Before the altar I had placed an arm-chair for his majesty, with a large cushion on the ground; the cushion he desired me to take away; and went himself to his closet for a smaller one, made of hair, which he commonly used at his prayers. When the priest came in, the municipal officers retired into the antechamber, and I shut one fold of the door. The mass began at six o'clock. There was profound silence during the awful ceremony. The King, all the time on his knees, heard mass with the most devout attention, and received the communion. After the service he withdrew to his closet, and the priest went into my chamber to put off his official attire."—*Clery*. E.

† "While they were conveying the King from the Temple to the place of execution, the train was followed by two men in arms, who went into all the coffee-houses and public places, and asked with loud cries, if there were still any loyal subjects left, who were ready to die for their King! But such was the universal terror that nobody joined them; and they both arrived without any increase of their party, at the place of execution, where they slipped off in the crowd. It is also a fact that some timid people well affected to the King had formed an association of eighteen hundred persons, who were to cry out 'Pardon!' before the execution. But of those eighteen hundred, only one man had the courage to do his duty, and he, it is said, was instantly torn to pieces by the populace."—*Peltier*. E.

articles to them.* He then clasped his hand, and thanked him for his services. After this, he addressed himself to one of the municipal officers, requesting him to transmit his last will to the commune. This officer, who had formerly been a priest, and was named Jacques Roux, brutally replied that his business was to conduct him to execution, and not to perform his commissions. Another person took charge of it, and Louis, turning towards the party, gave with firmness the signal for starting.†

Officers of gendarmerie were placed on the front seat of the carriage. The King and M. Edgeworth occupied the back.‡ During the ride, which was rather long, the King read in M. Edgeworth's breviary the prayers for persons at the point of death; and the two gendarmes were confounded at his piety and tranquil resignation. They had orders, it was said, to despatch him if the carriage should be attacked. No hostile demonstration, however, took place from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution. An armed multitude lined the way. The vehicle advanced slowly, and amidst a universal silence. At the Place de la Révolution

* "In the course of the morning the King said to me, 'You will give this seal to my son, and this ring to the Queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part with it. This little packet contains the hair of all my family; you will give her that, too. Tell the Queen, my dear sister, and my children, that, although I promised to see them again this morning, I have resolved to spare them the pang of so cruel a separation. Tell them how much it costs me to go away, without receiving their embraces once more!' He wiped away some tears; and then added in the most mournful accents, 'I charge you to bear them my last farewell.'"—*Clery*. E.

"On the morning of this terrible day, the princesses rose at six o'clock. The night before, the Queen had scarcely strength enough to put her son to bed. She threw herself, dressed as she was, upon her own bed, where she was heard shivering with cold and grief all night long! At a quarter past six, the door opened; the princesses believed they were sent for to see the King, but it was only the officers looking for a prayer-book for his mass. They did not, however, abandon the hope of seeing him, till the shouts of joy of the unprincipled populace announced to them that all was over."—*Duchess d'Angoulême*. E.

† "All the troops in Paris had been under arms from five o'clock in the morning. The beat of drums, the sound of trumpets, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon which were incessantly carried from one place to another—all resounded in the tower. At half-past eight o'clock the noise increased; the doors were thrown open with great clatter; and Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement, the King came out of his closet, and said to Santerre, 'You are come for me?'—'Yes, was the answer. 'Wait a moment,' said his majesty, and went into his closet, whence he instantly returned, followed by his confessor. I was standing behind the King, near the fireplace. He turned round to me, and I offered him his great-coat. 'I shall not want it,' said he, 'give me only my hat.' I presented it to him, and his hand met mine, which he pressed for the last time. His majesty then looked at Santerre and said, 'Lead on.' These were the last words he spoke in his apartments."—*Clery*. E.

‡ "On quitting the tower, the King crossed the first court, formerly the garden, on foot; he turned back once or twice towards the tower, as if to bid adieu to all most dear to him on earth; and by his gestures it was plain that he was trying to collect all his strength and firmness. At the entrance of the second court, a carriage waited; two gendarmes held the door; at the King's approach, one of these men entered first, and placed himself in front; his majesty followed and placed me by his side, at the back of the carriage; the other gendarme jumped in last, and shut the door. The procession lasted almost two hours; the streets were lined with citizens, all armed; and the carriage was surrounded by a body of troops, formed of the most desperate people of Paris. As soon as the King perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, 'We have arrived, if I mistake not.' My silence answered that we had. On quitting the vehicle, three guards surrounded his majesty, and would have taken off his clothes, but he repulsed them with haughtiness; he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The path leading to the scaffold, was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the King was obliged to lean on my arm, and, from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared for a moment that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment, when arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross with a firm foot the breadth of the whole scaffold, silence, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and, in a loud voice, heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words:—'I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France.' He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners, who immediately seized the King with violence, and dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which with one stroke severed his head from his body."—*Abbé Edgeworth*. E.

an extensive space had been left vacant about the scaffold. Around this space were planted cannon; the most violent of the federalists were stationed about the scaffold; and the vile rabble, always ready to insult genius, virtue, and misfortune, when a signal is given it to do so, crowded behind the ranks of the federalists, and alone manifested some outward tokens of satisfaction; whilst all else buried in the recesses of their hearts the feelings which they experienced.

At ten minutes past ten, the carriage stopped. Louis XVI., rising briskly, stepped out into the Place. Three executioners* came up; he refused their assistance, and stripped off his clothes himself. But, perceiving that they were going to bind his hands, he betrayed a movement of indignation, and seemed ready to resist. M. Edgeworth, whose every expression was then sublime, gave him a last look, and said, "Suffer this outrage, as a last resemblance to that God who is about to be your reward." At these words, the victim, resigned and submissive, suffered himself to be bound and conducted to the scaffold. All at once, Louis took a hasty step, separated himself from the executioners, and advanced to address the people. "Frenchmen," said he, in a firm voice, "I die innocent of the crimes which are imputed to me; I forgive the authors of my death, and I pray that my blood may not fall upon France." He would have continued, but the drums were instantly ordered to beat: their rolling drowned the voice of the prince; the executioners laid hold of him, and M. Edgeworth took his leave in these memorable words: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!"† As soon as the blood flowed, furious wretches dipped their pikes and their handkerchiefs in it,‡ spread themselves throughout Paris, shouting *Vive la République! Vive la nation!* and even went to the gates of the Temple to display that brutal and factious joy which the rabble manifests at the birth, the accession, and the fall of all princes.§

* "The executioners who officiated on this occasion were brothers, named Samson, of one of whom Mercier thus speaks, in his *Nouveau Tableau de Paris*:—"What a man is that Samson! Insensible to suffering, he has always been identified with the axe of execution. He has beheaded the most powerful monarch in Europe, his Queen, Couthon, Brissot, Robespierre,—and all this with a composed countenance! He cuts off the head that is brought to him, no matter whose. What does he say? What does he think? I should like to know what passes in his head, and whether he considers his terrible functions only as a trade. The more I meditate on this man, the president of the great massacre of the human species, overthrowing crowned heads like that of the purest republican, without moving a muscle, the more my ideas are confounded. How did he sleep, after receiving the last words, the last looks, of all those severed heads? I really would give a trifle to be in the soul of this man for a few hours. He sleeps it is said, and very likely his conscience may be at perfect rest. The guillotine has respected him, as making one body with itself. He is sometimes present at the Vaudeville. He laughs—looks at me—my head has escaped him—he knows nothing about it; and as that is very indifferent to him, I never grow weary of contemplating in him the indifference with which he has sent a crowd of men to the other world." E.

† "The Abbé Edgeworth has been asked if he recollected to have made this exclamation. He replied, that he could neither deny nor affirm that he had spoken the words. It was possible, he added, that he might have pronounced them without afterwards recollecting the fact, for that he retained no memory of anything that happened relative to himself at that awful moment. His not recollecting, or recording the words, is perhaps the best proof that they were spoken from the impulse of the moment."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Edgeworth.* E.

‡ "One person actually tasted the blood, with a brutal exclamation that it was 'shockingly bitter,' and the hair and pieces of the dress were sold by the attendants. No strong emotion was evinced at the moment; the place was like a fair; but, a few days after, Paris, and those who had voted for the death of the monarch, began to feel serious and uneasy at what they had done." E.

§ "The body of Louis was, immediately after the execution, removed into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine. Large quantities of quicklime were thrown into the grave, which occasioned so rapid a decomposition, that, when his remains were sought after in 1815, it was with great difficulty that any part could be recovered. Over the spot where he was interred, Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory, after the battle of Jena; and the superb edifice was completed by the Bourbons, and now forms the church of the Madeleine, the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures in Paris. Louis was executed on the same ground where the Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, and so many other noble victims of the Revolution perished; where Robespierre and Danton afterwards suffered; and where the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns took their station, when their victorious troops entered Paris in 1814! The history of modern Europe has not a scene fraught with equally interesting recollections to exhibit. It is now marked by the colossal obelisk of blood-red granite which was brought from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in 1833, by the French government."—*Alison.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION CONTINUED.

The death of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had excited profound terror in France, and in Europe a mingled feeling of astonishment and indignation. As the most clear-sighted revolutionists had foreseen, the mortal conflict had now begun, and all retreat was irrevocably cut off. They must, therefore, combat the coalition of the thrones and conquer it, or perish under its blows. Accordingly, it was said in the Assembly, at the Jacobins, in short everywhere, that it behoved them to devote their whole attention to external defence, and from that moment questions of war and finance were constantly the order of the day.

We have seen with what dread each of the two domestic parties inspired the other. The Jacobins regarded the resistance opposed to the condemnation of Louis XVI., and the horror excited in many departments by the excesses committed since the 10th of August, as a dangerous relic of royalism. They had, therefore, doubted their victory till the very last moment, but the easy execution of the 21st of January had at length given them fresh confidence. They had since begun to conceive that the cause of the Revolution might be saved, and they prepared addresses to enlighten the departments and to complete their conversion. The Girondins, on the contrary, already touched by the fate of the victim, and alarmed besides at the victory of their adversaries,* began to discover in the event of the 21st of January the prelude to long and sanguinary atrocities, and the first act of the inexorable system which they were combating. The prosecution of the authors of September had, it is true, been granted to them, but this was a concession without result. In abandoning Louis XVI., they meant to prove that they were not royalists; and by giving up the Septembrisers to them, their opponents meant to prove that they were not protectors of crime; but this twofold proof had not satisfied or cheered anybody. They were still considered as first republicans and almost royalists, and they still viewed their adversaries as foes athirst for blood and carnage. Roland, utterly discouraged, not by the danger, but by the manifest impossibility to be serviceable, resigned on the 23d of January. The Jacobins rejoiced at this circumstance, but they immediately cried out that the traitors Clavières and Lebrun, whom the intriguing Brissot had made his tools, were still in the administration; that the evil was not wholly remedied; that they ought not to relax, but on the contrary to redouble their zeal, till they had removed from the government the intriguers, the Girondins, the Rolandins, the Brissotins, &c. The Girondins immediately demanded the re-organization of the ministry of war, which Pache, from his weakness towards the Jacobins, had brought into the most deplorable state.

Thus the two leaders who divided the administration between them, and whose names had become the two opposite rallying-points, were excluded from the government. The majority of the Convention imagined that in this they had done

* "The Mountaineers, by the catastrophe of the 21st of January, had obtained a great victory over the Girondins, who had a system of politics far more rigid than their own, and who wished to save the Revolution without staining it with blood. Hence they were accused of being enemies to the people, because they raised their voice against their excesses; and with betraying the republic, because they recommended moderation."—*Mignet.* E.

something in favour of peace; as if, in suppressing the names which the passions made use of, those passions themselves were not left to find new names and to continue the conflict. Beurnonville, the friend of Dumouriez, surnamed the French Ajax, was called to the war department. He was as yet known to the parties by his bravery alone; but his attachment to discipline was soon to bring him into opposition with the unruly spirit of the Jacobins. After these measures, questions of finance, which were of the utmost importance at this critical moment, when the Revolution had to combat all Europe, were placed upon the order of the day. At the same time it was decided that, in a fortnight at the latest, the committee of the constitution should present its report, and that immediately afterwards the subject of public instruction should be taken up.

A great number of people, not comprehending the cause of the revolutionary disturbances, imagined that all the calamities of the state were occasioned by defective laws, and that the constitution would put an end to all these disorders. Accordingly, a great part of the Girondins and all the members of the Plain kept incessantly demanding the constitution and complaining that it was delayed, saying that their mission was to complete it. They really believed so; they all imagined that they had been deputed for this object alone, and that it was a business which might be performed in a few months. They were not yet aware that fate had called them not to constitute but to fight: that their terrible mission was to defend the Revolution against Europe and La Vendée; that very soon they were to change from a deliberative body, which they were, to a sanguinary dictatorship, which should at one and the same time proscribe internal enemies, battle with Europe and the revolted provinces, and defend itself on all sides by violence; that their laws, transient as a crisis, would be considered as merely fits of anger: and that the only part of their work destined to subsist was the glory of the defence, the sole and terrible mission which they had received from fate; neither did they yet perceive that this ought to be the only one.

However, whether from the lassitude of a long struggle, or from the unanimity of opinions on questions of war, all agreed upon the point of defending themselves and even of provoking the enemy. A sort of calm succeeded the terrible agitation produced by the trial of Louis XVI.; and Brissot was still applauded for his diplomatic reports against the foreign powers.

Such was the internal situation of France, and the state of the parties which divided it. Its situation in regard to Europe was alarming. It was a general rupture with all the powers. France had hitherto had but three enemies, Piedmont, Austria, and Prussia. The Revolution, everywhere approved by the people according to the degree of their enlightenment, everywhere hateful to the governments according to the degree of their apprehensions, had nevertheless produced perfectly new impressions on the world, by the terrible events of the 10th of August, the 2d and 3d of September, and the 21st of January. Less disdained since it had so energetically defended itself, but less esteemed since it had sullied itself by crime, it had not ceased to excite as deep an interest in the people, and to be treated with as much scorn by the governments.

The war, therefore, was about to become general. We have seen Austria suffering herself to be involved by family connexions in a war by no means serviceable to her interests. We have seen Prussia, whose natural interest it was to ally herself with France against the head of the empire, marching for the most frivolous reasons beyond the Rhine, and compromising her armies in the Argonne. We have seen Catherine,* formerly a philosopher, deserting, like all the courtiers, the

* "Catherine the Second, Empress of Russia, was born at Stettin, in 1729, where her father, Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, and Prussian field-marshal, was governor. The Empress Elizabeth chose her for the wife of her nephew, Peter, whom she appointed her successor. The marriage was celebrated in 1745. It was not a happy one, but Catherine consoled herself by a variety of lovers. Among others, a young Pole, Stanislaüs Poniatowski, gained her affections, and by her influence, was appointed by the King of Poland his ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg. In 1761, the Empress Elizabeth died, and Peter III. ascended the throne. He now became more than ever estranged from his wife Catherine, which led to a conspiracy headed by Gregory Orloff, her

cause which she had at first espoused from vanity, persecuting the Revolution at once from fashion and from policy, exciting Gustavus, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, to divert their attention from Poland and to engage them with the West. We have seen Piedmont attacking France contrary to her interests, but for reasons of relationship and hatred of the Revolution. We have seen the petty courts of Italy detesting our new republic, but not daring to attack, nay even acknowledging it at sight of our flag; Switzerland preserving a strict neutrality; Holland and the Germanic diet not yet speaking out but betraying a deep grudge; Spain observing a prudent neutrality under the influence of the wise Count d'Aranda; lastly, England suffering France to tear herself to pieces, the continent to exhaust itself, the colonies to lay themselves waste, and thus leaving the execution of her vengeance to the inevitable disorders of revolutions.

The new revolutionary impetuosity was about to disconcert all these calculated neutralities. Thus far, Pitt had shown sound judgment in the line of conduct which he adopted. In his country, a half-and-half revolution, which had but in part regenerated the social state, had left a number of feudal institutions standing, which could not but be objects of attachment to the aristocracy and the court, and objects of censure with the opposition. Pitt had a double aim: in the first place to moderate the aristocratic hatred, to repress the spirit of reform, and thus to secure his administration by controlling both parties: secondly, to crush France beneath her own disasters and the hatred which all the governments of Europe bore against her. He wished, in short, to make his country mistress of the world, and to be master of his country. Such was the twofold object which he pursued with the vanity and the strength of mind of a great statesman. Neutrality was wonderfully favourable to his projects. While preventing war, he repressed the blind hatred of his court for liberty; while leaving the excesses of the French Revolution to develop themselves without impediment, he daily made cutting replies to the apologists of that revolution—replies which prove nothing, but which produce a certain effect. He answered Fox, the most eloquent speaker of the opposition and of England, by reciting the crimes of reformed France. Burke, a vehement declaimer, was employed to enumerate those crimes,* and he did it with an absurd violence. One

favourite; and the result of which was the death of Peter in prison. In 1774, the empress concluded an advantageous peace with the Porte by which she secured the free navigation of the Black Sea. At this time Potemkin was Catherine's chief favourite; who, in 1784, conquered the Crimea, and extended the confines of Russia to the Caucasus. In 1787, the empress's memorable triumphal journey to Tauris took place, when, throughout a distance of nearly a thousand leagues nothing but feasts and spectacles of various kinds was to be seen. Palaces were raised on barren heaths, to be inhabited only for a day, and Catherine was surrounded by a multitude of people, who were conveyed on during the night to afford her the same spectacle the following day. When in 1791, Poland wished to change its constitution, the empress took part with the opponents of the plan, garrisoned the country with her troops, and concluded a new treaty of partition with the cabinet of Berlin in 1792. About this time, Catherine broke off all connexion with the French republic, assisted the emigrants, and entered into an alliance with England against France. She died of apoplexy in 1796. With all the weakness of her sex, and with a love of pleasure carried to licentiousness, she combined the firmness and talent becoming a powerful sovereign. She favoured distinguished authors, and affected great partiality for the French philosophers."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

* "However the arguments of Burke may seem to have been justified by posterior events, it yet remains to be shown that the war-cry then raised against France did not greatly contribute to the violence which characterized that period. It is possible that, had he merely roused the attention of the governments and wealthy classes to the dangers of this new political creed, he might have proved the saviour of Europe; but he made such exaggerated statements, and used arguments so alarming to freedom, that on many points he was not only plausibly, but victoriously, refuted."—*Dumont.* E.

"There was something exaggerated at all times in the character as well as the eloquence of Burke; and, upon reading at this distance of time his celebrated composition, it must be confessed that the colours he has used in painting the extravagances of the Revolution ought to have been softened, by considering the peculiar state of a country which, long labouring under despotism, is suddenly restored to the possession of unembarrassed licence. On the other hand, no political prophet ever viewed futurity with a surer ken."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"Mr. Burke, by his tropes and figures, so dazzled both the ignorant and the learned, that they could not distinguish the shades between liberty and licentiousness, between anarchy and despot-

day, he even went so far as to throw upon the table a dagger, which, he said, was manufactured by the Jacobin propagandists.* While in Paris Pitt was accused of paying emissaries to excite disturbances; in London he accused the French revolutionists of spending money to excite revolutions, and our emigrants accredited these rumours by repeating them. While by this Machiavelian logic he counteracted the spells which French liberty would have thrown over the English, he excited Europe against us, and his envoys disposed all the powers to war. In Switzerland he had not succeeded, but at the Hague, the docile stadtholder, tried by a first revolution, still distrustful of his people, and having no other support than the English fleets, had given him a sort of satisfaction, and had, by many hostile demonstrations, testified his ill-will to France.

It was in Spain more particularly that Pitt set intrigues at work, to urge her to the greatest blunder she ever committed—that of joining England against France, her only maritime ally. The Spaniards had been little moved by our revolution, and it was not so much reasons of safety and policy, as reasons of kindred, repugnances common to all governments, that indisposed the cabinet of Madrid towards the French republic. The prudent Count d'Aranda, resisting the intrigues of the emigrants, the spleen of the aristocracy, and the suggestions of Pitt, had studiously forborne to wound the susceptibility of our new government. Overthrown, however, at length, and replaced by Don Manuel Godoy, since Prince of the Peace,†

ism. He gave a romantic and novel air to the whole question. A crazy, obsolete government was metamorphosed into an object of fancied awe and veneration, like a mouldering gothic ruin which, however delightful to look at or read of, is not at all pleasant to live under. Mr. Pitt has been hailed by his flatterers as 'the pilot that weathered the storm;' but it was Burke who at this giddy, maddening period, stood at the prow of the vessel of the state, and with his glittering, pointed spear, *harpooned* the Leviathan of the French Revolution."—*Hazlitt.* E.

* "On the second reading of the Alien Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke, in mentioning that an order for making three thousand daggers had arrived some time before at Birmingham, a few of which had been actually delivered, drew one from under his coat, and threw it indignantly on the floor: '*This*,' said he, 'is what you are to gain by an alliance with France! Wherever their principles are introduced, their practice must also follow.' The speech which Mr. Burke made on this occasion was excellent; but the action which accompanied it was not in such good taste."—*Prior's Life of Burke.* E.

† "Don Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of the Peace, and favourite of King Charles of Spain, was born in 1764 at Badajoz. He was distinguished by a tall, handsome figure, and excelled in most light accomplishments. He early entered the body-guard of the King, and became a favourite at court, especially with the Queen. In 1792 he was made premier in the place of Aranda, and in 1795, as a reward for his pretended services in making peace with France, he was created Prince of the Peace, a grandee of the first class, and presented with an estate that secured him an income of fifty thousand dollars. He married, in 1797, Donna Maria Theresa of Bourbon, a daughter of the Infant Don Luis, brother of King Charles. In 1798 he resigned his post as premier, but was in the same year appointed general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. A decree in 1807 bestowed on him the title of highness, and unlimited power over the whole monarchy. In the meantime the hatred of the people against the overbearing favourite was excited to the highest degree; and he would have lost his life, if the Prince of Asturias had not exerted himself to save him, at the instance of the King and Queen, on condition that he should be tried. The occurrences at Bayonne, however, intervened. Napoleon, who wished to employ the influence of the Prince of the Peace with King Charles, procured his release from prison, and summoned him to Bayonne, where he became the moving spring of everything done by the King and Queen of Spain. Since that time, he has lived in France, and still later, in Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship of the King and Queen till the death of both in 1819."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* He still survives and resides in Paris. E.

"The Prince of the Peace is one of those extraordinary characters who have obtained celebrity without any just grounds. I both saw and heard a great deal respecting him during my stay in Spain.—One day on entering the audience chamber where I had scarcely room to move, as the King and Queen were both standing very near the door, I beheld a man at the other end of the apartment, whose attitude and bearing appeared to me particularly ill suited to the audience chamber of royalty. He appeared to be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, and his countenance was of that description which a fine, well-grown, hearty young man usually presents; but there was no trace of dignity in his appearance. He was covered with decorations and orders, and I might reasonably suppose therefore, that he was an important personage. And I was not wrong, it was Godoy, Prince of the Peace! I was struck with surprise at his free and easy manner. He was leaning, or rather lying, on a *console* at the further end of the apartment, and was playing with a curtain tassel which was within his reach. At this period his favour at court was immense, and

he left his unhappy country a prey to the worst counsels. Till then the cabinet of Madrid had refused to speak out in regard to France. At the moment of the definitive judgment of Louis XVI. it had offered the political acknowledgment of the French republic, and its mediation with all the powers, if the dethroned monarch were suffered to live. The only answer to this offer was a proposal of war by Danton, and the Assembly adopted the order of the day. Ever since that time, the disposition to war had not been doubtful. Catalonia was filling with troops. In all the ports armaments were in active progress, and a speedy attack was resolved upon. Pitt triumphed, therefore, and, without yet declaring himself, without committing himself too hastily, he gained time to raise his navy to a formidable state, he gratified the British aristocracy by his preparations, he rendered our revolution unpopular by declamations which he paid for; and, while he thus strengthened himself in silence, he prepared for us an overwhelming league, which, by employing all our forces, prevented us from succouring our colonies, or checking the progress of the British power in India.

Never, at any period, had Europe, seized with such blindness, been known to commit so many faults against herself. In the west, Spain, Holland, all the maritime powers were seen, misled by the aristocratic passions, arming with their enemy, England, against France, their only ally. Prussia again was seen, from an inconceivable vanity, uniting with the head of the empire against France, an alliance with which had always been recommended by the great Frederick. The petty King of Sardinia committed the same fault, from more natural motives indeed—those of relationship. In the east and north, Catherine was allowed to perpetrate a crime upon Poland, an attempt against the safety of Germany, for the frivolous advantage of gaining a few provinces, and to enable herself still to tear France to pieces without hindrance. Renouncing, therefore, at once, all old and useful friendships, the nations yielded to the perfidious suggestions of the two most formidable powers, to arm against our unfortunate country, the ancient protectress or ally of those which now attacked her. All contributed to this, all lent themselves to the views of Pitt and Catherine; imprudent Frenchmen traversed Europe to hasten this fatal overthrow of policy and prudence, and to draw down upon their native land the most tremendous storms. And what could be the motives for pursuing such a strange conduct? Poland was delivered up to Catherine, France to Pitt, because the one was desirous of regulating her ancient liberty, and the other had resolved to give to herself that liberty which she had not yet possessed. France had, it is true, committed excesses; but these excesses were about to be increased by the violence of the struggle; and, without destroying that detested liberty, the allies were about to prepare a thirty years' war of the most sanguinary kind, to provoke vast invasions, to call a conqueror into existence, to produce immense disorders, and to conclude by the establishment of the two colossal powers which now control Europe on the two elements, England and Russia.

Amidst this general conspiracy, Denmark alone, under the guidance of an able minister, and Sweden, delivered from the presumptuous dreams of Gustavus, maintained a wise reserve, which Holland and Spain ought to have imitated, by joining the system of armed neutrality. The French government had justly appreciated these general dispositions, and the impatience which characterized it at this moment would not allow it to wait for the declarations of war, but urged it, on the contrary, to provoke them. Ever since the 10th of August, it had not ceased demanding to be acknowledged, but it had still shown some moderation in regard to England,

beyond all example. He was prime minister, counsellor of state, commander of four companies of life-guards, and generalissimo of the forces by sea and land, a rank which no person in Spain had ever possessed before him, and which was created expressly to give him precedence over the captains-general."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.*

"Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of contempt and execration to all who were not his creatures. What other sentiments indeed could have been inspired by a man, who owed the favour of the King only to the favours of the Queen? Godoy's power was absolute, and he made the most infamous use of it."—*Bourrienne.* E.

whose neutrality was valuable, on account of the enemies which it had to combat. But, after the 21st of January, it had set aside all considerations, and determined upon a universal war. Seeing that secret hostilities were not less dangerous than open hostilities, it was impatient to compel its enemies to declare themselves; accordingly, on the 22d of January, the National Convention took a review of all the cabinets, ordered reports relative to the conduct of each in regard to France, and prepared to declare war against them if they did not forthwith explain themselves in a categorical manner.

Ever since the 10th of August, England had withdrawn her ambassador from Paris, and had suffered M. de Chauvelin,* the French ambassador in London, to remain only in the character of the envoy of dethroned royalty. All these diplomatic subtilties had no other aim than to satisfy etiquette in regard to the King confined in the Temple, and at the same time to defer hostilities which it was not yet convenient to commence. Meanwhile Pitt, to cloak his real intentions, applied for a secret envoy to whom he might communicate his complaints against the French government. Citizen Maret† was sent in the month of December. He had an interview with Pitt. After mutual protestations, for the purpose of declaring that the interview had no official character, that it was purely amicable, and that it had no other motive than to enlighten the two nations on the subject of their reciprocal grievances, Pitt complained that France threatened the allies of England, that she even attacked their interests, and cited Holland as a proof. The principal grievance alleged was the opening of the Scheldt, perhaps an imprudent but yet a generous measure, which the French had taken on entering the Netherlands. It was absurd, in fact, that in order to secure to the Dutch the monopoly of the navigation, the Netherlands, through which the Scheldt runs, should not be allowed to make use of that river. Austria had not dared to abolish this servitude, but Dumouriez had done so by order of his government; and the inhabitants of Antwerp had with joy beheld ships ascend the Scheldt to their city. The answer was noble and easy, for France, in respecting the right of neutral neighbours, had not promised to sanction political iniquities, because neutrals were interested in them. Besides, the Dutch government had manifested so much ill-will as not to deserve to be treated with such tenderness. The second grievance adduced was the decree of the 15th of November, by which the National Convention promised assistance to all those nations which should shake off the yoke of tyranny. This perhaps imprudent decree, passed in a moment of enthusiasm, was not to be construed, as Pitt asserted, into an invitation to all nations to rebel, but signified that, in all the countries at war with the Revolution, aid would be afforded to the people against their governments. Lastly, Pitt complained of the continual threats and declamations of the Jacobins against all governments. In this respect the governments were not behindhand with the Jacobins, and on the score of vituperation, neither side was in debt to the other.

This interview led to nothing, and only showed that England merely sought to

* "François, Marquis de Chauvelin, descended from a celebrated French family, was born in 1770, and eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution. In 1791 he became first aide-de-camp of General Rochambeau, and displayed so much talent, that in the following year, on the proposal of Dumouriez, he was appointed ambassador to England, who however broke off all diplomatic intercourse with France, after the execution of Louis XVI. During the Reign of Terror, Chauvelin was thrown into prison, from which he was soon afterwards released, and, under the Directory, devoted himself entirely to the sciences. Napoleon appointed him prefect of the department of the Lys, and subsequently sent him into Catalonia as intendant-general. After the Restoration he was elected a member of the chamber of deputies, and much admired as a popular orator."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† "Hugues Bern Maret, born at Dijon in 1758, and engaged in the French diplomatic corps, was in the year 1792, first sent by the French to the English government, in order to prevent it from joining the coalition; but his efforts were fruitless. Shortly after he was appointed ambassador to Naples, but, on his way thither, he was seized by the Austrian troops and imprisoned at Custrin. He obtained his release in 1795. In the year 1799 he became secretary to the consular council of state, and in 1803 accompanied the first consul to Holland, and afterwards attended him in his various journeys. Napoleon created him Duke of Bassano."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

delay the war, which she had no doubt determined upon, but which it did not yet suit her to declare. The celebrated trial in January served, however, to accelerate events; the English parliament was suddenly called together, before its usual time. An inquisitorial law was enacted against the French travelling in England; the Tower of London was armed; the militia was ordered out; preparations and proclamations announced an impending war. Pains were taken to excite the populace of London, and to kindle that blind passion which in England causes war with France to be considered as a great national service; lastly, vessels laden with corn and bound to our ports were stopped, and on the news of the 21st of January, the French ambassador, whom the British government had till then in some sort refused to recognise, was enjoined to leave the kingdom in a week. The National Convention immediately ordered a report on the conduct of the English government towards France, and on its communications with the stadtholder of the United Provinces; and, upon the 1st of February, after a speech by Brissot, who for a moment earned the applause of both parties, it solemnly declared war against Holland and England. War with the Spanish government was imminent, and though not yet declared, it was considered as such. Thus France had all Europe for her foe; and the condemnation of the 21st of January had been the act by which she had broken with all thrones, and pledged herself irrevocably to the career of revolution.

It was requisite to oppose the terrible assault of so many combined powers; and, rich as France was in population and *matériel*, it was difficult for her to withstand the universal effort that was directed against her. Her chiefs were not on that account the less filled with confidence and audacity. The unexpected successes of the republic in the Argonne and in Belgium had persuaded them that every man, and especially the Frenchman, may become a soldier in six months. The movement which agitated France convinced them, moreover, that her whole population might be tranferred to the field of battle; that thus they might have three or four millions of men capable of being converted into soldiers, and surpass in this respect all that the combined sovereigns of Europe were able to do. Look, said they, at all the kingdoms! You see a small number of men, raised with difficulty to fill up the skeletons of the armies; the entire population has nothing to do with them, so that a handful of men, trained and formed into regiments, decide the fate of the mightiest empires. But suppose, on the contrary, a whole nation torn from private life, arming for its defence, must it not overthrow all ordinary calculations? What is there impossible *for twenty-five millions of men to execute?*—As for the expense, they felt as little concern on that subject. The capital of the national property was daily increasing in consequence of emigration, and far exceeded the debt. At the moment, this capital was not available for want of purchasers; but the assignats supplied their place, and their factitious value made amends for the deferred value of the property which they represented. They were, indeed, reduced to one-third of their nominal value; but it was only adding one-third to the circulation, and this capital was so vast, that it more than sufficed for the excess which it was necessary to issue. After all those men who were about to be transferred to the field of battle lived well at their own homes, many of them even in luxury; why should they not live in the field? Could men lack soil and food wherever they might happen to be? Besides, social order, such as it was, possessed more wealth than was requisite to supply the necessities of all. It was only a better distribution that was wanted; and to this end it was right to tax the rich, and to make them bear the expense of the war. Moreover, the states into which they were about to penetrate had also an ancient social order to overturn, and abuses to destroy; they had immense profits to extract from the clergy, the nobility, royalty, and it was fit that they should pay France for the aid which she would furnish them.

Thus argued the ardent imagination of Cambon, and such ideas seized all heads. The old politics of cabinets had formerly calculated upon one or two hundred thousand soldiers, paid with the produce of certain taxes or the revenues of certain domains. Now it was a mass of men, rising of itself, and saying, *I will compose*

armies; looking at the sum total of wealth, and again saying, *That sum is sufficient, and shared among all, it will suffice for the wants of all.* It was not, it is true, the entire nation that held this language, but it was the most enthusiastic portion that formed these resolutions, and prepared by all possible means to impose them on the mass of the nation.

Before we exhibit the distribution of the resources devised by the French revolutionists, we must turn to our frontiers, and see how the last campaign terminated. Its outset had been brilliant, but a first success, badly supported, had served only to extend our line of operations, and to provoke a more vigorous and decisive effort on the part of the enemy. Thus our defence had become more difficult, because it was more extended; the beaten enemy was about to react with energy, and his redoubled effort was to be concurrent with an almost general disorganization of our armies. Add to this that the number of the coalesced powers was doubled; for the English on our coasts, the Spaniards on the Pyrenees, and the Dutch in the north of the Netherlands, threatened us with new attacks.

Dumouriez had stopped short on the banks of the Meuse, and had not been able to push forward to the Rhine, for reasons which have not been sufficiently appreciated, because people have not been able to account for the tardiness which succeeded his first rapidity. On his arrival at Liege, the disorganization of his army was complete. The soldiers were almost naked; for want of shoes they wrapped hay round their feet; meat and bread were all that they had in any abundance, thanks to a contract which Dumouriez had authoritatively maintained. But they were utterly destitute of ready money, and plundered the peasants, or fought with them to oblige them to take assignats. The horses died for want of forage, and those of the artillery had almost all perished. Privations and the suspension of military operations disgusted the soldiers; all the volunteers quitted in bands, on the strength of a decree declaring that the country had ceased to be in danger. The Convention had been obliged to pass another decree to prevent the desertion, and the gendarmerie stationed on the high roads was scarcely able, strict as it was, to stop the fugitives. The army was reduced by one-third.

These combined causes had not allowed the Austrians to be pursued so briskly as they ought to have been. Clairfayt had had time to intrench himself on the banks of the Erft, and Beaulieu towards Luxemburg; and it was impossible for Dumouriez, with an army dwindled to thirty or forty thousand men, to drive before him an enemy intrenched in the mountains and woods, and supported upon Luxemburg, one of the strongest fortresses in the world. If, as it was constantly repeated, Custine, instead of making incursions in Germany, had made a dash upon Coblentz, if he had joined Beurnonville for the purpose of taking Treves, and if both had then descended the Rhine, Dumouriez also might have advanced to it by Cologne. All three would thus have supported one another, Luxemburg might have been invested, and have fallen for want of communications. But nothing of the sort had taken place. Custine had been desirous of drawing the war to his quarter, and had done no more than uselessly provoke a declaration of the imperial diet, irritate the vanity of the King of Prussia, and bind him further to the coalition. Beurnonville, left single-handed, had not been able to reduce Treves; and the enemy had maintained his ground both in the electorate of Treves, and in the duchy of Luxemburg. Dumouriez, in advancing towards the Rhine, would have exposed his right flank and his rear, and besides, he would not have been able, in the state in which his army was, to reduce the immense tract extending from the Meuse to the Rhine and the frontiers of Holland, a difficult country, without means of transport, intersected by woods and mountains, and occupied by a still formidable enemy. Assuredly Dumouriez, had he possessed the means, would much rather have made conquests on the Rhine, than have gone to Paris to make solicitations in behalf of Louis XVI. The zeal for royalty, which he afterwards professed while in London, in order to give himself consequence, and which the Jacobins imputed to him in Paris in order to ruin him, was certainly not strong enough to induce him to renounce victories, and to go and compromise himself among the factions of the capital. He quitted the field of battle solely because he

could do no more there, and because he wished by his presence with the government to put an end to the difficulties which had been raised up against him in Belgium.

We have already witnessed the difficulties amidst which his conquest placed him. The conquered country desired a revolution, but not a complete and radical one, like the revolution of France. Dumouriez, from inclination, from policy, and from reasons of military prudence, could do no other than pronounce in favour of the moderate wishes of the country which he occupied. We have already seen him struggling to spare the Belgians the inconveniences of war, to give them a share in the profits of supplies, and lastly, to smuggle rather than force assignats into circulation among them. The invectives of the Jacobins paid him for these pains. Cambon had prepared another mortification for Dumouriez, by causing the Assembly to pass the decree of the 15th of December. "We must," said Cambon, amidst the loudest applause, "declare ourselves a *revolutionary power* in the countries which we enter. It is useless to hide ourselves. The despots know what we mean. Since it is guessed, let us boldly proclaim it, and let, moreover, the justice of it be avowed. Wherever our generals enter, let them proclaim the sovereignty of the people, the abolition of feudalism, of tithes, of all abuses; let all the old authorities be dissolved; let new local administrations be provisionally formed, under the direction of our generals; let these administrations govern the country, and devise the means of forming national conventions, which shall decide its lot; let the property of our enemies, that is to say, the property of the nobles, the priests, the communities, lay or religious, of the churches, &c., be immediately sequestrated and placed under the safeguard of the French nation, which shall be accountable for it to the local administrations, in order that it may serve as a pledge for the expenses of the war, of which the delivered countries ought to pay their share, because the object of the war is to set them at liberty. Let the account be balanced after the campaign. If the republic has received in supplies more than the portion of the expense due to it shall amount to, it shall pay the surplus; if otherwise, the balance shall be paid to it. Let our assignats, founded on the new distribution of property, be received in the conquered countries, and let their field extend with the principles which have produced them. Lastly, let the executive power send commissioners to make friendly arrangements with these provisional administrations, to fraternize with them, to keep the accounts of the republic, and to execute the decree of sequestration. No half revolution!" added Cambon. "Every nation that will not go the length which we here propose, shall be our enemy, and shall deserve to be treated as such. Peace and fraternity to all the friends of liberty!—war to the base partisans of despotism!—*war to the mansions, peace to the cottages!*"*

These sentiments had been immediately sanctioned by a decree, and carried into execution in all the conquered provinces. A host of agents, selected by the executive power from among the Jacobins, immediately spread themselves over Belgium. The provisional administrations had been formed under their influence, and they impelled them to the excesses of the wildest democracy. The populace, excited by them against the middle classes, committed the greatest outrages. It was the anarchy of 1793, to which we had been progressively led by four years of commotion, produced there abruptly, and without any transition from the old to the new order of things. These proconsuls, invested with almost absolute power caused persons and property to be imprisoned and sequestrated; they had stripped the churches of all their plate; this had soured the minds of the unfortunate Belgians, who were strongly attached to their religious worship, and, above all, furnished occasion for many peculations. They had caused conventions to be formed to

* "'War to the mansions—peace to the cottages,' was the principle of the French Revolution. Its proclamation necessarily set the two classes of society throughout Europe at variance with each other; and instead of the ancient rivalry of Kings, introduced the fiercer strife of the people. The contest henceforth raged not only between nation and nation, but between interest and interest; and the strife of opinion superseded that of glory."—*Alison.* E.

decide the fate of each province, and under their despotic influence, the incorporation with France had been voted at Liege, Brussels, Mons, and other places. These were inevitable evils, and so much the greater, as revolutionary violence combined with military brutality to produce them. Dissensions of a different kind had also broken out in this unhappy country. The agents of the executive power claimed obedience to their orders from the generals who were within the limits of their district; and, if these generals were not Jacobins, as it was frequently the case, this was a new occasion for quarrels and wrangling, which contributed to augment the general disorder. Dumouriez, indignant at seeing his conquests compromised, as well by the disorganization of his army as by the hatred excited in the Belgians, had already harshly treated some of the proconsuls, and had repaired to Paris to express his indignation, with all the vivacity of his character, and all the independence of a victorious general, who deemed himself necessary to the republic.

Such was our situation on this principal theatre of the war. Custine, having fallen back to Mayence, declaimed there on the manner in which Beurnonville had executed the attempt on Treves. At the Alps, Kellermann maintained his positions at Chambery and Nice. Servan strove in vain to compose an army at the Pyrenees, and Monge, as weak towards the Jacobins as Pache had shown himself, had suffered the administration of the marine to be decomposed. It was necessary, therefore, to direct the whole public attention to the defence of the frontiers. Dumouriez had passed the end of December and the month of January in Paris, where he had compromised himself by certain expressions in favour of Louis XVI., by his absence from the Jacobins, where he was continually announced, but where he never appeared, and lastly, by his intercourse with his old friend, Gensonné. He had drawn up four memorials; one on the decree of the 15th of December, another on the organization of the army, a third on the supplies, and the last on the plan of campaign for the year that was commencing. To each of these memorials he subjoined his resignation in case of the rejection of what he proposed.

The Assembly had, in addition to its diplomatic committee and its military committee, appointed a third extraordinary committee, called the committee of general defence, authorized to direct its attention to everything that concerned the defence of France. It was very numerous, and all the members of the Assembly might even, if they pleased, attend its sittings. The object with which it had been formed was to conciliate the members of the opposite parties, and to make them easy in regard to each other's intentions, by causing them to labour together for the general welfare. Robespierre, irritated at seeing Girondins there, rarely attended: the Girondins, on the contrary, were very assiduous. Dumouriez introduced himself with his plans, was not always understood, frequently displeased by the high tone which he assumed, and left his memorials to their fate. He then retired to some distance from Paris, by no means disposed to resign his command, though he had held out that threat to the Convention, and awaited the moment for opening the campaign.

He had entirely lost his popularity with the Jacobins, and was daily traduced in Marat's papers for having supported the half-and-half revolution in Belgium, and there shown great severity against the demagogues. He was accused of having wilfully suffered the Austrians to escape from Belgium; and, going back still farther, his enemies publicly asserted that he had opened the outlets of the Argonne to Frederick-William, whom he might have destroyed. The members of the council and of the committees, who did not give themselves up so blindly to the passions which swayed the rabble, were still sensible of his utility, and still courteous to him. Robespierre even defended him by throwing the blame of all these faults upon his pretended friends, the Girondins. Thus people agreed in giving him all possible satisfaction, without derogating, however, from the decrees that had been passed, and the rigorous principles of the Revolution. His two commissaries, Malus and Petit Jean, were restored, and numerous reinforcements were granted to him; he was promised sufficient supplies; his ideas for the general plan of the campaign were adopted; but no concession was made as to the decree

of the 15th of December, and the new appointments in the army. The nomination of his friend, Beurnonville, to the war department, was a new advantage for him, and he had reason to hope for the greatest zeal on the part of the administration to furnish him with everything that he stood in need of.

For a moment he had imagined that England would take him for mediator between herself and France, and he had set out for Antwerp with this flattering notion. But the Convention, weary of the perfidies of Pitt, had, as we have seen, declared war against Holland and England. This declaration found him at Antwerp. The resolutions adopted in part from his plans for the defence of the territory were these. It was agreed to increase the armies to 502,000 men, and this number was small according to the idea that had been formed of the power of France, and in comparison with the force to which they were subsequently raised. It was determined to keep the defensive on the east and south; to remain in observation along the Pyrenees and the coasts, and to display all the boldness of the offensive in the north, where, as Dumouriez had said, "there was no defending oneself but by battles." To execute this plan, 150,000 men were to occupy Belgium and to cover the frontier from Dunkirk to the Meuse; 50,000 were to keep the space comprised between the Meuse and the Sarre; 150,000 to extend themselves along the Rhine and the Vosges, from Mayence to Besançon and Gex. Lastly, a reserve was prepared at Châlons, with the requisite *matériel*, ready to proceed to any quarter where it might be wanted. Savoy and Nice were to be guarded by two armies of 70,000 men each; the Pyrenees by one of 40,000; the coasts of the Ocean and of Bretagne were to be watched by an army of 46,000, part of which was destined for embarkation, if it were necessary. Of these 502,000 men, 50,000 were cavalry, and 20,000 artillery. Such was the projected force, but the effective was far inferior, consisting of only 270,000 men, 100,000 of whom were in different parts of Belgium, 25,000 on the Moselle, 45,000 at Mayence, under Custine, 30,000 on the Upper Rhine, 40,000 in Savoy and at Nice, and 30,000 at most in the interior. But, to complete the number required, the Assembly decreed that the armies should be recruited from the national guards: and that every member of that guard, unmarried, or if married without children, or a widower without children, from the age of eighteen to forty-five, was at the disposal of the executive power. It added that 300,000 more men were necessary to resist the coalition, and that the recruiting should not cease till that number was raised.* It decreed at the same time the issue of eight hundred millions of assignats, and the felling of timber in Corsica for the use of the navy.

While these plans were in progress, the campaign was opened with 270,000 men. Dumouriez had 30,000 on the Scheldt, and about 70,000 on the Meuse. A rapid invasion of Holland was a bold project, which agitated all heads, and into which Dumouriez was forcibly drawn by public opinion. Several plans had been proposed. One, devised by the Batavian refugees who had quitted their country after the Revolution of 1787, consisted in overrunning Zealand with a few thousand men, and seizing the government which would retire thither. Dumouriez had affected to approve this plan; but he deemed it steril, because it was confined to the occupation of an inconsiderable, and withal an unimportant, portion of Holland. The second was his own, and consisted in descending the Meuse by Venloo to Grave, turning off from Grave to Nimuegen, and then making a dash upon Amsterdam. This plan would have been the safest, had it been possible to foresee what was to happen. But, placed at Antwerp, Dumouriez conceived a third, bolder, more prompt, more suitable to the revolutionary imagination, and more fertile in decisive results, if it succeeded. While his lieutenants, Miranda, Valence,† Dampierre, and others, should descend the Meuse, and occupy Maes-

* Decree of February the 24th.

† "Cyrus de Timbrune, Count de Valence, born at Toulouse, a colonel of dragoons in the service of France, married the daughter of Madame de Genlis, devoted himself to the revolutionary party, and in 1791 became a general officer. In the following year he was employed in Luckner's army, and afterwards served under Dumouriez; on whose defection, he became suspected, and was outlawed by the Convention. In 1799 he returned to France, was called to the senate in 1805, and appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.*

tricht, of which he did not care to make himself master in the preceeding year, and Venloo, which was incapable of a long resistance, Dumouriez proposed to take with him 25,000 men, to proceed stealthily between Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, to reach in this manner the Moerdyk, to cross the little sea of Bielbos, and to run by the mouths of the rivers to Leyden and Amsterdam. This bold plan was quite as well grounded as many others which have succeeded; and, if it was hazardous, it promised much greater advantages than that of a direct attack by Venloo and Nimuegen. By pursuing the latter course, Dumouriez would attack the Dutch, who had already made all their preparations between Grave and Gorcum, in front, and he would even give them time to receive English and Prussian reinforcements. On the contrary, in advancing by the mouths of the rivers, he would penetrate by the interior of Holland, which was utterly defenceless, and if he could surmount the obstacle of the waters, Holland would be his. In returning from Amsterdam, he would take the defences in rear, and sweep off everything between himself and his lieutenants, who were to join him by Nimuegen and Utrecht.

It was natural that he should take the command of the army of expedition, because it was this service that required the greatest promptitude, boldness, and ability. This project was attended with the same danger as all plans of offensive warfare, that of exposing one's own country to the risk of invasion by leaving it uncovered. Thus the Meuse would be left open to the Austrians; but in the case of a reciprocal offensive, the advantage remains with him who the most firmly resists the danger, and gives way the least readily to the terror of invasion.

Dumouriez despatched to the Meuse Thouvenot, in whom he had the utmost confidence; he communicated to his lieutenants, Valence and Miranda, the plans which he had hitherto concealed from them; he recommended to them to hasten the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo, and, in case of delay, to succeed one another before those places, so as to be still making progress towards Nimuegen. He also enjoined them to fix rallying-points around Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of collecting scattered detachments, and of enabling themselves to make head against the enemy, if he should come in force to interrupt the sieges which were to be carried on upon the Meuse.

Dumouriez immediately quitted Antwerp with eighteen thousand men assembled in haste. He divided his little army into several corps, which were to summon the different fortresses, but without stopping to lay siege to them. His advanced guard was to dash on and secure the boats and the means of transport; while himself, with the main body of his troops, would keep within such a distance as to be able to afford succour to any of his lieutenants who might need it. On the 17th of February, 1793, he entered the Dutch territory, and issued a proclamation promising friendship to the Batavians, and war only to the stadtholder and the English influence. He advanced, leaving General Leclerc before Bergen-op-Zoom, directing General Bergeron upon Klundurt and Willenstadt, and ordering the excellent engineer, d'Arçon, to feign an attack upon the important fortress of Breda. Dumouriez was with the rear guard at Sevenberghe. On the 25th, General Bergeron made himself master of the fort of Klundurt, and proceeded before Willemstadt. General d'Arçon threw a few bombs into Breda. That place was reputed to be very strong; the garrison was sufficient but badly officered, and in a few hours it surrendered to an army of besiegers which was scarcely more numerous than itself. The French entered Breda on the 27th, and found there a considerable *matériel*, consisting of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, three hundred thousand pounds of powder, and five thousand muskets. Having left a garrison in Breda, General d'Arçon proceeded on the 1st of March before Gertruydenburg, another very strong place, and on the same day made himself master of all the advanced works. Dumouriez had pushed on to the Moerdyk, and was making amends for the tardiness of his advanced guard.

This series of successful surprises of fortresses capable of long resistance threw great lustre upon the opening of this campaign; but unforeseen obstacles delayed the crossing of the arm of the sea, the most difficult part of this plan. Dumouriez had at first hoped that his advanced guard, acting more promptly, would have seized

some boats, quietly crossed the Bielbos, occupied the isle of Dort, guarded by a few hundred men at the utmost, and, securing a numerous flotilla, would have brought it back to the other side to carry over the army. Inevitable delays prevented the execution of this part of the plan. Dumouriez strove to make amends for them by seizing all the craft that he could find, and collecting carpenters for the purpose of forming a flotilla. It was requisite, however, to use the utmost despatch, for the Dutch army was assembling at Gorcum, at the Stry, and in the isle of Dort; a few of the enemy's sloops and an English frigate threatened his embarcation and cannonaded his camp, called by our soldiers the Beaver's Camp. They had actually built hovels of straw, and encouraged by the presence of their general, they braved cold, privations, dangers, and the chances of so bold an enterprise, and awaited with impatience the moment for crossing to the opposite bank. On the 3d of March General Deflers arrived with a new division. On the 4th, Gertruydenburg opened its gates, and everything was ready for effecting the passage of the Bielbos.

Meanwhile, the struggle between the two parties in the interior still continued. The death of Lepelletier had already furnished occasion to the Mountaineers to assert that they were personally threatened, and the Assembly had not been able to refuse to renew, on their motion, the committee of *surveillance*. The committee had been composed of Mountaineers, which, for its first act, had ordered the apprehension of Gorsas,* a deputy and journalist attached to the interests of the Gironde. The Jacobins had obtained another advantage, namely, the suspension of the prosecutions decreed on the 20th of January against the authors of September. No sooner were these prosecutions commenced, than overwhelming proofs had been discovered against the principal revolutionists, and against Danton himself. The Jacobins then started up, declaring that everybody was culpable on those days, because everybody had deemed them necessary and permitted them. They even had the audacity to assert that the only fault to be found with those days was that they had been left incomplete; and they demanded a suspension of the proceedings, of which a handle was made to attack the purest revolutionists. They had carried their motion; the proceedings were suspended, that is to say, abolished; and a deputation of Jacobins had immediately waited on the minister of justice, to beg that extraordinary couriers might be despatched to stop the proceedings already commenced against the *brethren of Meaux*.

We have already seen that Pache had been obliged to quit the ministry, and that Roland had voluntarily resigned. This reciprocal concession had not allayed animosities. The Jacobins, by no means satisfied, insisted that Roland should be brought to trial. They alleged that he had robbed the state of enormous sums, and placed more than twelve millions in London; that those funds were employed in perverting opinion by publications, and in exciting disturbances by the forestalling of corn: they demanded also that prosecutions should be instituted against Clavières, Lebrun, and Beurnonville, all traitors, according to them, and accomplices in the intrigues of the Girondins. At the same time, they prepared a compensation of a very different kind for the displaced minister, who had shown them so much complaisance. Cambon, the successor of Petion in the mayoralty of Paris, had resigned functions far too arduous for his weakness. The Jacobins instantly bethought them of Pache, in whom they discovered the wisdom and coolness requisite for a magistrate. They applauded themselves for this idea, communicated it to the commune, to the sections, and to all the clubs; and the Parisians, influenced by them, avenged Pache for his dismission by electing him their mayor. Provided Pache should prove as docile in this office as he had been when minister at war, the sway of the Jacobins would be insured in Paris; and in this choice they had consulted their advantage not less than their passions.

The dearth of provisions and the embarrassments of trade still occasioned disturb-

* "A. J. Gorsas, born at Limoges, in 1751, edited a journal in 1789, and was one of the first promoters of the Revolution. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and connected himself with the Girondins, in whose fate he was involved, having been condemned to death in 1793. Gorsas was the author of an amusing satirical work, entitled 'The Carrier Ass.'"—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

ances and complaints, and from December to February the evil had considerably increased. The fear of commotions and pillage, the dislike of the farmers to take paper, the high prices arising from the great abundance of that fictitious money, were, as we have already observed, the causes which prevented the easy traffic in grain, and produced dearth. The administrative efforts of the communes had, nevertheless, in a certain degree, made amends for the stagnation of trade; and there was no lack of articles of consumption in the markets, but they were at an exorbitant price. The value of the assignats declining daily in proportion to their total mass, it required a larger and larger amount to purchase the same quantity of necessaries, and thus the prices became excessive. The people, receiving only the same nominal value for their labour, could no longer procure such things as they needed, and vented themselves in complaints and threats. Bread was not the only article the price of which was enormously increased; that of sugar, coffee, candles, soap, was doubled. The laundresses had come to the Convention to complain that they were obliged to pay thirty sous for soap, which had formerly cost them but fourteen. To no purpose were the people told to raise the price of their labour, in order to re-establish the proportion between their wages and the articles of consumption. They could not be brought to act in concert for the accomplishment of this object, and cried out against the rich, against forestallers, against the trading aristocracy; they demanded the simplest expedient, a fixed standard, a *maximum*.

The Jacobins, the members of the commune, who were mere populace in comparison with the Convention, but who, with reference to the populace itself, were assemblies that might almost be called enlightened, were sensible of the inconveniences of a fixed price. Though more inclined than the Convention to admit of it, they nevertheless opposed it, and Dubois de Crancé, the two Robespierres, Thuriot, and other Mountaineers, were daily heard declaiming at the Jacobins against the plan of the *maximum*. Chaumette* and Hebert did the same at the commune; but the tribunes murmured, and sometimes answered them with hootings. Deputations of the sections frequently came to reproach the commune with its moderation and its connivance with the forestallers. It was in these assemblies of the sections that the lowest classes of agitators met; and there reigned a revolutionary fanaticism still more ignorant and violent than at the commune and the Jacobins. Conjointly with the Cordeliers, whither all the acting men resorted, the sections produced all the disturbances of the capital. Their inferiority and their obscurity, by exposing them to more agitations, exposed them also to underhand manœuvres in a contrary spirit; and there the remnants of the aristocracy dared to show themselves, and to make some attempts at resistance. The former creatures of the nobility, the late servants of the emigrants, all the turbulent idlers, who between the two opposite causes had preferred the cause of the aristocracy, repaired to some of the sections, where the honest citizens persevered in favour of the Girondins, and concealed themselves behind this judicious and rational opposition, for the purpose of attacking the Mountaineers, and labouring in favour of foreigners and of the old system. In these conflicts the honest citizens most frequently withdrew. The two extreme classes of agitators were thus left in battle array, and they fought in this lower region with terrific violence. Horrid scenes were daily occurring, on occasion of petitions proposed to be addressed to the commune, the Jacobins, or the Assembly. From these tempests sprang, according to the result of the conflict, either addresses against September and the

* "P. G. Chaumette, attorney of the commune of Paris, was born at Nevers in 1763. His father was a shoemaker. After having been a cabin-boy, a steersman, a transcriber, and an attorney's clerk at Paris, he worked under the journalist Prudhomme, who describes him as a very ignorant fellow. He soon acquired great power in the capital, and in 1793 proposed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal without appeal, and a tax on the rich. At the same time, he contrived the Festivals of Reason, and the orgies and profanations which polluted all the churches in Paris, and even proposed that a moving guillotine mounted on four wheels, should follow the revolutionary army 'to shed blood in profusion!' Chaumette also proposed the cessation of public worship, and the equality of funerals; and procured an order for the demolition of all monuments of religion and royalty. He was executed, by order of Robespierre, in 1794, twenty days after Hebert, to whose party he had attached himself."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

maximum, or addresses against these addressers, the aristocrats, and the forestallers.

The commune reproved the inflammatory petitions of the sections, and exhorted them to beware of secret agitators, who were striving to produce dissensions among them. It acted the same part in regard to the sections, as the Convention acted in regard to itself. The Jacobins, not having, like the commune, specific functions to exercise, occupied themselves in discussing all sorts of subjects, had great philosophical pretensions, and laid claim to a better comprehension of social economy than the sections and the club of the Cordeliers. They affected, therefore, in many instances, not to share the vulgar passions of those subaltern assemblies, and condemned the fixed standard as dangerous to the freedom of trade. But, substituting another expedient for that which they rejected, they had proposed to cause assignats to be taken at par, and to punish with death any one who should refuse to take them at the value which they purported to bear; as if this had not been another manner of attacking the freedom of trade. They also proposed to bind themselves reciprocally to desist from using sugar and coffee, in order to produce a forced reduction in the prices of those commodities; and lastly, they suggested the expediency of putting a stop to the creation of assignats, and supplying their place by loans from the rich;—forced loans, assessed according to the number of servants, horses, &c. All these propositions did not prevent the evil from increasing, and rendering a crisis inevitable. Meanwhile, they mutually reproached one another with the public calamities. The Girondins were accused of acting in concert with the rich and with the forestallers, for the purpose of famishing the people, driving them to insurrection, and thence deriving a pretext for enacting new martial laws; they were accused also of an intention to bring in foreigners by means of the disturbances—an absurd charge, but which proved a mortal one. The Girondins replied by the like accusations. They reproached their adversaries with causing the dearth and the commotions by the alarms which they excited in commerce, and with a design to arrive by these commotions at anarchy, by anarchy at power, and perhaps at foreign domination.

The end of February was at hand, and the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life had raised the irritation of the people to the highest pitch. The women, apparently more deeply touched by this kind of suffering, were in extreme agitation. They repaired, on the 22d, to the Jacobins, soliciting the use of their hall, that they might there deliberate on the high price of the articles of consumption, and prepare a petition to the National Convention. It was well known that the object of this petition was to propose the *maximum*, and the application was refused. The tribunes then treated the Jacobins as they had sometimes treated the Assembly. *Down with the forestallers! down with the rich!* was the general cry. The president was obliged to put on his hat to appease the tumult, and, to account for this want of respect, it was alleged that there had been disguised aristocrats in the hall. Robespierre and Dubois de Crancé inveighed anew against the plan of a *maximum*, and recommended to the people to keep quiet, that they might not furnish their adversaries with a pretext for calumniating them, and give them occasion for enacting sanguinary laws.

Marat, who pretended to devise the simplest and most expeditious remedies for all evils, declared in his paper of the 25th that forestalling would never cease, unless more efficient measures than all those which had been hitherto proposed, were resorted to. Inveighing against *monopolists*, *the dealers in luxuries*, *the agents of chicanery*, *the limbs of the law*, *the ex-nobles*, whom the unfaithful representatives of the people encouraged in crime by impunity, he added, "In every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles, ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their doors, would soon put a stop to these malversations which are driving five millions of men to despair, and causing thousands to perish for want. Will then the deputies of the people never do anything but chatter about their distresses, without proposing any remedy for them?"*

* Journal de la République, Feb. 25, 1793.

It was on the morning of the 25th that this presumptuous madman published these words. Whether they really had an influence on the people, or whether the irritation, excited to the highest pitch, could no longer restrain itself, a multitude of women assembled tumultuously about the grocers' shops. At first they complained of the prices of articles, and loudly clamoured for their reduction. The commune was not apprized of the circumstance; Santerre, the commandant, was gone to Versailles to organize a corps of cavalry, and no order was issued for calling out the public force. Thus the rioters met with no obstacle, and soon proceeded from threats to acts of violence and pillage. The mob first collected in the streets of the Vieille-Monnaie, of the Cinq-Diamans, and of the Lombards. It began with insisting that the prices of all articles should be reduced one-half; soap to sixteen sous, lump-sugar to twenty-five, moist sugar to fifteen, candles to thirteen. Great quantities of goods were forcibly taken at this rate, and the price was paid by the buyers to the shop-keepers. But presently the rabble refused to pay at all, and carried off the goods without giving anything whatever for them. The armed force, coming up at one point, was repulsed, amidst shouts from all sides of *Down with the bayonets!* The Convention, the commune, the Jacobins had all met. The Assembly was listening to a report on this subject; the minister of the interior was demonstrating to it that commodities were abundant in Paris, but that the evil proceeded from the disproportion between the value of the circulating medium and that of the commodities themselves. The Assembly with a view to parry the difficulties of the moment, had immediately assigned funds to the commune, for the purpose of retailing necessaries at a low price. At the same instant, the commune, participating in its sentiments and its zeal, had directed a report of the circumstances to be made, and ordered measures of police. At every new fact that was reported to it, the tribunes shouted, *So much the better!* At every remedy that was proposed, they cried *Down! Down!* Chaumette and Hebert* were hooted for proposing to beat the *générale*, and to require the armed force. It was nevertheless resolved that two strong patroles, preceded by two municipal officers, should be sent to restore order, and that twenty-seven more municipal officers should go and make proclamations in the sections.

The tumult had spread. The mob was plundering in different streets, and it was even proposed to go from the grocers to other shopkeepers. Meanwhile, men of all parties seized the occasion to reproach one another for this riot, and the evils which had caused it. "When you had a king," said the partisans of the abolished system, in the streets, "you were not obliged to pay such high prices for things, neither were you liable to be plundered."—"You see," cried the partisans of the Girondins, "whither the system of violence and the impunity of revolutionary excesses will lead us!"

The Mountaineers were exceedingly mortified, and asserted that it was disguised aristocrats, Fayettists, Rolandins, Brissotins, mingled among the rabble, who excited it to pillage. They declared that they had found in the mob women of high

* "J. R. Hebert, born at Alençon, was naturally of an active disposition and an ardent imagination, but wholly without information. Before the Revolution, he lived in Paris by intrigue and imposture. Being employed at the theatre of the Variétés as receiver of the checks, he was dismissed for dishonesty, and retired to the house of a physican whom he robbed. In 1789 he embraced with ardour the popular party, and soon made himself known by a journal entitled 'Father Duchesne,' which had the greatest success among the people on account of the violence of its principles. On the 10th of August Hebert became one of the members of the insurrectional municipality, and afterwards in September, contributed to the prison massacres. He was one of the first to preach atheism, and organize the Festivals of Reason. His popularity, however, was brief, for he was brought to the scaffold, together with his whole faction, by Robespierre, in 1794. He died with the greatest marks of weakness, and fainted several times on his road to execution. On all sides he heard, 'Father Duchesne is very uneasy, and will be very angry when Samson (the executioner) makes him tipsy.' A young man, whose entire family he had destroyed, called out to him, 'To-day is the great anger of Father Duchesne!' On the occasion of the Queen's trial, Hebert cast an imputation on her, of so atrocious and extravagant a nature, that even Robespierre was disgusted with it, and exclaimed, 'Madman! was it not enough for him to have asserted that she was a Messalina, without also making an Agrippina of her?' Hebert married a nun who was guillotined with Chaumette and the rest of the faction of the commune." — *Biographie Moderne.* E.

rank, men wearing powder, servants of high personages, who were distributing assignats to induce the people to enter the shops. At length, after the lapse of several hours, the armed force was collected; Santerre returned from Versailles; the requisite orders were issued; the battalion of Brest, then in Paris, deployed with great zeal and confidence, and the rioters were finally dispersed.

In the evening, a warm discussion took place at the Jacobins. These disorders were deplored, in spite of the shouts of the tribunes and the expressions of their dissatisfaction. Collot-d'Herbois, Thuriot, and Robespierre, were unanimous in recommending tranquillity, and in throwing the blame of the tumult on the aristocrats and the Girondins. Robespierre made a long speech on this subject, in which he maintained that the populace was *impeccable*, that it was never in the wrong, and that, if it were not misled, it would never commit any fault. He declared that, among those groups of plunderers, there were people who lamented the death of the King, and warmly praised the right side of the Assembly; that he had heard this himself, and that consequently there could not be any doubt respecting the real instigators who had led the people astray. Marat himself came to recommend good order, to condemn the pillage, which he had preached up that very morning in his paper, and to impute it to the Girondins and the royalists.

Next day, the Assembly rang with the accustomed and ever useless complaints. Barrère inveighed forcibly against the crimes of the preceding day. He remarked upon the tardiness of the authorities to act in quelling the disturbance. The plunder had in fact begun at ten in the morning, and at five in the afternoon the armed force had not yet assembled. Barrère proposed that the mayor and the commandant-general should be summoned to explain the causes of this delay. A deputation of the section of Bon-Conseil seconded this motion. Salles then spoke. He proposed an act of accusation against the instigator of the pillage, Marat, and read the article inserted in his paper of the preceding day. Frequent motions had been made for an accusation against the instigators of disturbance, and particularly against Marat; there could not be a more favourable occasion for prosecuting them, for never had disturbance so speedily followed the provocation. Marat, not at all disconcerted, declared in the tribune that it was but natural that the people should do itself justice upon the forestallers, since the laws were inadequate, and that those who proposed to accuse him ought to be sent to the Petites-Maisons. Buzot moved the order of the day on the proposition to accuse *Monsieur* Marat. "The law is precise," said he, "but *Monsieur* Marat quibbles about its expressions; the jury will be embarrassed, and it will not be right to prepare a triumph for *Monsieur* Marat, before the face of justice herself." A member desired that the Convention should declare to the republic that "yesterday morning Marat exhorted to plunder, and that yesterday afternoon plunder was committed." Numerous propositions succeeded. At length it was resolved to send all the authors of the disturbances without distinction before the ordinary tribunals. "Well, then!" exclaimed Marat, "pass an act of accusation against myself, that the Convention may prove that it has lost all shame." At these words, a great tumult ensued. The Convention immediately sent Marat and all the authors of the misdemeanors committed on the 25th before the tribunals. Barrère's motion was adopted. Santerre and Pache were summoned to the bar. Fresh measures were taken against the supposed agents of foreigners and the emigrants. At the moment, this notion of a foreign influence was universally accredited. On the preceding day, new domiciliary visits had been ordered throughout all France, for the purpose of apprehending emigrants and suspicious travellers. This same day the obligation to obtain passports was renewed; all keepers of taverns and lodging-houses were required to give an account of every foreigner lodging with them; and lastly, a new list of all the citizens of the sections was ordered.

Marat was at length to be accused, and on the following day his paper contained this passage:

"Indignant at seeing the enemies of the public weal engaged in everlasting machinations against the people; disgusted at seeing forestallers of all sorts, uniting to drive the people to despair by distress and famine; mortified at seeing that the

measures taken by the Convention for preventing these conspiracies have not accomplished the object; grieved at the complaints of the unfortunate creatures who daily come to ask me for bread, at the same time accusing the Convention of suffering them to perish by want; I take up the pen for the purpose of suggesting the best means of at length putting a stop to the conspiracies of the public enemies, and to the sufferings of the people. The simplest ideas are those which first present themselves to a well-constituted mind, which is anxious solely for the general happiness without any reference to itself. I ask myself then, why we do not turn against the public robbers those means which they employ to ruin the people and to destroy liberty. In consequence, I observe that, in every country where the rights of the people are not empty titles, ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their own doors would soon put a stop to their malversations! What do the leaders of the faction of statesmen do? They eagerly pounce upon this expression; they then lose no time in sending emissaries among the mob of women collected before the bakers' shops, to urge them to take away at a certain price soap, candles, and sugar, from the shops of the retail grocers, while these emissaries themselves plunder the shops of the poor patriot grocers. These villains then keep silence the whole day. They concert measures at night at a clandestine meeting held at the house of the strumpet of the counter-revolutionary Valazé,* and then come the next day to denounce me in the tribune as the instigator of the excesses of which they are themselves the primary authors."

The quarrel became daily more and more violent. The parties openly threatened one another. Many of the deputies never went abroad without arms; and people began to say, with the same freedom as in the month of July and August in the preceding year, that they must save themselves by insurrection, and cut out the *mortified* part of the national representation. The Girondins met in the evening, in considerable number, at the residence of one of them, Valazé, and there they were quite undecided what course to pursue. Some believed, others disbelieved, in approaching dangers. Certain of them, as Salles and Louvet, supposed imaginary conspiracies, and, by directing attention to chimeras, diverted it from the real danger. Roving from project to project, placed in the heart of Paris, without any force at their disposal, and reckoning only upon the opinion of the departments, immense, it is true, but inert, they were liable to be swept off every day by a *coup de main*. They had not succeeded in forming a departmental force; the bodies of federalists, which had come spontaneously to Paris since the meeting of the Convention, were partly gained and had partly gone to the armies; and they had nothing to rely upon but four hundred men of Brest, whose firm bearing had put a stop to the pillage. For want of a departmental guard, they had in vain endeavoured to transfer the direction of the public force from the commune to the ministry of the interior. The Mountain, furious at this proposition, had intimidated the majority, and prevented it from voting such a measure. They could already reckon upon no more than eighty deputies, inaccessible to fear, and firm in their deliberations,

In this state of things, the Girondins had but one expedient left, as impracticable as all the others, that of dissolving the Convention. Here again the violence of the Mountain prevented them from obtaining a majority. In their indecision, arising not from imbecility but want of strength, they reposed upon the constitution. From the need to hope for something, they flattered themselves that the yoke of the law would restrain the passions, and put an end to all dissensions. Speculative minds were particularly fond of dwelling upon this idea. Condorcet had read his report, in the name of the committee of constitution, and had excited a

* "C. E. Dufriche Valazé, a lawyer, was born at Alençon in 1751; he first followed the military career, and then went to the bar. At the period of the Revolution he embraced the cause of the people, and early attached himself to the party of the Gironde. He was condemned to death in 1793, but stabbed himself as soon as he had heard his sentence; his body nevertheless was carried in a cart to the foot of the scaffold. At his death Valazé was forty-two years of age. He was the author of several works."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

general sensation. Condorcet, Petion, and Sieyes, had been loaded with imprecations at the Jacobins. Their republic had been regarded as an aristocracy ready made for certain lofty and overbearing talents. Accordingly, the Mountaineers opposed its being taken into consideration; and many members of the Convention, already sensible that their occupation would be not to constitute but to defend the Revolution, boldly declared that they ought to defer the discussion relative to the constitution till the next year, and for the moment think of nothing but governing and fighting. Thus the long reign of that stormy assembly began to announce itself. It ceased already to believe in the briefness of its legislative mission, and the Girondins saw themselves forsaken by their last hope, that of speedily controlling the factions by the laws.

Their adversaries were, on their part, not less embarrassed than themselves. They certainly had the violent passions in their favour; they had the Jacobins, the commune, and the majority of the sections; but they possessed none of the ministers. They dreaded the departments, where the two opinions were struggling with extreme fury, and where their own had an evident disadvantage; lastly, they dreaded the foreign powers; and though the ordinary laws of revolutions insure victory to the violent passions, yet these laws, being unknown to, could not cheer, them. Their plans were as vague as those of their adversaries. To attack the national representation was a course not less difficult than bold, and they had not yet accustomed themselves to this idea. There were certainly some thirty agitators who were bold enough to propose anything in the sections; but these plans were disapproved by the Jacobins, by the commune, by the Mountaineers, who, daily accused of conspiring and daily justifying themselves, felt that propositions of this kind compromised them in the eyes of their adversaries and of the departments. Danton, who had taken but little share in the quarrels of the parties, was anxious only about two things: to secure himself from all prosecution on account of his revolutionary acts, and to prevent the Revolution from retrograding and sinking beneath the blows of the enemy. Marat himself, so reckless and so atrocious, when the question was concerning means—Marat hesitated; and Robespierre, notwithstanding his hatred of the Girondins, of Brissot, Roland, Gaudet, Vergniaud, durst not think of an attack upon the national representation; he knew not what expedient to adopt; he was discouraged; he doubted the salvation of the Revolution, and told Garat that he was tired, sick of it, and that he verily believed people were plotting the ruin of all the defenders of the republic.

While the two parties were struggling with violence at Marseilles, at Lyons, and at Bordeaux, the proposition to get rid of the *appellants*, and to eject them from the Convention, proceeded from the Jacobins of Marseilles, in conflict with the partizans of the Girondins. This proposition, transferred to the Jacobins of Paris, was discussed there. Desfieux maintained that this measure was supported by affiliated societies enough to be converted into a petition, and presented to the National Convention. Robespierre, fearing that such a demand might lead to the entire renewal of the Assembly, and that in the contest of elections the party of the Mountain might be beaten, strongly opposed it, and finally caused it to be rejected, for the reasons usually advanced against all plans of dissolution.

Our military reverses now came to accelerate the progress of events. We left Dumouriez encamped on the shore of the Bielbos, and preparing for a hazardous, but practicable, landing in Holland. While he was making arrangements for his expedition, two hundred and sixty thousand combatants were marching against France, between the Upper Rhine and Holland. Fifty-six thousand Prussians, twenty-five thousand Hessians, Saxons, and Bavarians, threatened the Rhine from Basle to Mayence and Coblentz. From this point to the Meuse, thirty thousand men occupied Luxemburg. Sixty thousand Austrians and ten thousand Prussians were marching towards our quarters on the Meuse, to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Venloo. Lastly, forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, who were still behindhand, were advancing from the extremity of Holland upon our line of operation.

The plan of the enemy was to bring us back from Holland upon the Scheldt, to

compel us to recross the Meuse, and then to wait upon that river till the fortress of Mayence should be retaken. His intention was to march on thus by little and little, to advance equally upon all the points at once, and not penetrate rapidly upon any, that he might not expose his flanks. This cautious and methodical plan would not have allowed us to push the offensive enterprize against Holland much farther and more actively, had not blunders, or unlucky accidents, or too great precipitation in taking alarm, obliged us to relinquish it. The Prince of Coburg,* who had distinguished himself in the last campaign against the Turks, commanded the Austrians, who were advancing towards the Meuse. Disorder prevailed in our quarters, which were dispersed between Maestricht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, and Tongres. Early in March the Prince of Coburg crossed the Roer, and advanced by Duren and Aldenhoven upon Aix-la-Chapelle. Our troops suddenly attacked, retreated in disorder towards Aix-la-Chapelle, and abandoned even the gates to the enemy. Miaczinsky resisted for some time, but, after a very sanguinary combat in the streets of the town, he was obliged to give way, and to retire in disorder towards Liege. At the same time, Stengel and Neuilly separated by this movement, were driven back upon Limburg. Miranda, who was besieging Maestricht, and who was also liable to be cut off from the main body of the army, which had retired to Liege, even quitted the left bank, and retreated upon Tongres. The imperialists immediately entered Maestricht, and the Archduke Charles,† boldly pushing on in pursuit beyond the Meuse, proceeded to Tongres, and there obtained an advantage. Valence, Dampierre, and Miaczinsky, uniting at Liege, then conceived that they ought to make haste to rejoin Miranda; and marched upon St. Trond, whither Miranda, on his side, was directing his course. The retreat was so precipitate, that great part of the *matériel* was lost. However, after great dangers, they effected their junction at St. Trond. Lamarlière and Champmorin, posted at Ruremonde, had time to repair by Dietz to the same point. Stengel and Neuilly, completely cut off from the army, and driven back towards Limberg, were picked up at Namur by the division of General d'Harville. At length our troops having rallied at Tirlemont, recovered some degree of composure and confidence, and awaited the arrival of Dumouriez, who was loudly called for.

No sooner was he apprized of this first discomfiture, than he ordered Miranda to rally all his force at Maestricht, and quietly to continue the siege with seventy thousand men. He was persuaded that the Austrians would not dare to give battle, and that the invasion of Holland would soon bring the allies upon his rear. This notion was correct, and founded upon this true idea, that in case of a reciprocal offensive, the victory remains with him who can contrive to wait the longest.

* "Frederick Josias, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, an Austrian field-marshal, was born in 1737. In 1788 he took Choczim, and in connexion with the Russian general, Suwaroff, defeated the Turks at Focsani in 1789, and conquered Bucharest. In 1793 he commanded against the French; was victorious at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden; and took Valenciennes, and several other towns; but when the Duke of York separated himself from the Austrians in order to besiege Dunkirk, Coburg was beaten at Maubeuge, Clairfayt at Tournay, and the English at Dunkirk. The prince in consequence retreated over the Rhine, and gave up his command. He died in his native city in 1815."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Charles Louis, Archduke of Austria, son of Leopold II., and brother of the late Emperor Francis, was born in 1771. He commenced his military career in 1793, commanded the vanguard of the Prince of Coburg, and distinguished himself by his talent and bravery. In 1796 he was made field-marshal of the German empire, and took the chief command of the Austrian army on the Rhine. He fought several successful battles against the French Generals Moreau and Jourdan, and forced them to retreat over the Rhine. After the battle of Hohenlinden, when the French entered Austria, the archduke, who had previously retired from service by reason of ill-health, was again placed at the head of the troops, but was compelled at length to make peace at Luneville. In 1805 he commanded an Austrian army in Italy against Massena, over whom he gained a victory at Caldiero. In 1809 he advanced into Bavaria, where he was opposed by the whole French army commanded by Napoleon; a hard-fought and bloody battle, which lasted five days ensued, and the Austrians were compelled to retreat. In the same year, the archduke gained a victory at Aspern, opposite to Vienna, and compelled the French to retreat across the Danube with great loss. At the memorable battle of Wagram, he was wounded, and compelled to give way, after a contest of two days. Soon after this, the archduke resigned the command of the army. In 1815 he married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg. He is the author of two able works on military matters." —*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

The very timid plan of the Imperialists, who would not break out upon any point, rendered this notion still more reasonable; but the negligence of the generals, who had not concentrated themselves early enough, their confusion after the attack, the impossibility of rallying in presence of the enemy, and above all, the absence of a man superior in authority and influence rendered the execution of the order given by Dumouriez impracticable. Letters after letters were therefore despatched to him, urging his return from Holland. The terror had become general. More than ten thousand deserters had already quitted the army, and were spreading themselves towards the interior. The commissioners of the Convention hastened to Paris, and caused an order to be sent to Dumouriez to leave to another the expedition attempted upon Holland, and to return with all possible speed to put himself at the head of the grand army of the Meuse. This order he received on the 8th, and he set out on the 9th, mortified to see all his projects overthrown. He returned, more disposed than ever to censure the revolutionary system introduced into Belgium, and to quarrel with the Jacobins on account of the ill success of his plans of campaign. He found in reality abundant matter both for complaint and censure. The agents of the executive power in Belgium exercised a despotic and vexatious authority. They had everywhere excited the populace, and frequently employed violence in the assemblies where the union with France was discussed. They had seized the plate of the churches, sequestrated the revenues of the clergy, confiscated the estates of the nobility, and kindled the strongest indignation in all classes of the Belgian people. Already an insurrection against the French had begun to break forth towards Grammont.

It needed not circumstances so serious to dispose Dumouriez to treat the commissioners of the government with severity. He began with ordering them to be arrested, and sending them under an escort to Paris. He talked to the others in the most peremptory tone, compelled them to confine themselves to their functions, forbade them to interfere in the military arrangements of the generals, or to give any orders to troops within their district. He removed General Moreton, who had made common cause with them. He shut up the clubs, caused part of the articles taken from the churches to be restored to the Belgians, and accompanied these measures with a proclamation, disavowing, in the name of France, the vexations which had been committed. He called the perpetrators *brigands*, and exercised a dictatorship, which, while it attached Belgium to him, and rendered the occupation of the country more secure to the French army, raised to the highest pitch the wrath of the Jacobins. He had actually a very warm discussion with Camus, expressed himself contemptuously respecting the government of the moment; and, forgetting the fate of Lafayette, and relying too implicitly on military power, he conducted himself as general, certain that he could, if he pleased, check the progress of the Revolution, and well disposed to do so, if he should be pushed to extremity. The same spirit was communicated to his staff. The officers spoke with disdain of the populace which ruled Paris, and of the imbecile conventionalists, who suffered themselves to be oppressed by it; all who were suspected of Jacobinism were maltreated and removed; and the soldiers, overjoyed at seeing their general again among them, affected, in the presence of the commissioners of the Convention, to stop his horse, and to kiss his boots, at the same time calling him their father.

These tidings excited the greatest tumult in Paris, and provoked fresh outcries against traitors and counter-revolutionists. Choudieu, the deputy, immediately took advantage of them to demand, as had frequently been done, that the federalists still in Paris should be sent off. Whenever unfavourable intelligence arrived from the armies, this demand was sure to be repeated. Barbaroux wished to speak on this subject, but his presence excited a commotion hitherto unexampled. Buzot attempted in vain to pay a tribute to the firmness of the men of Brest during the riot. Boyer-Fonfrède merely obtained, by a sort of compromise, the concession that the federalists of the maritime departments should go to complete the army of the coasts of the Ocean which was still too weak. The others were allowed to remain in Paris.

Next day, March the 9th, the Convention ordered all the officers to rejoin their

corps forthwith. Danton proposed to furnish the Parisians once more with an occasion to save France. "Ask them for thirty thousand men," said he, "send them to Dumouriez; Belgium will be secured to us and Holland conquered." Thirty thousand men were, in fact, not difficult to be found in Paris; they would be a powerful reinforcement to the army of the North, and give new importance to the capital. Danton moreover proposed to send commissioners of the Convention to the departments and to the sections, in order to accelerate the recruiting by all possible means. All these motions were adopted. The sections had orders to meet in the evening; commissioners were appointed to repair to them; the theatres were closed that the public attention might not be diverted, and the black flag was hoisted at the Hôtel de Ville as a sign of distress.

The meeting accordingly took place in the evening. The commissioners were most favourably received in the sections. Men's imaginations were excited, and the proposal to repair immediately to the armies was cheerfully acceded to. But the same thing happened on this occasion as on the 2d and 3d of September. The Parisians insisted that before their departure the traitors should be punished. Ever since that period, they had an expression ready made. They did not like, they said, to leave behind them conspirators ready to butcher their families in their absence. It would therefore be neeessary, in order to avoid fresh popular executions, to organize legal and terrible executions, which should reach, without delay and without appeal, the counter-revolutionists, the hidden conspirators, who threatened within the revolution which was already threatened from without. It would be necessary to suspend the sword over the heads of generals, of ministers, of unfaithful deputies, who compromised the public welfare. It was, moreover, not just that the wealthy egotists, who were not fond of the system of equality, who cared but little whether they belonged to the Convention or to Brunswick, and who consequently would not come forward to fill up the ranks of the army—it was not just that they should remain strangers to the public cause, and do nothing in its behalf. It would be but right, consequently, that all those who possessed an income of more than fifteen hundred livres should pay a tax proportionate to their means, and sufficient to indemnify those who should devote themselves for all the expenses of the campaign. This twofold wish of a tribunal instituted against the hostile party, and of a contribution of the rich in favour of the poor who were going to fight, was almost general in the sections. Several of them went to the commune to express it; the Jacobins adopted it on their part, and next day the Convention was startled by the expression of a universal and irresistible opinion.

On the following day, March 9th, all the Mountaineer deputies attended the sitting. The Jacobins filled the tribunes. They had turned all the women out of them, "because," as they said, "they should have an expedition to perform." Several of them carried pistols. Gamon, the deputy, would have complained of this, but could not obtain a hearing. The Mountain and the tribunes, firmly resolved, intimidated the majority, and appeared determined not to admit of any opposition. The mayor entered, with the council of the commune, confirmed the report of the commissioners of the Convention respecting the self-devotion of the sections, but repeated their wish for an extraordinary tribunal and a tax upon the rich. A great number of sections succeeded the commune, and likewise demanded the tribunal and the tax. Some added the demand of a law against forestallers, of a *maximum* in the price of commodities, and of the abrogation of the decree which invested merchandise with the character of metallic money, and permitted it to circulate at a different price from the paper currency. After all these petitions, it was insisted that the several measures proposed should be put to the vote. A motion was made for voting forthwith the principle of the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal. Some deputies opposed it. Lanjuinais spoke, and insisted that, if they were absolutely required to sanction the iniquity of a tribunal without appeal, they ought at least to confine this calamity to the single department of Paris. Guadet and Valazé made vain efforts to support Lanjuinais. They were brutally interrupted by the Mountain. Some deputies even demanded that this tribunal should bear the name of *revolutionary*. But the Convention, without permitting further discussion,

decreed the establishment of an *extraordinary criminal* tribunal to try, without appeal and without reference to the court of cassation, conspirators and counter-revolutionists; and directed its committee of legislation to present to it on the following day a plan of organization.

Immediately after this decree, a second was passed, which imposed an extraordinary war-tax on the rich; also, a third, appointing forty-one commissions, of two deputies each, authorized to repair to the departments to hasten the recruiting by all possible means, to disarm those who should not go, to cause suspicious persons to be apprehended, to take horses kept for luxury; in short, to exercise there the most absolute dictatorship. To these measures were added others. The exhibitions of the colleges were in future to be conferred only on the sons of those who should join the armies. All bachelors holding situations in the public offices were to be replaced by fathers of families, and arrest for debt was to be abolished. The right to make a will had been annulled some days before. All these measures were adopted at the instigation of Danton, who thoroughly understood the art of attaching interests to the cause of the Revolution.

The Jacobins satisfied with this day, hastened to their club to applaud themselves for the zeal which they had displayed, for the manner in which they had filled the tribunes, and for the imposing assemblage presented by the close ranks of the Mountain. They recommended to each other to persevere, and to be all present at the sitting of the following day, at which the extraordinary tribunal was to be organized. Robespierre, said they, had given a strict injunction to this effect. Still they were not content with what they had obtained. One of them proposed to draw up a petition, demanding the renewal of the committees and the administration, the apprehension of all functionaries at the very moment of their dismissal from office, and that of all the administrators of the posts, and counter-revolutionary journalists. It was proposed to draw up the petition on the spot; but the president objected that the society could not perform any collective act, and it was therefore agreed to seek some other place for meeting in the character of mere petitioners. They then spread themselves over Paris. Tumult reigned in that city. About a hundred persons, the usual promoters of all the disturbances, headed by Lasouski, had repaired to the office of Gorsas, the journalist, armed with swords and pistols, and had broken in pieces his presses. Gorsas had fled; but he would not have escaped, had he not defended himself with great courage and presence of mind. They had paid a like visit to the publisher of the *Chronique*, and also ravaged his printing office.

The next day threatened to be still more stormy. It was Sunday. A dinner was provided at the section of Halle-au-Blé, as an entertainment to the recruits who were going off to the army; the want of occupation of the populace, together with the excitement of the festivity, might lead to the worst projects. The hall of the Convention was as full as on the preceding day. In the tribunes and at the Mountain the ranks were equally close, and equally threatening. The discussion opened upon various matters of detail. A letter from Dumouriez was then taken into consideration. Robespierre supported the propositions of the general, and insisted that Lanoue and Stengel, both commanding in the advanced guard at the time of the late route, should be placed under accusation. The accusation was immediately decreed. The next business brought forward, was the despatch of the deputies who were to be the commissioners for the recruiting. Their votes, however, being required for insuring the establishment of the extraordinary tribunal, it was resolved that it should be organized in the course of the day, and that the commissioners should be sent off on the morrow. Cambacérès* immediately

* "Jean Jacques Regis Cambacérès was born in 1753, at Montpellier, of an ancient family of lawyers. At the commencement of the Revolution, he received several public offices, and in 1792 became a member of the Convention. In 1793 he declared Louis XVI. guilty, but disputed the right of the Convention to judge him, and voted for his provisory arrest, and in case of a hostile invasion, for his death. As a member of the committee of public safety, Cambacérès reported the treason of Dumouriez. After the fall of the Terrorists, he entered into the council of Five Hundred, where he presented a new plan for a civil code, which became subsequently the foundation of the

moved for the orgaization both of the extraordinary tribunal and of the ministry. Buzot then rushed to the tribune, but was interrupted by violent murmurs, "These murmurs," he exclaimed, "teach me what I already knew, that there is courage in opposing the despotism which is preparing for us." Renewed murmurs arose. He continued: "I give you up my life, but I am determined to rescue my memory from dishonour by opposing the despotism of the National Convention. People desire that you should combine in your hands all the powers."—"You ought to act, not prate," exclaimed a voice. "You are right," replied Buzot; "the public writers of the monarchy also said that it was necessary to act, and that consequently the despotic government of one was better ——" A fresh noise was raised. Confusion prevailed in the Assembly. At length it was agreed to adjourn the organization of the ministry, and to attend for the moment to the extraordinary tribunal alone. The report of the committee was asked for. That report was not yet ready, and the sketch which had been agreed upon was demanded in its stead. It was read by Robert Lindet, who at the same time deplored its severity. The provisions proposed by him, in a tone of the deepest sorrow, were these: The tribunal shall consist of nine judges, appointed by the Convention, independent of all forms, acquiring conviction by any means, divided into two ever-permanent sections, prosecuting by desire of the Convention, or directly, those who, by their conduct or the manifestation of their opinions, shall have endeavoured to mislead the people, those who, by the places which they held under the old government, remind us of the prerogatives usurped by the despots.

On the reading of this horrible project, applauses burst forth on the left, and a violent agitation ensued on the right. "Better die," exclaimed Vergniaud, "than consent to the establishment of this Venetian inquisition!"—"The people," replied Amar, "must have either this measure of salvation or insurrection."—"My attachment to the revolutionary power," said Cambon, "is sufficiently known; but if the people have made a wrong choice in the elections, we too might make a wrong choice in the appointment of these nine judges, and then they would be insupportable tyrants whom we should have set up over ourselves!"—"This tribunal," exclaimed Duhera, "is still too good for villains and counter-revolutionists!" The tumult continued, and time was wasted in threats, abuse, and all sorts of cries.

Code Napoleon. On the 18th Brumaire, he was chosen second consul, and after Bonaparte had ascended the throne, was appointed arch-chancellor of the empire. In 1808 he was created Duke of Parma. On the approach of the Allies in 1814, he followed the government, whence he sent his consent to the emperor's abdication. On the return of Napoleon, in the following year, he was made president of the House of Peers, and on the emperor's second downfall, was banished, and went to live at Brussels. In 1818 the King permitted him to return to Paris, where he lived afterwards as a private individual, and died in 1824."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"The Consul Cambacérès received company every Tuesday and Saturday, and no other house in Paris could stand a comparison with his hotel. He was a consummate epicure, had great conversational powers, and the incidents of his narratives acquired novelty and grace from the turn of his language. I may be allowed to call him an honest man, for, looking round on all his equals in power, I have never found one of such absolute good faith and probity. His figure was extraordinarily ugly, as well as unique. The slow and regular step, the measured cadence of accentuation, the very look, which was three times as long as another's to arrive at its object;—all was in admirable keeping with the long person, long nose, long chin, and the yellow skin, which betrayed not the smallest symptoms that any matter inclining to sanguine circulated beneath its cellular texture. The same consistency pervaded his dress; and when demurely promenading the galleries of the Palais Royal, then the Palais Egalité, the singular cut and colour of his embroidered coat; his ruffles at that time so uncommon; his short breeches, silk stockings, shoes polished with English blacking, and fastened with gold buckles, his old-fashioned wig and queue, and his well-appointed and well-placed three-cornered hat, produced altogether a most fantastic effect. The members of his household, by their peculiarities of dress, served as accessories to the picture. Cambacérès went every evening to the theatre, and afterwards seldom failed to make his appearance with his suite, all in full costume, either in the gardens of the Tuileries or of the Palais Egalité, where everything around exhibited the most ludicrous contrast to this strange group."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

"Cambacérès, who was an inveterate epicure, did not believe it possible that a good government could exist without good dinners; and his glory (for every man has his own particular hobby) was to know that the luxuries of his table were the subject of eulogy throughout Paris, and even Europe. A banquet which commanded general suffrage was to him a Marengo."—*Bourrienne.* E.

"We will have it so," shouted some. "We will not have it so," replied others. Barrère demanded juries, and forcibly insisted on the necessity for them. Turreau moved that they should be selected from Paris, Boyer-Fonfrède from the whole extent of the republic, because the new tribunal would have to judge of crimes committed in the departments, in the armies, and everywhere. The day was far advanced, and night already coming on. Gensonné, the president, gave a summary of the different propositions, and was preparing to put them to the vote. The Assembly, worn out with fatigue, seemed ready to yield to so much violence. The members of the Plain began to retire, and the Mountain, in order to complete the work of intimidation, insisted that the votes should be given *vivâ voce*. "Yes," cried Feraud* indignantly, "yes, let us vote *vivâ voce*, to make known to the world the men who want to murder innocence under the shadow of the law!" This vehement apostrophe rallied the right side and the centre, and, contrary to all appearance, the majority declared: 1. There shall be juries; 2. Those juries shall be taken in equal number in the departments; 3. They shall be appointed by the Convention.

After the adoption of these three propositions, Gensonné thought it right to grant an hour's respite to the Assembly, which was overwhelmed with fatigue. The deputies rose to retire. "I summon the good citizens to keep their places!" cried Danton. At the sound of that terrible voice, every one resumed his seat. "What!" he exclaimed, "is it at the moment when Miranda may be beaten, and Dumouriez, taken in the rear, may be obliged to lay down his arms, that you think of deserting your post!† It behoves us to complete the enactment of those extraordinary laws destined to overawe your internal enemies. They must be arbitrary, because it is impossible to render them precise; because, terrible though they be, they will be preferable to the popular executions which now, as in September, would be the consequence of the delay of justice. After this tribunal, you must organize an energetic executive power, which shall be in immediate contact with you, and be able to set in motion all your means in men and in money. To-day, then, the extraordinary tribunal, to-morrow the executive power, and the next day the departure of your commissioners for the departments. People may calumniate me if they please; but, let my memory perish, so the republic be saved."

Notwithstanding this vehement exhortation, an adjournment for an hour was granted, and the deputies went to take indispensably necessary rest. It was about seven o'clock in the evening. The idleness of the Sunday, the dinner given to the recruits, the question discussed in the Assembly, all tended to increase the popular agitation. Without any plot concerted beforehand, as the Girondins believed, the mere disposition of people's minds urged them on to a stirring scene. The Jacobins were assembled. Bentabole had hastened thither to make his report of the sitting of the Convention, and to complain of the patriots, who had not been so energetic on that as on the preceding day. The general council of the commune was likewise sitting. The sections, forsaken by the peaceable citizens, were given up to the influence of furious men, who were passing inflammatory resolutions. In that of the Quatre-Nations, eighteen frantic persons had decided that

* "Feraud, deputy to the Convention, voted for the death of Louis XVI.; and when the commune of Paris desired that the Girondins should be tried, he proposed declaring that they had not forfeited the confidence of the Assembly. These sentiments would have involved him in their ruin, had he not been saved by a mission to the army of the Western Pyrenees, where, he received a wound in charging at the head of the columns. Being returned again to the Convention, he became a partisan of Barras, and assisted him in turning the armed force against Robespierre and his faction. When the revolt happened in 1795, he showed more courage than any of the other deputies, in opposing the Terrrrists at the moment when they forced the entrance of the hall; but he became the victim of his valour, for after having been abused by the crowd, he received a pistol-shot in his breast, at the time when he was endeavouring to repulse several men who were making towards the president. His body was immediataly seized and dragged into an adjoining passage, where his head was cut off, fixed on the top of a pike, and brought into the hall to the president Boissy d'Anglas, to terrify him as well as the rest of the representatives. Feraud was born in the valley of the Daure, at the foot of the Pyrenees."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† It was not known at this moment that Dumouriez had quitted Holland to return to the Meuse.

the department of the Seine ought at this moment to exercise the sovereignty, and that the electoral body of Paris ought immediately to assemble, in order to clear the National Convention of those unfaithful deputies who were conspiring with the enemies of the Revolution. The same resolution had been adopted at the club of the Cordeliers; and a deputation of the section and of the club was proceeding at that moment to communicate it to the commune. According to the usual practice in all commotions, rioters were running to direct the barriers to be closed.

At this same instant, the cries of an infuriated populace resounded in the streets. The recruits, who had dined at the Halie-au-Blé, filled with fury and wine, armed with pistols and swords, advanced towards the hall of the Jacobins singing atrocious songs. They arrived there just as Bentabole was concluding his report of the sitting of the day. On reaching the door, they demanded permission to file off through the hall. They passed through it amidst applause. "Citizens," said one of them, addressing the Assembly, "at the moment when the country is in danger, the conquerors of the 10th of August are rising to exterminate its enemies abroad and at home."—"Yes," replied Collot-d'Herbois, the president, "in spite of intriguers, we will together with you save liberty." Desfieux then spoke. He said that Miranda was a creature of Petion, and that he was betraying the country; and that Brissot had caused war to be declared against England in order to ruin France. "There is but one way left to save ourselves," continued he; "that is to get rid of all these traitors, to put all the *appellants* under arrest at their own homes, and let the people elect other deputies in their stead." A man in military dress, stepping forth from the crowd which had just filed off, insisted that arrest was not sufficient, and that the people ought to take vengeance. "What is inviolability?" cried he. "I trample it under foot." . . . As he uttered these words, Dubois-Crancé* arrived and opposed these propositions. His resistance occasioned a frightful tumult. It was proposed that they should divide into two columns, one of which should go and fetch their Cordelier brethren, while the other should proceed to the Convention, file off through the hall, and intimate to the Assembly all that was required of it. There was some hesitation in deciding upon the departure, but the tribunes took possession of the hall, the lights were extinguished, the agitators carried their point, and two corps were formed for the purpose of proceeding to the Convention and the Cordeliers.

At this moment the wife of Louvet, who had lodgings in the Rue St. Honoré, near the Jacobins, hearing the vociferations which proceeded from that place, went thither to ascertain what was going forward. Having witnessed this scene, she hastened to apprize Louvet† of it. He, with many other members of the right side, had left the sitting of the Convention, where it was said they were to be assassinated. Louvet, armed as people generally went at that time, and favoured by the darkness of night, ran from house to house to warn his friends, and to desire them to meet in a retired place, where they might be safe from the attacks of murderers. He found them at the house of Petion quietly deliberating upon the decrees to be passed. He strove to communicate to them his alarm, but could not disturb the equanimity of the unimpassioned Petion, who, looking up at the sky,

* "E. L. A. Dubois-Crancé entered into the King's musqueteers, and became lieutenant of the marshals of France. In 1792 he was chosen deputy to the Convention, and on the King's trial, opposed the appeal to the people, and voted for his death. In the following year he was chosen president of the Convention, and entered into the committee of public safety. He contributed to the fall of the Girondins, and afterwards to that of Robespierre and the Terrorists. In 1799 the Directory raised him to the administration of the war department, in the place of Bernadotte. Dubois de Crancé died in 1805 at an estate to which he had retired."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† The following spirited sketch of this distinguished Girondin is from the pen of one who knew him well: "Louvet is ill-looking, little, weakly, short-sighted, and slovenly. He seems a mere nobody to the generality, who do not observe the dignity of his brow, and the fire which animates his eyes, at the expression of any great truth. Men of letters are acquainted with his pretty novels, but politics owe more important obligations to him. It is impossible to have more wit, less affectation, and more simplicity than Louvet. Courageous as a lion, simple as a child, a feeling man, a good citizen, a vigorous writer, he in the tribune can make Cataline tremble; he can dine with the Graces, and sup with Bachaumont."—*Madame Roland.* E.

and seeing the rain falling, drily observed: "There will be nothing to-night." A rendezvous was, nevertheless, appointed, and one of the deputies, named Kervelegan, posted off, at full speed, to the barracks of the Brest battalion to desire that it might be got under arms. Meanwhile, the ministers, having no force at their disposal, knew not what means to take for defending the Convention and themselves, for they too were threatened. The Assembly, struck with consternation, anticipated a terrible *dénouement;* and, at every noise, at every shout, it fancied itself on the point of being stormed by murderers. Forty members only were left on the right side, and fully expected an attack to be made on their lives. They had arms and held their pistols in readiness. They had agreed among themselves to rush upon the Mountain at the first movement, and despatch as many of its members as they could. The tribunes and the Mountain were in the same attitude, and both sides looked forward to an awful and sanguinary catastrophe.

But audacity had not yet reached such a pitch as to carry into effect a 10th of August against the Convention. This was but a preliminary scene, only a 20th of June. The commune durst not favour a movement for which people's minds were not sufficiently prepared; nay, it was very sincerely indignant at it. The mayor, when the two deputations of the Cordeliers and the Quatre-Nations presented themselves, refused to listen to them. Complaisant to the Jacobins, he was certainly no friend to the Girondins, nay, he might perhaps wish for their downfall, but he had reason to regard a commotion as dangerous. He was, moreover, like Petion on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, deterred by the illegality, and wanted violence to be done to him to make him yield. He therefore repulsed the two deputations. Hebert and Chaumette, the *procureurs* of the commune, supported him. Orders were sent to keep the barriers open; an address to the sections was drawn up and another to the Jacobins, to bring them back to order. Santerre made a most energetic speech to the commune, and inveighed against those who demanded a new insurrection. He said that, the tyrant being overthrown, this second insurrection could be directed only against the people, who at present reigned alone; that, if there were bad deputies, they ought to endure them, as they had endured Maury and Cazales; that Paris was not all France, and was obliged to accept the deputies of the departments; that, as for the minister at war, if he had displaced officers, he had a right to do so, since he was responsible for his agents. . . As for Paris, a few silly and mistaken men fancied that they could govern, and wanted to disorganize everything: that finally, he should call out the force, and reduce the evil-disposed to order.

Beurnonville, for his part, his hotel being surrounded, got over the wall of his garden, collected as many people as he could, put himself at the head of the Brest battalion, and over-awed the agitators. The section of the Quatre-Nations, the Cordeliers, and the Jacobins, returned to their respective places. Thus the resistance of the commune, the conduct of Santerre, the courage of Beurnonville and the men of Brest, perhaps also the heavy rain that was falling, prevented the insurrection from being pushed any farther. Moreover, passion was not yet sufficiently strong against all that was most noble and most generous in the infant republic. Petion, Condorcet, and Vergniaud, were still destined for some time longer to display in the Convention their courage, their talents, and their overpowering eloquence. The tumult subsided. The mayor, summoned to the bar of the Convention, assured it that quiet was restored; and that very night it peaceably completed the decree which organized the revolutionary tribunal. This tribunal was to be composed of a jury, five judges, a public accuser, and two assistants, all appointed by the Convention.*

* "The decree of the Convention was in these terms: "There shall be established at Paris an Extraordinary Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal. It shall take cognizance of every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity, or indivisibility of the republic, the internal or external security of the state, of all conspiracies tending to the re-establishment of royalty, or hostile to the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are public functionaries, civil or military, or private individuals. The members of the jury shall be chosen by the Convention; the judges, the public accuser, the two substitutes, shall be named by it; the tribunal shall decide on the opinion of the majority of the jury; the opinion of the court shall be without appeal; and the effects of the condemned shall be confiscated to the republic."—*History of the Convention.* E.

The jurors were to be chosen before the month of May, and it was provided that *ad interim* they might be selected from the department of Paris and the four contiguous departments. The jurors were to signify their opinions *vivâ voce*.

The effect of the occurrences of the 10th of March was to excite the indignation of the members of the right side, and to cause embarrassment to those of the left side, who were compromised by premature demonstrations. On all hands this movement was disavowed as illegal, as an attack upon the national representation. Even those who did not disapprove of the idea of a new insurrection condemned this as ill managed, and declared that they ought to beware of agitators paid by England and the emigrants to provoke disturbances. The two sides of the Assembly seemed to concur in establishing this opinion. Both entertained the notion of a secret influence, and mutually accused each other of being its accomplices. A strange scene tended to confirm still more this general opinion. The section Poissonnière, in presenting volunteers, demanded an act of accusation against Dumouriez, the general on whom rested for the moment all the hopes of the French army. This petition, read by the president of the section, was received with a general burst of indignation. "He is an aristocrat," cried one, "and paid by the English." At the same instant, the flag borne by the section being examined, it was perceived with astonishment that its riband was white, and that it was surmounted by fleurs-de-lis. Shouts of indignation broke forth at this sight. The fleurs-de-lis and the riband were torn in pieces, and its place supplied by a tricoloured riband, which a female threw from the tribunes, Isnard immediately spoke, and demanded an act of accusation against the president of that section. More than a hundred voices supported this motion, and in this number that which attracted most attention was Marat's. "This petition," said he, "is a plot; it ought to be read through; you will see that it demands the heads of Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné . . . and others. You are aware," added he, "what a triumph such a massacre would be for our enemies! It would be the destruction of the Convention!" . . . Here universal applause interrupted Marat. He resumed, denounced himself as one of the principal agitators, named Fournier, and demanded his apprehension. It was instantly ordered; the whole affair was referred to the committee of general safety; and the Assembly ordered a copy of the minutes (*procés-verbal*) to be sent to Dumouriez, to prove to him that, as far as he was concerned, it gave no encouragement to the denunciations of calumniators.

Young Varlet, a friend and companion of Fournier, hastened to the Jacobins to demand justice for his apprehension, and to propose to go and set him at liberty. "Fournier," said he, "is not the only person threatened. Lasouski, Desfieux, and myself, are in the same predicament. The revolutionary tribunal, which is just established, will turn against the patriots like that of the 10th of August, and the brethren who hear me are not Jacobins if they do not follow me." He was then proceeding to accuse Dumouriez, but here an extraordinary agitation pervaded the Assembly: the president put on his hat, and said that people wanted to ruin the Jacobins. Billaud-Varennes himself ascended the tribune, complained of these inflammatory propositions, justified Dumouriez, to whom, he said, he was no friend, but who, nevertheless, did his duty, and who had proved that he was determined to fight stoutly. He complained of a plan for disorganizing the National Convention by attacks upon it; declared Varlet, Fournier, and Desfieux, as highly suspicious, and supported the proposal for a purificatory scrutiny, to clear the society of all the secret enemies who wished to compromise it. The sentiments of Billaud-Varennes were adopted. Satisfactory intelligence, such as the rallying of the army by Dumouriez, and the acknowledgment of the republic by the Porte, contributed to restore complete tranquillity. Thus Marat, Billaud-Varennes, and Robespierre, who also spoke in the same spirit, all declared themselves against the agitators, and seemed to agree in believing that they were in the pay of the enemy. This is an incontestable proof that there existed no plot secretly formed, as the Girondins believed. Had such a plot existed, assuredly Billaud-Varennes, Marat, and Robespierre would have been more or less implicated in it; they would have been obliged to keep silence, like the left side of the Legislative Assembly after the 20th

of June, and certainly they could not have demanded the apprehension of one of their accomplices. But in this instance, the movement was but the effect of popular agitation,* and it could have been disavowed, if it had been too premature or too unskilfully combined. Besides, Marat, Robespierre, and Billaud-Varennes, though they desired the fall of the Girondins, sincerely dreaded the intrigues of foreigners, feared a disorganization in presence of the victorious enemy, felt apprehension of the opinions of the departments, were embarrassed by the accusations to which these movements exposed them, and probably never thought as yet of anything further than making themselves masters of all the departments of the ministry, of all the committees, and driving the Girondins from the government, without excluding them by violence from the legislature. One man alone, and he the least inimical of all to the Girondins, might nevertheless have been suspected. He had unbounded influence over the Cordeliers, the authors of the commotion ; he had no animosity against the members of the right side, but he disliked their system of moderation, which, in his opinion, retarded the action of the government. He was bent on having, at any price, an extraordinary tribunal and a supreme committee, which should exercise an irresistible dictatorship, because he was solicitous, above all things for the success of the Revolution ; and it is possible that he secretly instigated the agitators of the 10th of March, with a view to intimidate the Girondins, and to overcome their resistance. It is certain, at least, that he did not take the trouble to disavow the authors of the disturbance, and that, on the contrary, he renewed his urgent demands that the government should be organized in a prompt and terrible manner.

Be this as it may, it was agreed that the aristocrats were the secret instigators of these movements. This everybody believed, or pretended to believe. Vergniaud, in a speech of persuasive eloquence,† in which he denounced the whole conspiracy, supposed the same thing. He was censured, it is true, by Louvet, who would have been pleased to see the Jacobins more directly attacked ; but he carried his motion that the first exercise of the powers of the extraordtnary tribunal should consist in prosecuting the authors of the 10th of March. The minister of justice, who was required to make a report of the occurrences, declared that he had nowhere discovered the revolutionary committee to which they were attributed, that he had perceived nothing but the agitation of clubs, and propositions made in a moment of enthusiasm. The only more precise circumstance that he had detected, was a meeting of some of the members of the Cordeliers at the Corraza coffee-house. These members of the Cordeliers were Lasouski, Fournier, Gusman, Desfieux, Varlet, the usual agitators of the sections. They met after the sittings to converse on political topics. Nobody attached any importance to this revelation ; and, as deep-laid plots were presumed, the meeting of so few subordinate persons at the Corraza coffee-house appeared merely ridiculous.

Such was the state of things when Dumouriez, on his return from Holland, rejoined his army at Louvain. We have seen him exerting his authority against the commissioners of the executive power, and with all his might opposing Jacobinism, which was striving to introduce itself into Belgium. To all these steps he added one still bolder, which could not fail to lead him to the same point as Lafayette. He wrote on the 12th of March a letter to the Convention, in which, recurring to the disorganization of the armies produced by Pache and the Jacobins, the decree of the 15th of December, and the vexations practised upon the Belgians, he im-

* "Never, through the whole course of the Revolution, did the working-classes of Paris rise into tumult and violence, except when driven to it by misery and hunger—hunger, the most imperative of wants, which blinds the eye and deafens the ear to all other considerations, and ripens the fruits sown by an improvident government, despair and revolt!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

† "'We are marching,' exclaimed Vergniaud, 'from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. The great body of citizens are so blinded by their frequent occurrence, that they confound these seditious disturbances with the grand national movement in favour of freedom; regard the violence of brigands as the efforts of energetic minds; and consider robbery itself as indispensable for public freedom. Citizens, there is but too much reason to dread that the Revolution, like Saturn, will *successively devour all its progeny*, and finally leave only despotism, with all its attendant calamities.'"—*Mignet.* E.

puted all the present evils to the disorganizing spirit communicated by Paris to the rest of France, and by France to the countries liberated by our armies. This letter, full of boldness, and still more of remonstrances, not within the province of a general to make, reached the committee of general safety at the moment when so many accusations were preferred against Dumouriez, and when continual efforts were making to maintain him in the popular favour, and to attach him to the republic. This letter was kept secret, and Danton was sent to prevail upon him to withdraw it.

Dumouriez rallied his army in advance of Louvain, drew together his scattered columns, and sent off a corps upon his right to guard the Campine, and to connect his operations with the rear of the army endangered in Holland. Immediately afterwards he determined to resume the offensive, in order to revive the confidence of his troops. The Prince of Coburg, after securing the course of the Meuse from Liege to Maestricht, and proceeding beyond that place to St. Trond, had ordered Tirlemont to be occupied by an advanced corps. Dumouriez caused that town to be retaken; and, perceiving that the enemy had not thought of guarding the important position of Goidsenhoven, which commands the whole tract between the two Gettes, he despatched thither a few battalions, which made themselves masters of it without much difficulty. On the following day, March 16th, the enemy, desirous of recovering that lost position, attacked it with great vigour. Dumouriez, anticipating this, sent reinforcements to support it, and was particularly solicitous to raise the spirits of his troops by this combat. The imperialists, being repulsed with the loss of seven or eight hundred men, recrossed the Little Gette, and took post between the villages of Neerlanden, Landen, Neerwinden, Overwinden, and Racour. The French, emboldened by this advantage, placed themselves, on their side, in front of Tirlemont, and in several villages situated on the left of the Little Gette, which became the boundary-line of the two armies.

Dumouriez now resolved to fight a pitched battle, and this intention was as judicious as it was bold. Methodical warfare was not suited to his, as yet, almost undisciplined troops. He was anxious to confer lustre on our arms, to give confidence to the Convention, to attach the Belgians to himself, to bring the enemy back beyond the Meuse, to fix him there for a time, and then to fly once more to Holland, to penetrate into one of the capitals of the coalition and carry revolution into it. To these projects Dumouriez added, as he asserts, the reëstablishment of the constitution of 1791, and the overthrow of the demagogues, with the assistance of the Dutch and of his army; but this addition is false on this occasion, as at the moment when he was on the Moerdyk. All that was judicious, possible, and true, in his plan related to the recovery of his influence, the re-establishing of our arms, and the following up of his military projects after gaining a victory. The reviving ardour of his army, his military position, all inspired him with a well-founded hope of success. Besides, it was necessary to risk much in his situation and it would be wrong to hesitate.

Our army was spread over a front of two leagues, and bordered the little Gette from Neer-Heylissen to Leaw. Dumouriez resolved to operate a rotatory movement, which should bring back the enemy between Leaw and St. Trond. His left was supported on the Leaw as on a pivot; his right was to turn by Neer-Heylissen, Racour, and Landen, and to oblige the Austrians to fall back before it to St. Trond. For this purpose it would be necessary to cross the little Gette, to climb its steep banks, to take Leaw, Orsmaël, Neerwinden, Overwinden, and Racour. The last three villages, facing our right, which was to pass through them in its rotatory movement, formed the principal point of attack. Dumouriez, dividing his right into three columns, under the command of Valence, directed them to pass the Gette at the bridge of Neer-Heylissen. One was to rush upon the enemy, the other to advance briskly upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, to dash down from that height upon the village of Overwinden, and to take possession of it; while the third was to attack the village of Neerwinden by its right. The centre under the Duke of Chartres, composed of two columns, was to cross by the bridge of Esemaël, to pass through Laer, and attack in front Neerwinden already threatened on its first

flank by the third column. Lastly, the left, under the command of Miranda, was to divide into two or three columns, to occupy Leaw and Orsmaël, and to maintain its ground there, while the centre and the right, marching on after the victory, should effect the rotatory movement which was the object of the battle.

These arrangements were determined upon in the evening of the 17th. Next day, the 18th, at nine in the morning, the whole army broke up in order, and with ardour. The Gette was crossed at all the points. Miranda sent Champmorin to occupy Leaw, and he himself took Orsmaël and opened a cannonade upon the enemy, who had retired to the heights of Halle, and strongly intrenched himself there. The object was attained on this point. In the centre and on the right, the movement was effected at the same hour. The two parts of the army passed through Elissem, Esemaël, Neer-Heylissen, and, in spite of a galling fire, climbed with great courage the steep heights bordering the Gette. The column of the extreme right passed through Racour, entered the plain, and, instead of extending itself there, as it had been ordered, committed the blunder of turning back to Overwinden, in quest of the enemy. The second column of the right, after having been retarded in its march, rushed with heroic impetuosity upon the elevated knoll of Middelwinden, and drove the Imperialists from it; but, instead of establishing itself there in force, it merely passed on and took possession of Overwinden. The third column entered Neerwinden, and, in consequence of a misunderstanding, committed another blunder, that of extending itself too soon beyond the village, and thereby running the risk of being driven out of it by a return of the Imperialists. The French army had nevertheless nearly attained its object: but the Prince of Coburg, having at the outset been guilty of the fault of not attacking our troops at the moment when they were crossing the Gette and climbing its steep banks, repaired it by giving a general order to resume the abandoned positions. A superior force was advancing upon our left against Miranda. Clairfayt taking advantage of the faults committed on our side—inasmuch as the first column had not persisted in attacking him, the second had not established itself on the knoll of Middelwinden, and the third and the two composing the centre had crowded themselves confusedly into Neerwinden—crossed the plain of Landen, retook Racour, the knoll of Middelwinden, Overwinden, and Neerwinden.

At this moment the French were in a perilous position. Dislodged from all the points which they had occupied, driven back to the margin of the heights, attacked on their right, cannonaded on their front by a superior artillery, threatened by two corps of cavalry, and having a river in their rear, they might have been destroyed, and this would certainly have happened, had the enemy, instead of directing the greater part of his force upon their left, pushed their centre and their right more vigorously. Dumouriez hastened up to this threatened point, rallied his columns, caused the knoll of Middelwinden to be retaken, and then proceeded upon Neerwinden, which had already been twice taken by the French, and twice retaken by the Imperialists. Dumouriez entered it for the third time, after a horrible carnage. This unfortunate village was choked up with men and horses, and, in the confusion of the attack, our troops had crowded together there in the utmost disorder. Dumouriez, aware of the danger, abandoned this spot, encumbered with human carcasses, and re-formed his columns at some distance from the village. There, surrounding himself with artillery, he prepared to maintain his ground on the field of battle. At this moment two columns of cavalry rushed upon him, one from Neerwinden, the other from Overwinden. Valence met the first at the head of the French cavalry, charged it with impetuosity, repulsed it, and, covered with glorious wounds, was obliged to relinquish his command to the Duke de Chartres. General Thouvenot coolly received the second, and suffered it to advance into the midst of our infantry, which he directed to open its ranks; he then suddenly ordered a double discharge of grape and musketry, which cut up and nearly annihilated the imperial cavalry, who had advanced close to the muzzles of the guns. Dumouriez thus remained master of the field of battle, and established himself there for the purpose of completing his rotatory movement on the following day.

The conflict had been sanguinary, but the most difficult part of the business

seemed to be accomplished. The left, established ever since the morning at Leaw and Orsmaël, was not likely to have anything more to do; and, the fire having ceased at two in the afternoon, Dumouriez conceived that it had maintained its ground. He considered himself as victorious, since he occupied the whole field of battle. Meanwhile, night approached; the right and the centre kindled their fires, but no officer had yet come from Miranda to inform Dumouriez of what was passing on his left flank. He then began to entertain doubts, which soon grew into alarm. He set out on horseback with two officers and two attendants, and found the village of Laer abandoned by Dampierre, who commanded under the Duke de Chartres one of the columns of the centre. Dumouriez there learned that the left, in utter confusion, had recrossed the Gette, and fled to Tirlemont; and that Dampierre, finding himself then uncovered, had fallen back to the post which he occupied in the morning before the battle. He set out at full speed, accompanied by his two servants and the two officers, narrowly escaped being taken by the Austrian hulans, arrived about midnight at Tirlemont, and found Miranda, who had fallen back two leagues from the field of battle, and whom Valence, conveyed thither in consequence of his wounds, was in vain persuading to advance. Miranda, having entered Orsmaël in the morning, had been attacked at the moment when the Imperialists retook all their positions. The greatest part of the enemy's force had advanced upon his wing, which, partly composed of the national volunteers, had dispersed and fled to Tirlemont. Miranda had been hurried along, and had not had either time or power to rally his men, though Miaczinsky had come to his aid with a body of fresh troops; he had not even thought to acquaint the commander-in-chief of the circumstance. As for Champmorin, placed at Leaw with the last column, he had maintained himself there till evening, and had not thought of returning to Bingen, his point of departure, till towards the close of the day.

The French army thus found itself separated, one part in rear of the Gette, the other in front; and if the enemy, less intimidated by so obstinate an action, had thought of following up his advantages, he might have cut our line, annihilated our right, encamped at Neerwinden, and put to flight the left, which had already fallen back. Dumouriez, undismayed, coolly resolved upon retreat, and next morning prepared to execute his intention. For this purpose he took upon himself the command of Miranda's wing, endeavoured to inspire it with some courage, and was desirous to push it forward, in order to keep the enemy in check on the left of the line, while the centre and right, commencing their retreat, should attempt to recross the Gette. Luckily, Dampierre, who had recrossed the Gette on the same day with a column of the centre, supported the movement of Dumouriez, and conducted himself with equal skill and courage. Dumouriez, still in the midst of his battalions, supported them, and resolved to lead them to the height of Wommersem, which they had occupied the evening before the battle. The Austrians had since placed batteries there, and kept up a destructive fire from that point. Dumouriez put himself at the head of his disheartened soldiers, and made them sensible that it was better to attempt the attack than to receive a continued fire; that they would be quit for one charge, which would be much less galling to them than this dead immobility in presence of an overwhelming artillery. Twice he prevailed upon them, and twice they halted, as if discouraged by the remembrance of the preceding day; but, while they bore with heroic constancy the fire from the heights of Wommersem, they had not that much more easy courage to charge with the bayonet. At this moment a ball struck the general's horse. He was thrown down and covered with mould. His terrified soldiers were ready to flee at this sight; but he rose with extreme agility, mounted another horse, and continued to keep them on the field of battle.

The Duke de Chartres was meanwhile effecting the retreat of the right and half of the centre. Conducting his four columns with equal skill and intrepidity, he coolly retired before a formidable enemy, and crossed the three bridges of the Gette without sustaining any loss. Dumouriez then drew back his left wing, as well as Dampierre's column, and returned to the positions of the preceding day, in presence of

an enemy filled with admiration of his masterly retreat. On the 19th the army found itself, as on the 17th, between Hackendoven and Goidsenhoven, but with a loss of four thousand killed, with a desertion of more than ten thousand fugitives, who were already hurrying towards the interior, and with the discouragement of a lost battle.*

Dumouriez, consumed by vexation, agitated by conflicting sentiments, sometimes thought of combating the Austrians to the last extremity, and sometimes of destroying the faction of the Jacobins, to whom he attributed the disorganization and the reverses of his army. In the height of his spleen, he inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of Paris, and his expressions repeated by his staff, were circulated throughout the whole army. Though under the influence of a singular confusion of mind, he did not lose the coolness necessary for a retreat; and he made the best dispositions for occupying Belgium for a considerable time by means of the fortresses, if he should be obliged to evacuate it with his armies. In consequence, he ordered General d'Harville to throw a strong garrison into the citadel of Namur, and to maintain himself there with one division. He sent General Ruault to Antwerp to collect the twenty thousand men belonging to the expedition against Holland, and to guard the Scheldt, while strong garrisons should occupy Breda and Gertruydenburg. His aim was thus to form a semicircle of fortresses, passing through Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtrai, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenburg; to place himself in the centre of this semicircle, and await the reinforcements necessary for acting more energetically. On the 22d, he was engaged before Louvain in an action of position with the Imperialists, which was as serious as that of Goidsenhoven, and cost them as many men.

In the evening he had an interview with Colonel Mack,† an officer of the enemy, who exercised great influence over the operations of the allies, from the reputation which he enjoyed in Germany. They agreed not to fight any more decisive battles, to follow one another slowly and in good order, and to spare the blood of the soldiers, and the countries which were the theatre of the war. This kind of armistice most favourable to the French, who would have dispersed had they been briskly attacked, was also perfectly suited to the timid system of the coalition, which, after having recovered the Meuse, meant to attempt nothing decisive before the reduction of Mayence. Such was the first negotiation of Dumouriez with the enemy. The politeness of Colonel Mack and his winning manners might have disposed the deeply-agitated mind of the general to have recourse to foreign aid. He began to perceive no prospect in the career which he was pursuing. If, a few months before, he foresaw success, glory, and influence, in commanding the French armies, and if this hope rendered him more indulgent towards revolutionary violence; now, beaten, stripped of his popularity, and attributing the disorganization of his army to this same violence, he viewed with horror the disorders which he might formerly have regarded only with indifference. Bred in courts, having seen with his own eyes how strongly-organized a machine is requisite to insure the durability of a state, he could not conceive that insurgent citizens were adequate to an operation so complicated as that of government. In such a situation, if a general, at once an

* "The position of the French commander was now extremely critical. His volunteers left their colours on the first serious reverses; and whole companies and battalions, with their arms and baggage, went off in a body towards the French frontier, spreading dismay over all the roads leading to France. The French troops are the best in the world to advance and gain conquests, but they have not, till inured by discipline and experience, the steadiness requisite to preserve them."—*Alison.* E.

† "Charles, Baron von Mack, an Austrian general, was borne in Franconia in 1752. On leaving college, his inclination led him to enlist as a private in a regiment of dragoons; and in the war with Turkey he obtained a captain's commission. On the occurrence of war with France, Mack was appointed quartermaster-general of the army of Prince Coburg, and directed the operations of the campaign of 1793. In 1797 he succeeded the Archduke Charles in the command of the army of the Rhine. In 1804 he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Tyrol Dalmatia, and Italy. In the following year Napoleon forced him to retreat beyond the Danube, and to submit to the famous capitulation of Ulm. Mack died in obscurity in the year 1826."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

administrator and a warrior, holds the power in his hands, he can scarcely fail to conceive the idea of employing it to put an end to the disorders which haunt his thoughts and even threaten his person.

Dumouriez was bold enough to conceive such an idea; and, having no further prospect of serving the Revolution by victories, he thought of forming another for himself, by bringing back this revolution to the constitution of 1791, and reconciling it at this price with all Europe. In this plan, a king would have been required, and men were of so little importance to Dumouriez, that he did not care much about the choice. He was charged at that time with a design to place the house of Orleans on the throne. What led to this surmise was his affection for the Duke de Chartres, to whom he had contrived to give the most brilliant part in the army. But this proof was very insignificant, for the young duke had deserved all that he had obtained, and besides, there was nothing in his conduct that demonstrated a concert with Dumouriez.

Another consideration generally prevailed, namely, that at the moment there was no other possible choice, in case of the creation of a new dynasty. The son of the deceased King was too young, and besides, regicide did not admit of so prompt a reconciliation with the dynasty. The uncles were in a state of hostility, and there remained but the branch of Orleans, as much compromised in the Revolution as the Jacobins themselves, and alone capable of dispelling all the fears of the revolutionists. If the agitated mind of Dumouriez was decided in its choice, it could not then have made any other; and it was these considerations which caused him to be accused of an intention to seat the Orleans family on the throne. He denied it after his emigration, but this interested denial proves nothing, and he is no more to be believed on this point, than in regard to the anterior date which he has pretended to give to his plans. He meant, in fact, to assert that he had long been thinking of revolting against the Jacobins; but this assertion is false. It was not till then, that is, till the career of success was closed against him, that he thought of opening to himself another. In this scheme were blended personal resentment, mortification on account of his reverses, and lastly, a sincere but tardy indignation against the endless disorders which he now foresaw without any illusion.

On the 22d he found at Louvain, Danton and Lacroix, who came to call him to account for the letter written on the 12th of March to the Convention, and kept secret by the committee of general safety. Danton, with whom he sympathized, hoped to bring him back to calmer sentiments, and to attach him again to the common cause. But Dumouriez treated the two commissioners and Danton himself with great petulance, and even betrayed the most untoward disposition. He broke out into fresh complaints against the Convention and the Jacobins, and would not retract his letter. He merely consented to add a few words, saying that at a future time he would explain himself. Danton and Lacroix returned without obtaining from him any concession, and left him in the most violent agitation.

On the 23d, after a firm resistance during the whole day, several corps abandoned their posts, and he was obliged to quit Louvain in disorder. Fortunately, the enemy was not aware of this movement, and did not avail himself of the opportunity to throw our army into complete confusion by pursuing it. Dumouriez then separated the troops of the line from the volunteers, united the former with the artillery, and composed with them a *corps d'élite* of fifteen thousand men, with which he took his place in the rear-guard. There, showing himself among his soldiers, skirmishing all day along with them, he succeeded in giving a firmer attitude to his retreat. He caused Brussels to be evacuated in good order, passed through that city on the 25th, and on the 27th encamped at Ath. There he had fresh conferences with Mack, was treated by him with great delicacy and respect, and this interview, which had no other object than to regulate the details of the armistice, soon changed into a more important negotiation. Dumouriez communicated all his resentments to the foreign colonel, and disclosed to him his plans for overthrowing the National Convention. Here, hurried away by resentment, excited by the idea of a general disorganization, the saviour of France in the Argonne tarnished his glory by treating with an enemy, whose ambition ought to have

rendered all his intentions suspicious, and whose power was then the most dangerous for us. In these difficult situations, the man of genius has, as we have already observed, but one alternative: either to retire and to abdicate all influence, that he may not be the accomplice of a system of which he disapproves; or to keep aloof from the evil which he cannot prevent, and do one thing, and one only, ever moral, ever glorious—labour for the defence of his country.

Dumouriez agreed with Colonel Mack that there should be a suspension of arms between the two armies; that the Imperialists should advance upon Paris, while he should himself march thither; that the evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this compliance; that the fortress of Condé should be temporarily given up as a guarantee; that, in case Dumouriez should have occasion for the Austrians, they should be placed at his disposal; that the fortresses should receive garrisons composed one half of Imperialists the other of French, but under the command of French officers, and that at the peace all the fortresses should be restored. Such were the guilty engagements contracted by Dumouriez with the Prince of Coburg, through the medium of Colonel Mack.

Nothing was yet known in Paris but the defeat of Neerwinden, and the successive evacuation of Belgium. The loss of a great battle, and a precipitate retreat, concurring with the news which had been received from the West, caused there the greatest agitation. A plot had been discovered at Rennes, and it appeared to have been hatched by the English, the Breton gentry, and the nonjuring priests. Commotions had already broken out in the West, on account of the dearth of provisions and the threat of cutting off the salaries of the ministers of religion: but now it was for the avowed motive of absolute monarchy. Bands of peasants, demanding the re-establishment of the clergy and of the Bourbons, had made their appearance in the environs of Rennes and Nantes. Orleans was in full insurrection, and Bourdon, the representative, had been nearly murdered in that city. The insurgents already amounted to several thousand men. It would require nothing less than armies and generals to reduce them. The great towns despatched their national guards; General Labourdonnaye advanced with his corps, and everything forebode a civil war of the most sanguinary kind. Thus, on the one hand, our armies were retreating before the coalition; on the other, La Vendée was rising,* and never ought the ordinary agitation produced by danger to have been greater.

Nearly about this period, and in consequence of the 10th of March, a conference between the leaders of the two opinions at the committee of general safety was brought about, for the purpose of mutual explanations respecting the motives of their dissensions. It was Danton who instigated the interview. Quarrels did not gratify animosities which he harboured not, but exposed him to a discussion of conduct which he dreaded, and checked the progress of the Revolution, which was so dear to him. He wished, therefore, to put an end to them. He had shown great sincerity in the different conversations, and if he took the initiative, if he accused the Girondins, it was in order to obviate the reproaches which might have been directed against himself. The Girondins, such as Buzot, Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonné with their accustomed delicacy, justified themselves as if the accusation had been serious, and preached to one already converted in arguing with Danton. The case was quite different with Robespierre. By endeavouring to convince, they only irritated him, and they strove to demonstrate his errors, as if that demonstration ought to have appeased him. As for Marat, who had deemed himself necessary at these conferences, no one had deigned to enter into any

* "After the 10th of August, a persecution of the priests in La Vendée began; and the peasants, like the Cameronians in Scotland, gathered together, arms in hand, to hear mass in the field, and die in defending their spiritual fathers. More than forty parishes assembled tumultuously; the national guards of the Plain routed this ill-armed crowd, and slew about one hundred in the field. Life and free pardon were offered to others if they would only cry 'Vive la Nation!' but there were few who would accept of life on these terms. As yet, however, the tumults were merely partial; but when the Convention called for a conscription of three hundred men, a measure which would have forced the people to fight for a cause which they abhorred, one feeling of indignation rose through the whole country, and the insurrection through all La Vendée broke forth simultaneously, and without concert or plan."—*Quarterly Review.*

explanation with him; nay, his very friends never spoke to him, that they might not have to justify themselves for this alliance. Such conferences tended to imbitter rather than soothe the opposite leaders. Had they succeeded in convincing each other of their reciprocal faults, such a demonstration would assuredly not have reconciled them. Matters had arrived at this point when the events in Belgium became known in Paris.

Both parties instantly began to accuse each other. They reproached one another with contributing to the public disasters, the one by disorganizing the government, the other party by striving to retard its action. Explanations relative to the conduct of Dumouriez were demanded. The letter of the 12th of March, which had been kept secret, was read; it produced outcries that Dumouriez was betraying the country, that he was evidently pursuing the same line of conduct as Lafayette had done, and that, after his example, he was beginning his treason by insolent letters to the Assembly. A second letter, written on the 27th of March, and even bolder than that of the 12th, excited still stronger suspicions. Danton was urged on all sides to state what he knew of Dumouriez. Every one was aware that these two men had a partiality for each other, that Danton had insisted on keeping secret the letter of the 12th of March, and that he had gone to persuade Dumouriez to retract it. Some even asserted that they had committed peculations together in opulent Belgium. At the Jacobins, in the committee of general defence, in the Assembly, Danton was called upon to explain himself. Perplexed by the suspicions of the Girondins, and by the doubts of the Mountaineers themselves, Danton felt, for the first time, some difficulty in replying. He said that the great talents of Dumouriez had appeared to deserve some indulgence; that it had been deemed proper to see him before denouncing him, in order to convince him of his errors, and to bring him back, if possible, to better sentiments; that thus far the commissioners had regarded his conduct as the effect of evil suggestions, and of vexation on account of his late reverses; but that they had believed, and they still did believe, that his talents might be retained for the republic.

Robespierre said that, if this were the case, he ought not to be treated with any indulgence, and that it was useless to show him such forbearance. He renewed, moreover, the motion which Louvet had made against the Bourbons who had remained in France, that is to say, against the members of the Orleans family; and it appeared strange that Robespierre, who, in January, had so warmly defended them against the Girondins, should now attack them with such fury. But his suspicious mind had instantly surmised sinister plots. He had said to himself: A man who was once a prince of the blood cannot submit with resignation to his new condition, and, though he calls himself Egalité, his sacrifice cannot be sincere. He is conspiring, then, and, in fact, all our generals belong to him. Biron, who commands at the Alps, is his intimate friend; Valence, general of the army of the Ardennes, is the son-in-law of his confidant, Sillery; his two sons hold the first rank in the army of Belgium; lastly, Dumouriez is openly devoted to them, and is training them with particular care. The Girondins attacked, in January, the family of Orleans, but it was a feint on their part, which had no other aim than to obviate all suspicion of connivance. Brissot, a friend of Sillery, is the go-between of the conspiracy: there is the whole plot laid open: the throne will be again raised, and France undone, if we do not make haste to proscribe the conspirators. Such were the conjectures of Robespierre; and, what is most frightful in this manner of reasoning is, that Robespierre, influenced by hatred, believed these calumnies.* The

* The subjoined extract from *Garat's Memoirs*, furnishes the most accurate picture ever drawn of Robespierre and of the suspicions by which he was haunted. It is a conversation.

"No sooner was Robespierre aware that I was going to speak to him about the quarrels of the Convention than he said, 'All those deputies of the Gironde, those Brissots, those Louvets, those Barbaroux, are counter-revolutionists, conspirators.' I could not refrain from laughing, and the laugh which escaped me soured him immediately. 'You were always *like that*. In the Constituent Assembly, you were disposed to believe that the aristocrats were fond of the Revolution.'—I was not precisely *like that*. The utmost that I could believe was that some of the nobles were not aristocrats. I thought so of several, and you still think so yourself of some of them. I was also ready to believe that we should have made some conversions among the aristocrats themselves

astonished Mountain repelled his suggestions. "Give us proofs, then," said those who were seated by his side. "Proofs!" he replied, "proofs! I have none; but I have the *moral conviction!*"

if, out of the two means which were at our disposal, reason and force, we had more frequently employed reason which was on our side only, and less frequently force, which may be on the side of tyrants. Take my advice; forget these dangers which we have surmounted and which have nothing to do with those that threaten us at this moment. War was then waging between the friends and the enemies of liberty; it is now waging between the lukewarm and the earnest friends of the republic. If an opportunity were to present itself, I would say to Louvet that he is egregiously mistaken to believe you to be a royalist, but to you I deem it my duty to say that Louvet is no more a royalist than yourself. You resemble in your quarrels the Molinists and the Jansenists, whose whole dispute turned on the manner in which divine grace operates upon the soul, and who mutually accused each other of not believing in God.'—'If they are not royalists, why did they labour so hard to save the King's life? I would wager that you were yourself for mercy, for clemency... But what signifies it what principle rendered the King's death just and necessary, your Brissots, your Girondins, and your appealers to the people, were against it? Did they then wish to leave to tyranny all the means of raising itself again?'—'I know not whether the intention of the *appealers to the people* was to spare Capet the punishment of death; the *appeal to the people* always appeared to me imprudent and dangerous; but I can easily conceive how those who voted for it might have believed that the life of Capet as a prisoner might be, in the course of events, more useful than his death; I can conceive how they might have thought that the appeal to the people was a grand means of honouring a republican nation in the eyes of the whole world, by giving it occasion to exercise itself a signal act of generosity by an act of sovereignty.'—'It is certainly attributing fine intentions to measures which you do not approve, and to men who are conspiring on all sides.'—'But where are they conspiring?'—'Everywhere; in Paris, all over France, all over Europe. In Paris, Gensonné is conspiring in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, by going from shop to shop and persuading the shopkeepers that we patriots want to plunder their houses. The Gironde long since formed a plan for separating itself from France, and uniting itself with England; and the leaders of its deputation are themselves the authors of this plan, which they determined to execute at any rate. Gensonné does not conceal this; he tells everybody who chooses to listen to him, that they are not here the representatives of the nation, but the plenipotentiaries of the Gironde. Brissot conspires in his journal, which is a tocsin of civil war; it is well known that he is gone to England, and it is equally well known why he is gone; we are not ignorant of his intimate connexion with the minister for foreign affairs, with Lebrun, who is from Liege, and a creature of the house of Austria; the best friend of Brissot is Clavières, and Clavières has conspired wherever he has breathed: Rabaud, traitor, like a protestant and a philosopher as he is, has not been cunning enough to conceal from us his correspondence with the courtier and traitor Montesquiou: they have been labouring for these six months together to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese; Servan has been appointed general of the army of the Pyrenees merely to give up the keys of France to the Spaniards; lastly, there is Dumouriez, who no longer threatens Holland, but Paris; and when that charlatan of heroism was here, *when I was anxious to have him arrested*, it was not with the Mountain that he dined every day, but with the ministers and the Girondins.—'Three or four times with me, for example.'—'I am *quite tired of the Revolution*; I am ill. Never was the country in greater dangers, and I doubt whether it will extricate itself from them. Well, are you still in the humour to laugh, and to believe that these are very upright men, very good republicans?'—'No, I am not tempted to laugh, but I can hardly repress the tears which must be shed for the country, when one sees its legislators a prey to such frightful suspicions on such paltry grounds. I am sure that there is nothing real in all your suspicions; but I am sure, too, that your suspicions are a very real and a very great danger. Almost all these men are your enemies, but none of them, excepting Dumouriez, is an enemy to the republic; and if you could on all sides divest yourselves of your animosities, the republic would no longer be in any danger.'—'Are you not going to propose to me to remodel Bishop Lamouret's motion?'—'No; I have profited sufficiently by the lessons at least which you have given me; and the three National Assemblies have taken the trouble to teach me that the best patriots hate their enemies much more than they love their country. But I have one question to ask; and I beg you to reflect before you answer me: Have you any doubt about all that you have just been saying?'—'None.' I left him, and withdrew in long amazement, and in great fear on account of what I had just heard.

"A few days afterwards I was leaving the executive council; I met Salles coming out of the National Convention. Circumstances became more alarming. All who had any esteem for one another could not meet without feeling irresistibly impelled to talk about public affairs.

"'Well,' said I to Salles, on meeting him, 'is there no way of putting an end to these horrible quarrels?'—'Why, yes, I hope so; I hope that I shall soon tear off all the veils that still cover those atrocious villains and their atrocious conspiracies. But as for you, I know that you always had a blind confidence; I know that it is your mania not to believe anything.'—'You are wrong; I believe, like other people, but on presumptions, not on suspicions, on attested facts, not on imaginary ones. Why do you suppose me, then, to be so incredulous? Is it because I would not believe you in 1789, when you assured me that Necker was plundering the exchequer, and that people had seen mules laden with gold and silver, which he was sending off by millions to

It was immediately proposed, as is always the case in moments of danger to accelerate the action of the executive power and that of the tribunals, in order to guard at once against what was called the external and internal enemy.

Geneva? This credulity, I confess, has been quite incorrigible in me, for, to this very day, I am persuaded that Necker left here more millions of his own than he carried away of ours to Geneva.' —'Necker was a knave; but he was nothing in comparison with the villains by whom we are now surrounded; and it is about these things that I want to talk to you, if you will hear me. I will tell you everything, for I know it all. I have unravelled all their plots. All the plots, all the crimes, of the Mountain began with the Revolution: Orleans is the chief of that band of brigands; and it is the author of that infernal novel, *Liaisons Dangereuses*, who drew up the plan of all the atrocities which they have been committing for these five years. The traitor Lafayette was their accomplice, and it was he who, making believe to thwart the plot in its very outset, sent Orleans to England to arrange everything with Pitt, the Prince of Wales, and the cabinet of St. James's. Mirabeau was also in that affair. He received money from the King to cloak his connexion with Orleans, but he received still more from Orleans to be serviceable to him. The grand business for the Orleans' party was to induce the Jacobins to enter into its designs. They durst not attempt this in a direct manner; it was therefore to the Cordeliers that they first applied. In the Cordeliers all were instantly bought up and became their devoted tools. Bear in mind that the Cordeliers have always been less numerous than the Jacobins, and have always made less noise: that is, because they wish everybody to be their instrument, but they do not wish everybody to be in their secret. The Cordeliers have always been the hotbed of conspirators: it is there that Danton, the most dangerous of all, forms and trains them to audacity and lying, brings them up to murder and massacres; it is there that they practise the part which they are afterwards to act at the Jacobins; and the Jacobins, who assume the air of leading France, are themselves led, without being aware of it, by the Cordeliers. The Cordeliers, who seem to be concealed in a hole in Paris, are negotiating with Europe, and have envoys in all their courts, who have sworn the ruin of our liberty. The fact is certain: I have proofs of it. In short, it is the Cordeliers who have ingulfed one throne in a sea of blood in order to make another throne spring up from it. They well know that the right side, on which are all the virtues, is also the side that includes the genuine republicans; and, if they accuse us of royalism, it is because they want a pretext for letting loose upon us the fury of the multitude; it is because it is easier to find daggers against us than reasons. In a single conspiracy there are three or four. When the whole of the right side shall be slaughtered, the Duke of York will come and place himself on the throne, and Orleans, who has promised it him, will assassinate him; Orleans will himself be assassinated by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, who have given him the same promise, and the triumvirs will divide France, covered with ashes and blood, among them, until the ablest of them, that is, Danton, assassinates the other two and reigns alone, first under the title of dictator, afterwards, without disguise, under that of king. Such is their plan, be assured; by dint of reflection I have found it out; everything proves and makes it evident; see how all the circumstances bind and unite together; there is not an occurrence in the Revolution but is a part and a proof of these horrid plots. You look surprised, I see; can you still be incredulous?'—'I am indeed surprised; but tell me, are there many of you, that is, of the right side, who think like you on this subject?'—'All, or nearly all. Condorcet once made some objections; Sieyes communicates but little with us; Rabaud, for his part, has another plan, which in some respects agrees with, and in some differs from mine; but all the others have no more doubt than myself of what I have just told you; all feel the necessity of acting promptly, *of putting the irons in the fire*, in order to prevent so many crimes and calamities, in order not to lose all the fruit of a Revolution which has cost us so dear. In the right side there are members who have not sufficient confidence in you; but I, who have been your colleague, who know you for an honest man, for a friend of liberty, assure them that you will be for us, that you will assist us with all the means that your office places at your disposal. Can you now have the slightest doubt left as to what I have just told you about those villains?'—'I should be too unworthy of the esteem which you express for me, if I gave you reason to think that I believe the truth of this whole plan, which you conceive to be that of your enemies. The greater the number of circumstances, men, and things, you introduce into it, the more probable it appears to yourself and the less so it appears to me. Most of the circumstances out of which you weave the tissue of this plan have had an object which there is no need to lend them, which is self-evident; and you give them an object which is not self-evident, and which you must lend them. Now, there must be proofs in the first place for rejecting a natural explanation, and there must be other proofs afterwards to induce the adoption of an explanation that does not naturally present itself. For instance, everybody believes that Lafayette and Orleans were enemies, and that it was to deliver Paris, France, and the National Assembly, from many inquietudes, that Orleans was prevailed upon or forced by Lafayette to withdraw for a time from France: it is necessary to establish, not by assertion but by proofs, 1st, that they were not enemies; 2dly, that they were accomplices; 3dly, that the journey of the Duke of Orleans to England had for its object the execution of their plots. I know that, with so strict a mode of reasoning, we run the risk of letting crimes and calamities run off before us without overtaking them, and without stopping them by foresight: but I know too, that, in giving the reins to the imagination, we build systems upon past events and upon future events; we lose all the means of clearly discerning and duly appreciating present events; and, while dreaming of

The commissioners appointed for the recruiting were therefore instantly despatched, and the question whether the Convention ought not to take a greater share in the execution of the laws was investigated. The manner in which the executive power was organized appeared insufficient. Ministers, placed out of the pale of the Assembly, acting upon their own motion, and under its very remote superintendence; a committee charged to make reports on all measures of general security; all these authorities controlling one another, and eternally deliberating without acting, appeared quite inadequate to the immense task which they had to perform. Moreover, this ministry, these committees, were composed of members suspected, because they were moderate; and at this time, when promptness and energy were indispensable conditions of success, any dilatoriness, any moderation, induced suspicions of conspiracy. It was therefore proposed to institute a committee, which should unite in itself the functions of the diplomatic committee, of the military committee, and of the committee of general safety, which should be authorized, in case of need, to order and to act upon its own motion, and to check or to make amends for the ministerial action.

Various plans of organization were presented for accomplishing this object, and referred to a committee appointed to discuss them. Immediately afterwards, the Assembly directed its attention to the means of reaching the internal enemy, that is, *the aristocrats*, *the traitors*, by whom it was said to be surrounded. "France" —such was the cry—"is full of refractory priests, of nobles, of their former creatures, of their old servants; and these retainers, still numerous, surround us, betray us, and threaten us as dangerously as the hostile bayonets. It behoves us to discover them, to mark them, and to throw upon them a light which shall prevent them from acting." The Jacobins had therefore proposed, and the Convention had decreed, that, according to a custom borrowed from China, the names of all persons dwelling in a house, should be inscribed on the door. It was next enacted that all *suspected* citizens should be disarmed, and all nonjuring priests, the nobles, the late *seigneurs*, the dismissed functionaries, &c., were designated as such. The disarming was to be effected by means of domiciliary visits; and the

thousands of misdeeds, which nobody is meditating, we deprive ourselves of the faculty of seeing with certainty those by which we are threatened; we drive enemies who are not over scrupulous to the temptation of committing such as they would never have thought of. I have no doubt that there are many villains about us; the unbinding of all the passions has produced them and they are paid by foreign gold. But, depend upon it, if their plans are atrocious, they are neither so vast, nor so great, nor so complicated, nor conceived and framed at such a distance. In all this there are many more thieves and murderers than profound conspirators. The real conspirators against the republic are the kings of Europe and the passions of the republicans. To repulse the kings of Europe our armies are sufficient and more than sufficient; to prevent our passions from consuming us there is one way, but it is unique; lose no time in organizing a government possessing strength and deserving confidence. In the state in which your quarrels leave the government, a democracy even of twenty-five millions of angels would soon be a prey to all the furies and to all the dissensions of pride; as Jean-Jacques observed, it would require twenty-five millions of gods, and nobody ever yet took it into his head to imagine so many. My dear Salles, men and great assemblies are not so formed as that there shall be only gods on one side and only devils on the other. Wherever there are men with conflicting interests and opinions, even the good have bad passions, and the bad themselves, if you strive to penetrate into their souls with kindliness and patience, are susceptible of right and good impressions. I find in the bottom of my soul the evident and invincible proof of at least one-half of this truth; I am good myself, and as good, I will venture to say, as any of you; but when, instead of refuting my opinions with argument and good temper, they are repelled with suspicion and insult, I am ready to drop reasoning and to see if my pistols are properly charged. You have made me twice minister, and twice you have done me a very ill-service; nothing but the dangers that surround you, and that surround me, could induce me to retain the post which I hold. A brave man does not apply for leave of absence on the eve of a battle. The battle, I foresee, is not far distant; and though I foresee too that you will fire at me from both sides, I am determined to remain. I will tell you on every occasion what I shall believe in my reason and my conscience to be true; but let me tell you that I shall take for guides my own conscience and my own reason, and not those of any other man on earth. I have not laboured for thirty years of my life to make a lantern for myself, and then to suffer myself to be lighted on my way by the lantern of others.'

"Salles and I parted, shaking hands and embracing, as though we had still been colleagues in the Constituent Assembly."

only mitigation attached to this measure was, that the visits should not take place at night.

Having thus insured the means of discovering and reaching all those who gave the least umbrage, the Assembly finally added the means of striking them in the most speedy manner by installing the revolutionary tribunal. It was on the motion of Danton, that this terrible instrument of revolutionary suspicion was set to work. That formidable man was well aware of the abuse to which it was liable, but he had sacrificed everything to the object. He well knew that to strike quickly is to examine less attentively; that to examine less attentively is to run the risk of a mistake, especially in times of party virulence; and that to commit a mistake is to commit an atrocious injustice. But, in his view, the Revolution was society, accelerating its action in all things, in matters of justice, of administration, and of war. In tranquil times, said he, society chooses rather to let the guilty one escape than to strike the innocent, because the guilty one is not very dangerous; but in proportion as he becomes more so, it tends more to secure him; and when he becomes so dangerous as to have it in his power to destroy it, or at least when it believes so, it strikes all that excites its suspicions, and then deems it better to punish an innocent man, than to let a guilty one escape. Such is the dictatorship, that is, the violent action in societies when threatened. It is rapid, arbitrary, faulty, but irresistible.

Thus the concentration of powers in the Convention, the installation of the revolutionary tribunal, the commencement of the inquisition against suspected persons, and redoubled hatred against the deputies who opposed these extraordinary measures, were the result of the battle of Neerwinden, the retreat from Belgium, the threats of Dumouriez, and the insurrection in La Vendée.*

The ill humour of Dumouriez had increased with his reverses. He had just learned that the army of Holland was retreating in disorder, abandoning Antwerp and the Scheldt, and leaving the two French garrisons in Breda and Gertruydenburg; that d'Harville had not been able to keep the citadel of Namur, and was falling back upon Givet and Maubeuge; lastly, that Neuilly, so far from being able to maintain himself at Mons, had been obliged to retire upon Condé and Valenciennes, because his division, instead of taking position on the heights of Nimy, had plundered the magazines and fled. Thus by the disorders of that army he beheld the frustration of his plan of forming in Belgium a semicircle of fortresses, which should pass from Namur into Flanders and Holland, and in the centre of

* "When the agitation of the public mind in La Vendeé first occupied the attention of government, Petion proposed that a force should he sent there sufficient to overawe the people, and thus spare the effusion of blood. But the ruling party ceased to preach moderation, when the tidings of the more general insurrection reached the Convention. It came indeed from all sides—one cry of alarm. The convention instantly outlawed every person who should have taken part with the counter-revolutionists; the institution of juries was suspended; every man taken in arms was to be put to death within four-and-twenty hours; and the evidence of a single witness before a military commission was to be considered proof sufficient. Death and confiscation of property were also declared against the nobles and priests. The effect which this system produced was to madden the Vendeans—cruelties provoked cruelties; and on their side, the burning desire of vengeance was exasperated by conduct on the part of their enemies more resembling that of infernal agents than of men. It is affirmed that it was one of their pleasures to burn the cattle alive in their stalls, and that more than eleven hundred thousand were destroyed by them thus wantonly and in sport. Rossignol offered a reward of ten livres for every pair of royalist ears—it was actually claimed and paid, and there were men who wore human ears as cockades!—The insurrection in La Vendée, according to Hoche's statement, cost the lives of six hundred thousand Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population was left alive. The state in which these unhappy provinces were left, may be understood from a single anecdote. Near Chollet there were extensive bleaching-grounds, the proprietors of which kept a great number of watch-dogs; the town after having been sacked and burned, was repeatedly disputed, till at length both parties, weary of contending for a heap of ruins, abandoned it. The dogs to the number of four or five hundred, took possession of the ruins, and remained there for many weeks feeding on the unburied bodies; after the pacification, when the refugees attempted to return and rebuild their houses, the animals had become so ferocious, that they attacked and would have devoured them; and a battalion of republican soldiers were actually obliged to march against the dogs, and exterminate them, before the place could be reinhabited."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

which he meant to place himself in order to act with the greater advantage. He would soon have nothing to offer in exchange to the Imperialists, and as he grew weaker he would sink into dependence upon them. His indignation increased as he approached France, and had a closer view of the disorders, and heard the cries raised against him. He no longer used any concealment; and the language which he held in the presence of his staff, and which was repeated in the army, indicated the projects that were fermenting in his head. The sister of the Duke de Chartres and Madame de Sillery, flying from the proscriptions which threatened them, had repaired to Belgium to seek protection from the brothers of the former. They were at Ath, and this circumstance furnished fresh food for suspicion.

Three Jacobin emissaries, one named Dubuisson, a refugee from Brussels, Proly, a natural son of Kaunitz, and Pereyra, a Portuguese Jew, arrived at Ath, upon the pretext, whether false or true, of a mission from Lebrun. They introduced themselves to the general as spies of the government, and had no difficulty to discover plans which Dumouriez no longer concealed. They found him surrounded by General Valence and the sons of the Duke of Orleans, were very uncourteously received, and addressed in language anything but flattering to the Jacobins and the Convention. Next day, however, they returned and had a private interview. On this occasion Dumouriez expressed himself without reserve. He began by telling them that he was strong enough to fight in front and rear; that the Convention was composed of two hundred brigands and six hundred idiots, and that he laughed at its decrees, whose validity would soon be confined to the district of Paris. "As for the revolutionary tribunal," he added with rising indignation, "I will find means to put it down, and while I have three inches of steel by my side, that monster shall not exist. He then launched out against the volunteers whom he called cowards; he said that he would have none but the troops of the line, and that with them he would go and put an end to the disorders in Paris. "Would you do away then with the Constitution?" inquired the three interlocutors. "The new constitution devised by Condorcet is too silly."—"And what will you set up in its place?"—"The old one of 1791, bad as it is."—"But then you must have a king, and the name of Louis is an abomination."—"Whether his name is Louis or Jacques is of no consequence."—"Or Philippe," added one of the envoys. "But how will you replace the present Assembly?" Dumouriez considered for a moment, and then replied: "There are local administrations, all chosen by the confidence of the nation; and the five hundred presidents of districts shall be the five hundred representatives."—"But before their meeting, who shall have the initiative of this revolution?"—"The Mamelukes, that is, my army. It will express this wish; the presidents of districts will cause it to be confirmed, and I will make peace with the coalition, which, unless I stop it, will be in Paris in a fortnight."

The three envoys, whether, as Dumouriez conceived, they came to sound him on behalf of the Jacobins, or wished to induce him to reveal still more of his schemes, then suggested an idea. "Why," said they, "not put the Jacobins, who are a deliberative body ready prepared, in the place of the Convention?" At these words an indignation mingled with contempt overspread the face of the general, and they dropped their proposition. They then spoke to him concerning the danger to which his plan would expose the Bourbons confined in the Temple, and for whom he appeared to interest himself. Dumouriez immediately replied that were they to perish to the very last of them, in Paris and at Coblentz, France would find a chief and be saved; that, moreover, if Paris should commit any fresh barbarities on the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, he should presently be there, and that with twelve thousand men he would be master of the city. He should not imitate the idiot Broglie, who, with thirty thousand men, had suffered the Bastille to be taken; but with two posts, at Nogent and Pont St. Maxence, he would starve the Parisians. "Your Jacobins," added he, "have it in their power to atone for all their crimes. Let them save the unfortunate prisoners and drive out the seven hundred and forty-five tyrants of the Convention, and they shall be forgiven."

His visitors then adverted to his danger. "I shall always have time enough,"

said he, to gallop off to the Austrians."—"Would you then share the fate of Lafayette?"—"I shall go over to the enemy in a very different way from what he did; besides, the powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me with the 5th and 6th of October."

Dumouriez had reason not to dread the fate of Lafayette. His talents were rated too highly, and the firmness of his principles not highly enough, to cause him to be confined at Olmütz. The three envoys left him, saying that they would go and sound Paris and the Jacobins on the subject.

Dumouriez, though he believed his visitors to be staunch Jacobins, had not on that account expressed his sentiments the less boldly. At this moment, in fact, his plans became evident. The troops of the line, and the volunteers watched each other with suspicion, and everything indicated that he was on the point of hoisting the standard of revolt.

The executive power had received alarming reports, and the committee of general welfare had proposed and obtained a decree summoning Dumouriez to the bar. Four commissioners, accompanied by the minister at war, were directed to proceed to the army to notify the decree, and to bring the general to Paris. These four commissioners were Bancal, Quinette, Camus, and Lamarque.* Beurnonville had joined them, and his part was a difficult one, on account of the friendship which subsisted between him and Dumouriez.

These commissioners set out on the 30th of March. The same day Dumouriez moved to the field of Bruille, where he threatened at once the three important fortresses of Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes. He was quite undecided what course to pursue, for his army was divided in opinion. The artillery, the troops of the line, and the cavalry, all the organized corps, appeared to be devoted to him; but the national volunteers began to murmur, and to separate themselves from the others. In this situation he had but one expedient—to disarm the volunteers. But this exposed him to the risk of a battle, and the issue would be precarious, for the troops of the line might feel repugnance to slaughter their comrades. Besides, among these volunteers there were some who had fought well, and who appeared to be attached to him. Hesitating as to this measure of severity, he considered how to make himself master of the three fortresses amidst which he was posted. By means of them he should have supplies, and a point of support against Paris, and against the enemy, of whom he still had a distrust. But in these three places the public opinion was divided. The popular societies, aided by the volunteers, had there risen against him, and threatened the troops of the line. At Valenciennes and Lille, the commissioners of the Convention excited the zeal of the republicans, and in Condé alone the influence of Neuilly's division gave his partisans the advantage. Among the generals of division, Dampierre behaved towards him as he had himself behaved towards Lafayette after the 10th of August, and several others, without as yet declaring themselves, were ready to abandon him.

On the 31st, six volunteers, having the words *Republic or Death* written with chalk upon their hats, met him in his camp, and seemed to entertain a design to secure his person. Assisted by his faithful Baptiste, he kept them at bay, and gave them into the custody of his hussars. This occurrence produced a great sensation in the army; the different corps presented to him in the course of the day addresses which renewed his confidence. He instantly raised the standard, and detached Miaczinsky with a few thousand men, to march upon Lille. Miaczinsky advanced upon that place, and communicated the secret of his enterprise to St. George, a mulatto, who commanded a regiment of the garrison. The latter advised Miaczinsky to enter the town with a small escort. The unfortunate general suffered himself to

* "F. Lamarque was a member of the Convention, and voted for the death of Louis XVI. He early declared against the Girondins, and was sent to the army of the North, with some other commissioners, to arrest Dumouriez; but that general delivered them up to the Prince of Coburg, and they were kept in confinement by the Austrians till 1795, when they were exchanged for the daughter of Louis. In 1800, Lamarque was appointed prefect of the department of the Tarn, which he held till the year 1804, when he was appointed one of the tribunal of cassation, and decorated with the legionary cross."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

be persuaded, and, no sooner had he entered Lille, than he was surrounded and delivered up to the authorities. The gates were closed, and the division wandered about without commander on the glacis of Lille. Dumouriez immediately sent an aide-de-camp to rally it. But the aide-de-camp was taken also, and the division, being dispersed, was lost to him. After this unfortunate attempt, he made a similar one upon Valenciennes, where General Ferrand* commanded. That general he thought very favourably disposed towards him. But the officer sent to surprise the place betrayed his plans, joined Ferrand and the commissioners of the Convention, and that fortress also was lost to him. Thus Condé alone was left. Placed between France and the enemy, he had but this last point of support. If he lost that he must submit to the Imperialists, he must put himself entirely into their hands, and he must run the risk of causing his army to revolt by directing them to march along with it.

On the 1st of April he transferred his head-quarters to the marshes of St. Amand, that he might be nearer to Condé. He ordered Lecointre, son of the deputy of Versailles to be arrested, and sent him as an hostage to Tournay, begging Clairfayt, the Austrian, to keep him as a deposit in the citadel. On the evening of the 2d the four deputies of the Convention, preceded by Beurnonville, arrived at the quarters of Dumouriez. The Berciny hussars were drawn up before the door, and all his staff were around him. Dumouriez first embraced his friend Beurnonville, and asked the deputies the object of their mission. They refused to explain themselves before such a number of officers, whose dispositions appeared to be far from satisfactory, and wished to step into an adjoining apartment. Dumouriez consented, but the officers insisted that the door should be left open. Camus then read the decree, and enjoined him to submit to it. Dumouriez replied that the state of his army required his presence, and that when it was reorganized he should see how he ought to act. Camus insisted with emphasis; but Dumouriez replied that he should not be such a dupe as to go to Paris and give himself up to the revolutionary tribunal; that tigers were demanding his head, but he would not give it to them. To no purpose did the four commissioners assure him that no harm was intended to his person, that they would be answerable for his safety, that this step would satisfy the Convention, and that he should soon return to his army. He would not listen to anything, begged them not to drive him to extremity, and told them that they had better issue a moderate resolution (*arrêté*) declaring that General Dumouriez had appeared to them too necessary to be withdrawn from his army. As he finished these words he retired, enjoining them to come to a decision. He then went back with Beurnonville to the room where he had left his staff, and waited among his officers for the resolution (*arrêté*) of the commissioners. The latter, with noble firmness, came out a moment afterwards, and repeated their summons. "Will you obey the Convention?" said Camus. "No," replied the general. "Well, then," replied Camus, "you are suspended from your functions; your papers will be seized, and your person secured."—"It is too bad!" exclaimed Dumouriez; "this way, hussars!" The hussars ran to him. "Arrest these men," said he to them in German; "but do them no harm." Beurnonville begged that he would let him share their fate. "Yes," replied he; "and I think I am rendering you a real service. I am saving you from the revolutionary tribunal."

Dumouriez ordered refreshments to be given to them, and then sent them off to Tournay, to be kept as hostages by the Austrians. The very next morning he mounted his horse, issued a proclamation to the army and to France, and found in his soldiers, especially those of the line, dispositions to all appearance the most favourable.

Tidings of all these circumstances had successively reached Paris. The interview of Dumouriez with Proly, Dubuisson, and Pereyra, his attempts upon Lille

* "P. E. Ferrand, a nobleman, and, during the Revolution, a general of brigade, was born at Castres. In 1792 he was employed under Dumouriez, and commanded part of his left wing at Jemappes. Some time after he was appointed commander of Mons, and in 1793 defended Valenciennes for eighty-seven days. In 1804 he retired to La Planchette near Paris, and died there in 1805, at seventy years of age."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

and Valenciennes, and lastly, the arrest of the four commissioners were known there. The Convention, the municipal assemblies, the popular societies immediately declared themselves permanent. A reward was offered for the head of Dumouriez; and all the relatives of the officers of his army were apprehended to serve as hostages. Forty thousand men were ordered to be raised in Paris and the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of covering the capital, and Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army in Belgium. To these urgent measures had, as on all occasions, been added calumnies. Dumouriez, Orleans, and the Girondins, were everywhere classed together, and declared accomplices. Dumouriez was, it was said, one of those military aristocrats, a member of those old staffs, whose bad principles were continually betraying themselves; Orleans was the first of those grandees who had feigned a false attachment for liberty, and who were unmasking after an hypocrisy of several years; lastly, the Girondins were but deputies who had become unfaithful, like all the members of all the right sides, and who abused their mandates for the overthrow of liberty. Dumouriez was only doing a little later what Bouillé and Lafayette had done a little earlier. Orleans was pursuing the same conduct as the other members of the family of the Bourbons had already pursued, and he had merely persisted in the Revolution a little longer than the Count de Provence. The Girondins, as Maury and Cazalès, in the Constituent, Vaublanc and Pastoret in the Legislative Assembly, betrayed their country quite as visibly, but only at different periods. Thus Dumouriez, Orleans, Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., all accomplices, were the traitors of the current year.

The Girondins replied by asserting that they had always been hostile to Orleans, and that it was the party of the Mountain who had defended him; that they had quarrelled with Dumouriez, and had no connexion with him; while, on the contrary, those who had been sent to him into Belgium, those who had accompanied him in all his expeditions, those who had always shown themselves his friends, and had even palliated his conduct, were Mountaineers. Lasource, carrying boldness still farther, had the imprudence to name Lacroix and Danton, and to accuse them of having checked the zeal of the Convention by disguising the conduct of Dumouriez. This allegation of Lasource roused suspicions already entertained respecting the conduct of Lacroix and Danton in Belgium. It was actually asserted that they had exchanged indulgence with Dumouriez; that he had supported their rapine, and that they had excused his defection. Danton who desired nothing from the Girondins but silence, was filled with fury, rushed to the tribune, and swore war against them to the death. "No more peace or truce," he exclaimed, "between you and us!"* Distorting his face in a frightful manner, and shaking his fist at the right side of the Assembly, "I have intrenched myself," said he, "in the citadel of reason. I will sally from it with the cannon of truth, and grind to powder the villains who have dared to accuse me."

The result of these reciprocal accusations was: 1. The appointment of a commission for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the commissioners sent to Belgium; 2. The adoption of a decree which was destined to have fatal consequences, and which purported that, without regard to the inviolability of representatives, they should be placed under accusation whenever they were strongly presumed to be guilty of complicity with the enemies of the state; 3. Lastly, the apprehension and transfer to the prison of Marseilles of Philip of Orleans and all his family. Thus this prince, the football of all the parties, alternately suspected by the Jacobins and the Girondins, and accused of conspiring with everybody because he conspired with nobody, furnished a proof that no past greatness could

* "One man alone could have saved the Girondins, but they completely alienated him, although Dumouriez had counselled them to keep fair with him. This man was Danton. To a hideous figure, a heart harsh and violent, much ignorance and coarseness, he united great natural sense, and a very energetic character. If the Girondins had possessed good sense enough to have coalesced with him, he would have humbled the atrocious faction of Marat, either tamed or annihilated the Jacobins; and perhaps Louis would have been indebted to him for his life; but the Girondins provoked him, and he sacrificed everything to his vengeance."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

subsist amid the present revolution, and that the deepest and the most voluntary abasement could neither dispel distrust, nor save from the scaffold.

Dumouriez felt that he had not a moment to lose. Seeing Dampierre and several generals of division about to forsake him, others only waiting for a favourable opportunity to do so; lastly, a multitude of emissaries busy among his troops, he thought that it would be well to set them in motion, in order to engage his officers and his men, and to withdraw them from every other influence but his own. Besides, time pressed, and it became necessary to act. In consequence, he agreed upon an interview with the Prince of Coburg, on the morning of the 4th, for the purpose of settling definitively with him and Colonel Mack the operations which he meditated. The meeting was to take place near Condé. His intention was to enter the fortress afterwards, to purge the garrison, and then, proceeding with his whole army upon Orchies, to threaten Lille and endeavour to reduce it by displaying all his force.

On the morning of the 4th, he set out for the purpose of repairing to the place of rendezvous and afterwards to Condé. He had ordered an escort of only fifty horse, and, as it did not arrive in time, he started, leaving directions that it should be sent after him. Thouvenot,* the sons of Orleans, some officers, and a certain number of attendants, accompanied him. No sooner was he on the road to Condé than he met two battalions of volunteers, whom he was extremely surprised to find there, as he had given no orders for them to shift their quarters. He was just alighting near a house to write an order for them to return, when he heard shouts raised, and the firing of muskets. These battalions were in fact dividing; some pursued him crying "Stop!" others endeavoured to intercept his flight towards a ditch. He instantly dashed of with those who accompanied him, and distanced the volunteers who were in pursuit of him. On reaching the edge of the ditch, his horse refused to leap it, on which he threw himself into it, and arrived on the other side amidst a shower of shot, and taking the horse of one of the attendants, he fled at full speed towards Bury. After riding the whole day, he arrived there in the evening, and was joined by Colonel Mack, who was apprized of what had happened. He spent the whole night in writing and arranging with Colonel Mack and the Prince of Coburg all the conditions of their alliance, and he astonished them by his intention of returning to his army after what had occurred.

Accordingly, in the morning, he mounted, and accompanied by some imperial horse, returned by way of Maulde to his army. Some troops of the line surrounded him and still gave him demonstrations of attachment; but many faces looked very sullen. The news of his flight to Bury, into the midst of the enemy's armies, and the sight of the imperial dragoons, produced an impression fatal for him, honourable for our soldiers, and happy for the fortune of France. He was informed, in fact, that the artillery, on the tidings that he had gone over to the Austrians, had left the camp, and that the departure of that very important portion of the army had disheartened the rest. Whole divisions were proceeding to Valenciennes to join Dampierre. He then found himself obliged to quit his army definitively, and to go back to the Imperialists. He was followed by a numerous staff, in which were included the two sons of Orleans, and Thouvenot, and by the Berchiny hussars, the whole regiment of which insisted on accompanying him.

The Prince of Coburg and Colonel Mack, whose friend he had become, treated him with great distinction, and wished to renew with him the plans of the preceding night, by appointing him to the command of a new emigrant force which should be of a different character from that of Coblentz. But, after two days, he told the Austrian prince that it was with the soldiers of France, and accepting the Imperialists merely as auxiliaries, that he had hoped to execute his projects against Paris, but that his quality of Frenchman forbade him to march at the head of foreigners. He demanded passports for the purpose of retiring to Switzerland.

* "Thouvenot possessed much knowledge relative to the details of reconnoitering, encamping, and marching; he possessed also much courage, infinite resources in the time of action, indefatigable exertion, and extensive views. Lafayette had employed, and placed the utmost reliance on him."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

They were immediately granted. The high estimate formed of his talents, and the low opinion entertained of his political principles, gained him favours not shown to Lafayette, who was at this moment expiating his heroic constancy in the dungeons of Olmütz.

Thus terminated the career of that superior man, who had displayed all sorts of talents, those of the diplomatist, the administrator, and the general; every sort of courage—that of the civilian, withstanding the storms of the tribune, that of the soldier braving the balls of the enemy, that of the commander confronting the most dangerous situations and the perils of the most daring enterprises; but who, without principles, without the moral ascendency which they confer, without any other influence than that of genius, soon spent in that rapid succession of men and circumstances, had resolutely tried to struggle with the Revolution, and proved, by a striking example, that an individual cannot prevail against a national passion until it is exhausted. In going over to the enemy, Dumouriez had not for his excuse either Bouille's aristocratic infatuation or Lafayette's delicacy of principles, for he had tolerated all the disorders till the moment when they ran counter to his projects. By his defection he may fairly be alleged to have hastened the fall of the Girondins, and the great revolutionary crisis. Yet it must not be forgotten that this man, without attachment to any cause, had the preference of reason for liberty; it must not be forgotten that he loved France; that when no one believed it possible to withstand the foreign foe, he attempted it, and relied more upon us than we did upon ourselves; that at St. Menehould he taught us to face the enemy with coolness; that at Jemappes he kindled our ardour and replaced us in the rank of the first-rate powers; lastly, we must not forget that if he forsook us, it was he who saved us. Moreover, he passed a sad old age far away from his country; and one cannot help feeling deep regret at the sight of a man fifty of whose years were spent in court intrigues, and thirty in exile, while three only were occupied on a theatre worthy of his genius.

Dampierre was invested with the chief command of the army of the North, and intrenched his troops in the camp of Famars, in such a manner as to be able to succour any of our fortresses that might be threatened. This position which was strong, and the plan of campaign adopted by the allies, according to which they had agreed not to penetrate farther until the fortress of Mayence should be retaken, could not but retard the events of the war in this quarter. Custine, who, to excuse his own blunders, had never ceased to accuse his colleagues and the ministers, was favourably heard, when speaking against Beurnonville, who was regarded as an accomplice of Dumouriez, though delivered up to the Austrians, and he obtained the command of the Rhine from the Vosges and the Moselle to Huninguen. As the defection of Dumouriez had begun with negotiations, the penalty of death was decreed against any general who should listen to proposals from the enemy, unless the sovereignty of the people and the republic were previously recognised. Bouchotte* was then appointed minister at war, and Monge, though highly agreeable to the Jacobins for his complaisance, was superseded as inadequate to all the details of that immense department. It was also resolved that three commissioners of the Convention should remain constantly with the armies, and that one of them should be replaced every month.

At the same time, the project so frequently brought forward, of giving greater energy to the action of the government by concentrating it in the Convention, was carried into execution. After various plans, that of a committee, called the committee of *public welfare*, was adopted. This committee, composed of nine members, was to deliberate in private. It was charged to superintend and to accelerate the action of the executive power; it was even authorized to suspend its resolutions (*arrêtés*) when it deemed them contrary to the general interest, with the proviso that it should inform the Convention of the circumstance; and to take on all urgent

* "Bouchotte, commandant of Cambray, having long remained in obscurity, was raised, in 1793, to the administration of the war department, in the room of Beurnonville. Having escaped the perils of the Reign of Terror, he retired to Metz, and was there called to the municipal and elective functions in 1799. He retired from active life in the year 1805."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

occasions measures of internal and external defence. The *arrêtés* signed by the authority of its members were to be instantly carried into effect by the executive power. It was instituted for one month only, and could not deliver any order of arrest, unless against actual perpetrators.

The members nominated to compose this committee were Barrère, Delmas, Bréard,* Cambon, Robert Lindet,† Guyton-Morveaux, Treilhard, and Lacroix, of Eure and Loire. Though not yet uniting all the powers, this committee nevertheless had immense influence. It corresponded with the commissioners of the Convention, gave them their instructions, and had authority to substitute any measures that it thought fit in place of those of the ministers. Through Cambon it ruled the finances, and with Danton it could not fail to acquire the influence of that powerful party-leader. Thus, by the growing effect of danger, was the country urged on towards a dictatorship.

On recovering from the alarm caused by the desertion of Dumouriez, the parties next began to charge each other with being accomplices in it; and it was but natural that the stronger should overwhelm the weaker. The sections, the popular societies, which in general led the way in everything, took the initiative, and denounced the Girondins in petitions and addresses.

A new society, more violent than any yet existing, had been founded agreeably to a principle of Marat. He had said that up to that day men had done nothing but *prate* about the sovereignty of the people; that, according to this doctrine well understood, each section was sovereign in its own district, and had a right to recall at any moment the powers that it had given. The most furious agitators, laying hold of this doctrine, had, in fact, pretended to be deputed by these sections to ascertain the use that was made of these powers, and to consult upon the public welfare. They met at the Evêché, and declared themselves authorized to correspond with all the municipalities of the republic. In consequence, they called themselves the Central Committee of Public Welfare. Hence proceeded the most inflammatory propositions. This committee had resolved to go in a body to the Convention, to inquire if it possessed the means of saving the country. It had attracted the notice, not only of the Assembly, but also of the commune of the Jacobins. Robespierre, who no doubt was glad enough of the consequences of insurrection, but who dreaded the means, and who had shown fear at every disturbance, inveighed against the violent resolutions which seemed to be preparing in these inferior associations, persevered in his favourite policy, which consisted in defaming the deputies, whom he stigmatized as unfaithful, and ruining them in the public opinion, before he had recourse to any other measure against them. Fond of accusing his opponents, he dreaded the employment of force, and preferred the contests of the tribunes, which were without danger, and in which he carried off all the honour.

Marat, who had at times the vanity of moderation as well as all other sorts of vanity, denounced the society of the Evêché, though he had furnished the principles upon which it was formed. Commissioners were sent to ascertain if the members composing it were men of extravagant zeal or bribed agitators. Having satisfied themselves, that they were merely too zealous patriots, the society of the Jacobins would not exclude them from its bosom, as had been at first suggested, but directed a list of them to be made out, for the purposes of watching them; and it proposed a

* "Jean Jacques Bréard was a landholder at Marennes. In 1791 he was appointed deputy to the Legislative Assembly, was re-elected to the National Convention, and voted for the death of the King. He was then appointed president, and soon afterwards a member of the committee of public safety. In 1795 he entered into the council of ancients, and retired into private life in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Jean Baptiste Robert Lindet, a lawyer, and attorney-syndic of the district of Bernay, was deputy from Eure to the legislature, where he showed some degree of moderation, but, having afterwards connected himself with the party of the Mountain, he was generally considered as one of the most wary chiefs of the party. He voted for the King's death in the Convention, and proposed a scheme for organizing a revolutionary tribunal. In 1799 he was summoned to the administration of finance, a place which he retained till the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

public disapprobation of their conduct, alleging that there ought not to be any other centre of public welfare than itself. Thus the insurrection of the 10th of April had been prepared, and condemned beforehand. All those who have not the courage to act, all those who are displeased at seeing themselves distanced, disapprove the first attempts, though all the while they desire their results. Danton alone maintained profound silence, neither disavowing nor disapproving the subordinate agitators. He was not fond of triumphing in the tribune by long-winded accusations; and preferred the means of action which he possessed in the highest degree, having at his beck all the most immoral and turbulent spirits that Paris contained. It is not known, however, whether he was acting in secret, but he kept a threatening silence.

Several sections condemned the association at the Evêché, and that of Mail presented to the Convention an energetic petition on the subject. That of Bonne-Nouvelle came, on the contrary, and read an address in which it denounced Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, &c., as friends of Dumouriez, and insisted that they ought to be struck by the sword of the law. After vehement agitation, in a contrary spirit, the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting, but it was declared that thenceforward the Assembly would not listen to any accusation against its members, and that every denunciation of this kind should be addressed to the committee of public welfare.

The section of the Halle-au-Blé, which was one of the most violent, drew up another petition, under the presidency of Marat, and sent it to the Jacobins, to the sections, and to the commune, that it might receive its approbation, and that sanctioned thus by all the authorities of the capital, it might be solemnly presented by Pache, the mayor, to the Convention. In this petition, carried about from place to place and universally known, it was alleged that part of the Convention was corrupted, that it conspired with the forestallers, that it was implicated with Dumouriez, and that it ought to be superseded by the commissioners. On the 10th of April, while this petition was hawking about from section to section, Petion, feeling indignant, desired to be heard on a motion of order. He inveighed with a vehemence, unusual with him, against the calumnies levelled at a portion of the Convention, and called for measures of repression. Danton, on the contrary, claimed honourable mention on behalf of the petition which was preparing. Petion, still more incensed, proposed that its authors should be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. Danton replied that upright representatives, strong in a clear conscience, need not be afraid of calumny; that it is inevitable in a republic, and that besides, they had not yet either repulsed the Austrians or framed a constitution; consequently it was doubtful whether the Convention deserved praise. He afterwards insisted that the Assembly should cease to pay attention to private quarrels, and that those who deemed themselves calumniated ought to appeal to the tribunals. The question was therefore disposed of; but Fonfrède brought it forward again, and again it was set aside. Robespierre, who dearly loved personal quarrels, brought it forward afresh, and demanded permission to rend the veil. He was allowed to speak, and he began a speech full of the most bitter, the most atrocious defamation of the Girondins in which he had ever indulged. We must notice this speech, which shows in what colours his gloomy mind painted the conduct of his enemies.

According to him there existed below the aristocracy dispossessed in 1789, a burgher aristocracy, as vain and as despotic as the preceding, and whose treasons succeeded those of the nobility. A frank revolution did not suit this class, and it wanted a king with the constitution of 1791, to assure its domination. The Girondins were its leaders. Under the Legislative Assembly, they had secured the ministerial departments by means of Roland, Clavières, and Servan. After they had lost them, they endeavoured to revenge themselves by the 20th of June; and on the eve of the 10th of August, they were treating with the court, and offering peace, upon condition that the power should be restored to them. On the 10th of August itself, they were content to suspend the King without abolishing royalty, and appointed a governor for the prince-royal. After the 10th, they seized the ministerial departments, and slandered the commune, for the purpose of ruining its influence and secur-

ing an exclusive sway. When the Convention was formed, they made themselves masters of the committees, continued to calumniate Paris and to represent that city as the focus of all crimes, and they perverted the public opinion by means of their journals, and by the immense sums which Roland devoted to the circulation of the most perfidious writings. Lastly, in January they opposed the death of the tyrant, not out of attachment to his person, but out of attachment to royalty. This faction, continued Robespierre, is the only cause of the disastrous war which we are at this moment waging. It desires it, in order to expose us to the invasion of Austria, which promised a congress, with the burgher constitution of 1791. It has directed it with perfidy, and, after employing the traitor Lafayette, it has since employed the traitor Dumouriez, to attain the end which it has been so long pursuing. At first it feigned a quarrel with Dumouriez, but the quarrel was not serious, for it formerly placed him in the ministry by means of his friend Gensonné, and caused him to be allowed six millions for secret service money. Dumouriez, in concert with it, saved the Prussians in the Argonne, when he might have annihilated them.* In Belgium, it is true, he gained a great victory, but it required an important success to obtain the public confidence, and, once obtained, he abused it in every possible way. He did not invade Holland, which he might have conquered in the very first campaign; he prevented the union of the conquered countries with France, and the diplomatic committee, in unison with him, omitted nothing to keep away the Belgian deputies who demanded the union. Those envoys of the executive power, whom Dumouriez had so harshly treated because they annoyed the Belgians, were all chosen by the Girondins; and they contrived to send disorganizers whose conduct could not fail to be publicly condemned, in order to dishonour the republican cause. Dumouriez, after making, when too late, an attack upon Holland, returned to Belgium, lost the battle of Neerwinden, and it was Miranda, the friend and the creature of Petion, who by his retreat decided the loss of that battle. Dumouriez then fell back, and raised the standard of revolt at the very moment when the faction was exciting the insurrections of royalism in the West. All was therefore prepared for this moment. A perfidious minister had been placed in the war department for this important circumstance. The committee of general safety, composed of all the Girondins, excepting seven or eight faithful deputies, who did not attend its meetings,—this committee did nothing to prevent the public dangers. Thus nothing had been neglected for the success of the conspiracy. A king was wanted: but all the generals belonged to Egalité. The Egalité family was collected around Dumouriez; his sons, his daughter, ay even the intriguing Sillery, were along with him. Dumouriez began by manifestoes, and what did he say?—all that the orators and the writers of the faction said in the tribune and in the newspapers; that the Convention was composed of villains, with the exception of a small sound portion; that Paris was the focus of all sorts of crimes; that the Jacobins were disorganizers, who excited disturbance and civil war.

Such was the manner in which Robespierre accounted as well for the defection of Dumouriez, as for the opposition of the Girondins. After he had at great length developed this artful tissue of calumnies, he proposed to send to the revolutionary tribunal the accomplices of Dumouriez, all the members of the Orleans family and their friends. "As for the deputies Guadet, Gensonné, Vergniaud, &c., it would be," said he, with malicious irony, "a sacrilege to accuse such upright men; and feeling my impotence in regard to them, I leave them to the wisdom of the Assembly."

The tribunes and the Mountain applauded their *virtuous* orator. The Girondins were incensed at this infamous system, in which a perfidious hatred had as large

* "The Jacobins endeavoured to convert all Dumouriez's proceedings into so many crimes. Even the retreat of the Prussians served as the foundation of a thousand foibles. After imagining that he had released himself from his embarrassments by deceiving the Prussians, the moment the Jacobins learned the dismal state of the enemy's army, and yet beheld it saved, they attributed the excellence of its retreat to a collusion between Dumouriez and the King of Prussia."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

a share as a natural distrust of disposition; for there was in this speech an extraordinary art in combining facts and obviating objections; and Robespierre had displayed in this base accusation more real talent than in all his ordinary declamations. Vergniaud rushed to the tribune and demanded permission to speak, with such vehemence, earnestness, and resolution, that it was granted, and that the tribunes and the Mountain at length left it to him undisturbed. To the premeditated speech of Robespierre he opposed one delivered on the spur of the moment, with the warmth of the most eloquent and the most innocent of men.

He would presume, he said, to reply to Monsieur Robespierre, and he would not employ either time or art in his reply, for he needed nothing but his soul. He would not speak for himself, for he knew that in times of revolution the dregs of nations are stirred up and for a moment rise above the good, but in order to enlighten France. His voice, which more than once had struck terror into that palace from which he had assisted to hurl tyranny, should carry terror also into the souls of the villains who were desirous of substituting their own tyranny for that of royalty.

He then replied to every inculpation of Robespierre, what any one may reply from the mere knowledge of the facts. By his speech in July, he provoked the dethronement of the King. Shortly before the 10th of August, doubting the success of the insurrection, not even knowing whether it would take place, he pointed out to an agent of the court what it ought to do in order to reconcile itself with the nation and to save the country. On the 10th of August, he was sitting in his place amidst the thunder of cannon, while Monsieur Robespierre was in a cellar. He had not caused the dethronement to be pronounced, because the combat was doubtful, and he proposed the appointment of a governor for the dauphin, because in case royalty should succeed in maintaining itself, a good education given to the young prince might insure the future happiness of France. Himself and his friends caused war to be declared, because it was already begun, and was better to declare it openly and to defend oneself, than to suffer without making it. He and his friends were appointed to the ministry and upon committees by the public voice. In the commission of twenty-one, in the Legislative Assembly, they opposed the suggestion for leaving Paris, and it was they who prepared the means which France displayed in the Argonne. In the committee of general safety of the Convention, they had laboured assiduously, and before the faces of their colleagues who, if they pleased, might have witnessed all their proceedings. Robespierre had deserted it, and never made his appearance there. They had not calumniated Paris, but combated the murderers who usurped the name of Parisians, and disgraced Paris and the republic. They had not perverted the public opinion, since, for his own part, he had not written a single letter, and what Roland had circulated was well known to everybody. He and his friends demanded the appeal to the people on the trial of Louis XVI., because they were of opinion that, on so important a question, the national adhesion could not be dispensed with. For his own part, he scarcely knew Dumouriez, and had seen him but twice: the first time on his return from the Argonne; the second on his return from Belgium; but Danton and Santerre saw him, congratulated him, covered him with caresses, and made him dine with them every day. As for Egalité, he had just as little acquaintance with him. The Mountaineers alone knew and associated with him; and whenever the Girondins attacked him, the Mountaineers invariably stood forward in his defence. What then could he and his friends be reproached with? Underhand dealings, intrigues? . . . But they did not run to the sections to stir them up. They did not fill the tribunes to extort decrees by terror. They never would suffer the ministers to be taken from among the assemblies of which they were members. Or were they accused of being moderates? . . . But they were not so on the 10th of August, when Robespierre and Marat were hiding themselves. They were so in September when the prisoners were murdered and the Garde-Meuble was plundered.

"You know," said Vergniaud in conclusion, "whether I have endured in silence the mortifications heaped upon me during the last six months, whether I have sacrificed to my country the most just resentments; you know whether upon pain of

cowardice, upon pain of confessing myself guilty, upon pain of compromising the little good that I am still allowed to do, I could have avoided placing the impostures and the malignity of Robespierre in their true light. May this be the last day wasted by us in scandalous debates!" Vergniaud then moved that the section of the Halle-au-Blé should be summoned and desired to bring its registers.

The talent of Vergniaud had captivated his very enemies. His sincerity, his touching eloquence, had interested and convinced the great majority of the Assembly, and the warmest testimonies of approbation were lavished upon him on all sides. Guadet desired to be heard, but, at sight of him, the Mountain, before silent, became agitated, and sent forth horrid yells. He nevertheless obtained in his turn permission to reply, and he acquitted himself in such a manner as to excite the passions much more powerfully than Vergniaud had done. None, he admitted, had conspired; but appearances were much stronger against the Mountaineers and the Jacobins, who had been in connexion with Dumouriez and Egalité, than against the Girondins, who had quarrelled with both. "Who," exclaimed Guadet, "who was with Dumouriez at the Jacobins, at the theatres? Your Danton."—"Aha! dost thou accuse me?" rejoined Danton; "thou knowest not my power."

The conclusion of Guadet's speech was deferred till the following day. He continued to fix all conspiracy, if there were any, on the Mountaineers. He finished with reading an address, which, like that of the Halle-aux-Blés, was signed by Marat. It was from the Jacobins, and Marat had signed it as president of the society. It contained these words, which Guadet read to the Assembly; "Citizens, let us arm. Counter-revolution is in the government; it is in the bosom of the Convention. Citizens, let us march thither, let us march!"

"Yes," cried Marat from his place, "yes, let us march!" At these words the Assembly rose, and demanded a decree of accusation against Marat. Danton opposed it, saying that the members on both sides of the Assembly appeared to agree upon accusing the family of Orleans, that it ought, therefore, to be sent before the tribunals, but, as for Marat, he could not be placed under accusation for an expression which had escaped him amidst a stormy discussion. Some one replied that the family of Orleans ought not to be tried in Paris, but at Marseilles. Danton would have continued, but, without listening to him, the Assembly gave the priority to the decree of accusation against Marat, and Lacroix moved that he should be immediately apprehended. "Since my enemies have lost all modesty," cried Marat, "I demand one thing; the decree is calculated to excite a commotion; let two gendarmes accompany me to the Jacobins, that I may go and recommend peace to them." Without listening to these ridiculous sallies, the Assembly ordered him to be taken into custody, and directed that the act of accusation should be prepared by noon the next day.

Robespierre hastened to the Jacobins to express his indignation, to praise the energy of Danton, and the moderation of Marat, and to recommend to them to be calm, that people might not have to say that Paris rose to liberate a Jacobin.

On the next day the act of accusation was read and approved by the Assembly, and the accusation so frequently proposed against Marat, was seriously prosecuted before the revolutionary tribunal.*

It was an intended petition against the Girondins that had produced these violent altercations between the two sides of the Assembly; but nothing had been enacted on the subject, neither, indeed, was it possible to enact anything, since the Assembly had not the power to check the commotions produced by the petitions. The project of a general address from all the sections had been prosecuted with activity; the particular form of it had been determined upon; out of the forty-three sections,

* "The Convention felt the necessity of making an effort to resist the inflammatory proceedings of the Jacobins. By a united effort of the Girondins and the neutral party, Marat was sent for trial to the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the charge of having instigated the people to demand the punishment of the National Representatives. This was the first instance of the inviolability of the Convention being broken in upon; and as such, it afforded an unfortunate precedent, which the sanguinary Jacobins were not slow in following."—*Alison.* E.

thirty-five had adopted it; the general council of the commune had approved it; and, on the 15th, the commissioners of the thirty-five sections, with Pache, the mayor, at their head, appeared at the bar. It might be considered as the manifesto in which the commune of Paris declared its intentions, and threatened insurrection in case of refusal. So it had done before the 10th of August, so it again did on the eve of the 31st of May. The address was read by Real, *procureur* of the commune. After dwelling upon the criminal conduct of a certain number of deputies, the petition prayed for their expulsion from the Convention, and named them one after another. There were twenty-two: Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grange-Neuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Pontécoulant, Petion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Louvet, Lehardy, Gorsas, Gauchet, Lanthénas, Lasource, Valady, and Chambon.

The reading of these names drew forth applause from the tribunes. The president informed the petitioners that the law required them to sign their petition. They instantly complied. Pache alone, striving to prolong his neutrality, hung back. He was asked for his signature, but replied that he was not one of the petitioners, and had only been directed by the general council to accompany them. But, perceiving that it was impossible for him to recede, he advanced and signed the petition. The tribunes rewarded him with boisterous applause.

Boyer-Fonfrède immediately went up to the tribune, and said that, if modesty were not a duty, he would beg to be added to the glorious list of the twenty-two deputies. The majority of the Assembly, impelled by a generous emotion, cried, "Put us all down, all!" and then surrounded the twenty-two deputies, embracing them, and giving them the most expressive tokens of sympathy. The discussion, interrupted by this scene, was adjourned to the following days.

On the appointed day the subject was accordingly brought forward. Reproaches and justification recommenced between the two sides of the Assembly. Some deputies of the centre took occasion, from letters written on the state of the armies, to propose that they should direct their attention to the general interests of the republic, and not waste their time on private quarrels. The Assembly assented; but, on the 18th, a fresh petition against the right side caused that of the thirty-five sections to be again brought forward. Various acts of the commune were at the same time denounced. By one it declared itself in a continual state of revolution, and by another it appointed within its bosom a committee of correspondence with all the municipalities in the realm. It had, in fact, been long striving to give to its purely local authority a character of generality, that would permit it to speak in the name of France, and enable it to rival the authority of the Convention. The committee of the Evêché, dissolved on the recommendation of the Jacobins, had also had for its object to put Paris in communication with all the other towns; and now the commune was desirous of making amends by organizing that correspondence in its own bosom. Vergniaud addressed the Assembly, and, attacking at once the petition of the thirty-five sections, the acts imputed to the commune, and the designs revealed by its conduct, moved that the petition should be declared calumnious, and that the municipality should be required to bring its registers to the Assembly, to show what resolutions (*arrêtés*) it had passed. These propositions were adopted, in spite of the tribunes and the left side. At this moment the right side, supported by the Plain, began to sway all the decisions. It had caused Lasource, one of the most ardent of its members, to be appointed president; and it had again the majority, that is, the legality, a feeble resource against strength, and which serves at best but to irritate it the more.

The municipal officers summoned to the bar, came boldly to submit the registers of their deliberations, and seemed to expect the approbation of their resolutions (*arrêtés*). These registers purported; 1. That the general council declared itself in a state of revolution, so long as supplies of provisions were not insured; 2. That the committee of correspondence with the forty-four thousand municipalities should be composed of nine members, and put immediately in activity; 3. That twelve thousand copies of the petition against the twenty-two should be printed and distributed by the committee of correspondence; 4. Lastly, that the general council

would consider the blow aimed at itself, when any of its members, or when a president or secretary of a section or of a club, should be prosecuted for their opinions. This last resolution had been adopted for the purpose of screening Marat who was accused of having, as president of a section, signed a seditious address.

The commune, as we see, resisted the Assembly foot to foot, and on each debated point adopted a decision contrary to that of the latter. If the question related to the supply of necessaries, it immediately constituted itself in a state of revolution, if violent means were rejected. If it related to Marat, it covered him with its shield. If it related to the twenty-two, it appealed to the forty-four thousand municipalities, and placed itself in correspondence with them for the purpose of demanding from them, as it were, general powers against the Convention. The opposition was complete at all points, and accompanied moreover by preparations for insurrection.

No sooner was the reading of the registers finished, than the younger Robespierre demanded the honours of the sitting for the municipal officers. The right side opposed this: the Plain hesitated, and said that it might perhaps be dangerous to lower magistrates in the estimation of the people by refusing them a customary honour, which was not denied even to the humblest petitioners. Amidst these tumultuous debates, the sitting was prolonged till eleven at night; the right side and the Plain withdrew, and one hundred and forty-three members only remained with the Mountain to admit the Parisian municipality to the honours of the sitting. On one and the same day declared guilty of calumny, repulsed by the majority, and admitted to the honours of the sitting by the Mountain and the tribunes, it could not fail to be deeply exasperated, and to become the rallying-point for all those who wished to break down the authority of the Convention.

Marat had, at length, been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and it was not by the energy of the right side, which had as it were carried the Plain along with it, that his accusation had been decided upon. But every energetic movement while it is honourable to, only precipitates the ruin of a party struggling against a superior movement. The Girondins, by their courageous prosecution of Marat, had only prepared a triumph for him. The act, purported in substance that Marat, having in his papers encouraged murder, carnage, the degradation and dissolution of the National Convention, and the establishment of a power destructive of liberty, was decreed to be under accusation, and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. The Jacobins, the Cordeliers, all the agitators of Paris had set themselves in motion in behalf of this austere philosopher, "formed," they said, "by adversity and meditation, combining great sagacity and a deep knowledge of the human heart with a soul of fire, and whose penetration discovered the traitors in their triumphal car, at the moment when the stupid herd were yet offering them incense! The traitors," cried they, "will pass away, while the reputation of Marat is only commencing!"

Though the revolutionary tribunal was not then composed as it was at a later period, still Marat could not be condemned by it. The discussion lasted only a few moments. The accused was unanimously acquitted, amidst the applause of a numerous concourse assembled to witness his trial. This was the 24th of April. He was immediately surrounded by a mob, composed of women, sans-culottes with pikes, and detachments of the armed sections. They laid hold of him and set out for the Convention, to replace him in his seat as deputy. Two municipal officers opened the procession. Marat, lifted in the arms of some sappers, his brow encircled by a wreath of oak, was borne in triumph to the middle of the hall. A sapper stepped forward from the crowd, presented himself at the bar, and said, "Citizen president, we bring you the worthy Marat. Marat has always been the friend of the people, and the people will always be the friends of Marat. If Marat's head must fall, the head of the sapper shall fall first." As he uttered these words, the grim petitioner brandished his axe, and the tribunes applauded with tumultuous uproar. He demanded permission for the escort to file off through the hall. "I will consult the Assembly," replied Lasource, the president, dismayed at this

hideous scene. But the crowd would not wait till he had consulted the Assembly, and rushed from all sides into the hall. Men and women poured in pell-mell, and took the seats left vacant by the departure of the deputies disgusted at the scene. Marat, transferred from hand to hand, was hailed with applause. From the arms of the petitioners he passed into those of his colleagues of the Mountain, and he was embraced with the strongest demonstrations of joy. At length, he tore himself away from his colleagues, ran to the tribune and declared to the legislators that he came to offer them a pure heart, a justified name, and that he was ready to die in defence of liberty and the rights of the people.

New honours awaited the Jacobins. The women had prepared a great number of crowns. The president offered him one. A child about four years old, mounted on the bureau, placed another upon his head. Marat pushed away the crowns with an insolent disdain. "Citizens," said he, "indignant at seeing a villanous faction betraying the republic, I endeavoured to unmask it, and to *put the rope about its neck*. It resisted me by launching against me a decree of accusation. I have come off victorious. The faction is humbled, but not crushed. Waste not your time in decreeing triumphs. Defend yourselves with enthusiasm. I lay upon the bureau the two crowns which have been just presented to me, and I invite my fellow-citizens to await the end of my career before they decide."

Numerous plaudits hailed this impudent modesty. Robespierre was present at this triumph, the too mean and too popular character of which he no doubt disdained. He, too, however, was destined to feel, like any other, the vanity of the triumpher. The rejoicings over, the Assembly hastened to return to the ordinary discussion, that is to say, the means of purifying the government, and expelling from it the traitors, the Rolandists, the Brissotins, &c. For this purpose it was proposed to draw up a list of the persons employed in all the departments of the administration, and to mark such as had deserved to be dismissed. "Send me that list," said Marat, "I will pick out such as ought to be dismissed and retained, and signify the result to the ministers." Robespierre made an observation; he said that the ministers were almost all accomplices of the culprits; that they would not listen to the society; that it would be better to address themselves to the committee of public safety, placed by its functions above the executive council, and that moreover the society could not without compromising itself communicate with ministers who were guilty of malversation. "These reasons are frivolous," replied Marat, with disdain; "a patriot so pure as myself* *might communicate with the devil.* I will address myself to the ministers, and summon them to satisfy us, in the name of the society."

A respectful consideration always surrounded the eloquent Robespierre; but the audacity, the insolent cynicism of Marat, astonished and struck every enthusiastic mind. His hideous familiarity attached to him some sturdy market-porters, who were flattered by this intimacy with *the friend of the people*, and who were always ready to lend his puny person the aid of their arms and their influence in the public places.

The anger of the Mountain was excited by the obstacles which it had to encounter; but these obstacles were much greater in the provinces than in Paris; and the disappointments which its commissioners, sent to forward the recruiting, met with on their way, soon increased its irritation to the highest pitch. All the provinces were most favourably disposed towards the Revolution, but all had not embraced it with equal ardour, or signalized themselves by so many excesses as the city of Paris. It is always idle ambition, ardent minds, superior talents, that are the first to engage in revolutions. A capital always contains a larger portion of

* "There can be little doubt that Marat regarded himself as the apostle of liberty, and the more undeniably wrong he was, the most infallible he thought himself. Others had more delight in the actual spilling of blood; no one else had the same disinterested and dauntless confidence in the theory. He might be placed almost at the head of a class that exist at all times, but only break out in times of violence and revolution; who form crime into a code, and proclaim conclusions that make the hair of others stand on end."—*Hazlitt.* E.

them than the provinces, because it is the rendezvous of all those, who, from independence or ambition, abandon the soil, the profession, and the traditions of their fathers. Paris of course contained the greatest number of revolutionists. Situated, moreover, at no great distance from the frontiers, the aim of all the enemy's blows, it had been exposed to greater danger than any city in France. The seat of the authorities, it had seen all the great questions discussed in its bosom. Thus danger, discussion, everything, had concurred to produce in it excitement and excess.

The provinces, which had not the same motives for agitation, beheld these excesses with horror, and had participated in the sentiments of the right side and of the Plain. Dissatisfied more especially with the treatment experienced by their deputies, they imagined that they discovered in the capital not only revolutionary exaggeration, but also the ambition to rule France, as Rome ruled the conquered provinces.

Such were the feelings with which the quiet, industrious, moderate mass, regarded the revolutionists of Paris. These dispositions, however, were more or less strongly expressed according to local circumstances. Each province, each city, had also its hot-headed revolutionists, because in all places there are adventurous spirits, and ardent characters. Almost all the men of this stamp had made themselves masters of the municipalities, and to this end they had availed themselves of the general renewal of the authorities ordered by the Legislative Assembly after the 10th of August. The inactive and moderate mass always gives way to the more bustling, and it was natural that the most violent spirits should possess themselves of the municipal functions, the most difficult of all, and those which require most zeal and activity. The great number of the peaceable citizens had withdrawn into the sections, which they sometimes attended, to give their votes, and to exercise their civil rights. The departmental functions had been conferred on persons possessing either the most wealth or the most consideration, and, for that very reason, the least active and the least energetic of men. Thus all the hot revolutionists were intrenched in the municipalities, while the middling and wealthy mass occupied the sections and the departmental functions.

The commune of Paris, feeling this position, had resolved to put itself in correspondence with all the municipalities. But, as we have seen, it had been prevented by the Convention. The parent society of the Jacobins had made amends for this by its own correspondence, and the connexion which could not yet be established between municipality and municipality, existed between club and club, which amounted to nearly the same thing; for the same men who deliberated in the Jacobin clubs afterwards went to act in the general councils of the communes. Thus the whole Jacobin party of France, collected in the municipalities and in the clubs, corresponding from one extremity of the country to the other, found itself arrayed against the middling mass, an immense mass, but divided into a multitude of sections, not exercising active functions, not corresponding from city to city, forming here and there a few moderate clubs, and assembling occasionally in the sections, or in the departmental councils, to give an uncertain and timid vote.

It was this difference of position that encouraged the revolutionists to hope that they could control the mass of the population. This mass admitted the republic, but desired it without its excesses; and at the moment it had still the advantage in all the provinces. Since the municipalities, armed with a terrible police, having authority to pay domiciliary visits, to seek out foreigners, to disarm suspected persons, could annoy the peaceable citizens with impunity, the sections had endeavoured to effect a reaction; and they had joined for the purpose of curbing the municipalities. In almost all the towns of France they had plucked up a little courage; they were in arms; they resisted the municipalities, inveighed against their inquisitorial police, supported the right side, and together with it demanded order, peace, and respect of person and property. The municipalities and the Jacobin clubs demanded, on the contrary, new measures of police, and the institution of revolutionary tribunals in the departments. The people of certain towns were ready to come to blows upon these questions. The sections, however, were so strong in

number, that they counteracted the energy of the municipalities. The Mountaineer deputies sent to forward the recruiting and to rekindle the revolutionary zeal, were dismayed at this resistance, and filled Paris with their alarms.

Such was the state of almost all France, and the manner in which it was divided. The conflict was more or less violent, and the parties were more or less menacing, according to the position and dangers of each town. Where the dangers of the Revolution were greater, the Jacobins were more inclined to use violent means, and consequently the moderate mass was more disposed to resist them. But it was not the military danger that most exasperated the revolutionary passions. It was the danger of domestic treason. Thus, on the northern frontier, threatened by the enemy's armies, and not much wrought upon by intrigue, people were tolerably unanimous; their minds were intent on the common defence; and the commissioners sent to all parts between Lille and Lyons had made the most satisfactory reports to the Convention. But at Lyons, where secret machinations concurred with the geographical and military position of the city to render the peril greater, storms had arisen as terrible as those which had burst upon Paris.

From its eastern situation and its vicinity to Piedmont, Lyons had always attracted the notice of the counter-revolutionists. The first emigrants at Turin had projected a movement there in 1790, and even sent a French prince to that city. Mirabeau had also planned one in his way. After the great majority of emigrants had removed to Coblentz, an agent had been left in Switzerland, to correspond with Lyons, and through Lyons with the camp of Jalès and the fanatics of the South. These machinations had produced a reaction of Jacobinism, and the royalists had caused Mountaineers to spring up in Lyons. The latter had a club called the central club, composed of envoys from all the clubs of the quarter. At their head was a Piedmontese, whom a natural restlessness of disposition had driven from country to country and at length fixed at Lyons, where he owed his revolutionary ardour to his having been successively appointed municipal officer and president of the civil tribunal. His name was Chalier,* and he had held in the central club such language as at the Jacobins in Paris would have caused him to be accused by Marat of tending to convulse everything, and for being in the pay of foreigners. Besides this club, the Lyonnese Mountaineers had the whole municipality, excepting Nivière, the mayor, a friend and disciple of Roland, and head of the Girondin party at Lyons. Weary of so much dissension, Nivière had, like Petion, resigned his office, and like Petion been re-elected by the sections, more powerfully and more energetic at Lyons than anywhere else in France. Out of eleven thousand voters, nine thousand had obliged Nivière to resume the functions of mayor; but he had again resigned, and this time the Mountaineer municipality had succeeded in completing itself by effecting the election of a mayor of its choice. On this occasion the party had come to blows. The youth of the sections had driven Chalier from the central club, and gutted the hall in which he vented his fanaticism. The

* "M. J. Chalier, an extravagant Jacobin, an inhabitant of Lyons, was born in 1747 at Beautard, in Dauphiné, of a Piedmontese family, who returned to their native country, where he was educated. He embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was driven from his country, and after having narrowly escaped the gibbet in Portugal, and again in Naples, he went to Lyons, was received into the family of a merchant as a preceptor, said mass in that town for about two years, and at last went into business, in which he accumulated a considerable fortune by dishonesty and trick. He joined the revolutionary party with an enthusiasm bordering on madness; and went to Paris, where he spent six months with Marat to profit by his lessons. On his return to Lyons he was appointed municipal officer, and all his colleagues were ready to second his fury. The mayor alone sought to oppose their efforts. Twelve hundred citizens had been imprisoned. Chalier, despairing of their condemnation, appeared in 1793, in the central society with a poniard in his hand, and obtained a decree that a tribunal, similar to those at Paris which had committed the September massacres, should be established on the quay St. Clair, with a guillotine, that nine hundred persons should there be executed, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone, and that in case executioners should be wanting, that the members of the society should themselves perform this office. The mayor at the head of the armed force, prevented this horrible execution; but he could not obtain the trial of several members who had been seized. The people of Lyons irritated at length by such tyranny raised the standard of war against the Convention, and delivered Chalier to a tribunal which condemned him to death in 1793."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

department had sent in alarm for the commissioners of the Convention, who, by first censuring the sections and then the excesses of the commune, had displeased all parties, been denounced by the Jacobins, and recalled by the Convention. Their task had been confined to awarding compensation to the central club, affiliating it with the Jacobins, and, without abridging its energy, ridding it of some too impure members. In the month of May, the irritation had reached its greatest height. On the one hand, the commune, composed entirely of Jacobins, and the central club, with its president, Chalier, demanded a revolutionary tribunal for Lyons, and paraded through the public places a guillotine which had been procured from Paris, and which was exposed to public view to strike terror into traitors and aristocrats; while, on the other, the sections, in arms, were ready to curb the municipality, and to prevent the establishment of the sanguinary tribunal, from which the Girondins had not been able to save the capital. In this state of things, the secret agents of royalty scattered in Lyons, awaited the favourable moment for turning to account the indignation of the Lyonnese, which was ready to break forth.

In all the rest of the South, as far as Marseilles, the moderate republican spirit prevailed in a more equal manner, and the Girondins possessed the undivided love of the country. Marseilles was jealous of the supremacy of Paris, incensed at the insults offered to Barbaroux, its favourite deputy, and ready to rise against the Convention, if the national representation were attacked. Though wealthy, it was not situated in an advantageous manner for the counter-revolutionists abroad; for it bordered only upon Italy, where nothing was hatching, and its port did not interest the English like that of Toulon. Secret machinations had consequently not excited such alarm there as in Lyons and Paris; and the municipality, feeble and threatened, was near being supplanted by the all-powerful sections. Moise Bayle, the deputy, who was very coldly received, had found great ardour for the recruiting, but absolute devotedness to the Gironde.

From the Rhone in the East to the shores of the Ocean on the West, fifty or sixty departments entertained the same dispositions. At Bordeaux, lastly, the unanimity was complete. There, the sections, the municipality, the principal club, everybody, in short, agreed to resist Mountaineer violence, and to support that glorious deputation of the Gironde to which this portion of France was so proud of having given birth. The adverse party had found an asylum in a single section only, and everywhere else it was powerless and doomed to silence. Bordeaux demanded neither *maximum* nor provisions, nor revolutionary tribunal, prepared petitions against the commune of Paris, and battalions for the service of the republic.

But along the coast of the Ocean, extending from the Gironde to the Loire, and from the Loire to the mouths of the Seine, were to be found very different dispositions and very different dangers. There the implacable Mountain had not only to encounter the mild and generous republicanism of the Girondins, but the constitutional royalism of 1789 which repelled the republic as illegal, and the fanaticism of the feudal times, which was armed against the Revolution of 1793 as well as against the Revolution of 1789, and which acknowledged only the temporal authority of the gentry and the spiritual authority of the church.

In Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, its principal city, there was a feeling of strong attachment to Louis XVI., and the constitution of 1790 had gratified all the wishes that were formed for liberty and the throne. Ever since the abolition of royalty and the constitution of 1790, that is, since the 10th of August, a condemnatory and threatening silence had prevailed in Normandy. Bretagne exhibited still more hostile sentiments, and the people there were engrossed by fondness for the priests and the gentry. Nearer to the banks of the Loire, this attachment amounted to insurrection; and lastly, on the left bank of that river, in the Bocage, Le Loroux, and La Vendée, the insurrection was complete, and large armies of ten and twenty thousand men were already in the field.

This is the proper place for describing that singular country, covered with a population so obstinate, so heroic, so unfortunate, and so fatal to France, which it nearly ruined by a mischievous diversion, and the calamities of which it

aggravated by driving the revolutionary dictatorship to the highest pitch of irritation.

On both banks of the Loire, the people had retained a strong attachment to their ancient habits, and particularly to their religion and its ministers. When, in consequence of the civil constitution, the members of the clerical body found themselves divided, a real schism ensued. The *curés*, who refused to submit to the new circumscription of the churches and to take the oath, were preferred by the people; and when, turned out of their livings, they were obliged to retire, the peasants followed them into the woods, and considered both themselves and their religion as persecuted. They collected in little bands, annoyed the constitutional *curés* as intruders, and committed the most heinous outrages upon them. In Bretagne, in the environs of Rennes, there were more general and more serious insurrections, which originated in the dearth of provisions and in the threat to destroy the Church contained in this expression of Cambon: *Those who will have mass, shall pay for it.* Government had, however, succeeded in quelling these partial disturbances on the right bank of the Loire, and it had only to dread their communication with the left bank, the theatre of the grand insurrection.

It was particularly on this left bank, in Anjou, and Upper and Lower Poitou, that the famous war of La Vendée had broken out. It was in this part of France that the influence of time was least felt, and that it had produced least change in the ancient manners. The feudal system had there acquired a truly patriarchal character; and the Revolution, instead of operating a beneficial reform in the country, had shocked the most kindly habits and been received as a persecution. The Bocage and the Marais constitute a singular country, which it is necessary to describe, in order to convey an idea of the manners of the population, and the kind of society that was formed there.

Setting out from Nantes and Saumur and proceeding from the Loire to the sands of Olonne, Luçon, Fontenay, and Niort, you meet with an unequal undulating soil, intersected by ravines and crossed by a multitude of hedges, which serve to fence in each field, and which have on this account obtained for the country the name of the *Bocage*. As you approach the sea the ground declines, till it terminates in salt marshes, and is everywhere cut up by a multitude of small canals, which render access almost impossible. This is what is called the *Marais*. The only abundant produce in this country is pasturage, consequently cattle are plentiful. The peasants there grew only just sufficient corn for their own consumption, and employed the produce of their herds and flocks as a medium of exchange. It is well known that no people are more simple than those subsisting by this kind of industry. Few great towns had been built in these parts. They contained only large villages of two or three thousand souls. Between the two high-roads leading, the one from Tours to Poitiers, and the other from Nantes to La Rochelle, extended a tract thirty leagues in breadth, where there were none but cross-roads leading to villages and hamlets. The country was divided into a great number of small farms, paying a rent of from five to six hundred francs, each let to a single family, which divided the produce of the cattle with the proprietor of the land. From this division of farms, the *seigneurs* had to treat with each family, and kept up a continual and easy intercourse with them. The simplest mode of life prevailed in the mansions of the gentry: they were fond of the chase, on account of the abundance of game; the gentry and the peasants hunted together, and they were all celebrated for their skill and vigour.* The priests, men of extraordinary purity of character, exercised

* "The gentlemen's residences were built and furnished without magnificence, and had neither extensive parks, nor fine gardens. Their owners lived without pomp, and even with extreme simplicity. When called to the capital on business or pleasure, they did not return to the Bocage with the airs and manners of Paris. Their greatest luxury at home was the table, and their only amusement field sports. The women travelled on horseback and in litters or carriages drawn by oxen. The Seigneur went to the weddings of his tenants' children, and drank with the guests. On Sunday the tenants danced in the court of the chateau, and the ladies often joined. When there was to be a hunt of the wolf, or boar, or stag, the information was communicated by the curate to the parishioners in church after service. With these habits, the inhabitants of the Bocage were an excellent people, mild, pious, hospitable, full of courage and vivacity; of pure manners and honest

there a truly paternal ministry. Wealth had neither corrupted their manners, nor provoked censure regarding them. People submitted to the authority of the *seigneur*, and believed the words of the *curé*, because there was no oppression in the one, nor scandal in the other. Before humanity throws itself into the track of civilization, there is a point of simplicity, ignorance, and purity, where one would wish to stop it, were it not its lot to proceed through evil towards all sorts of improvement.

When the Revolution, so beneficent in other quarters, reached this country, with its iron level, it produced profound agitation. It had been well if it could have made an exception there, but that was impossible. Those who have accused it of not adapting itself to localities, of not varying with them, are not aware of the impossibility of exceptions, and the necessity of one uniform and absolute rule in great social reforms. In these parts, then, people knew scarcely anything about the Revolution; they knew what the discontent of the gentry and the *curés* had taught them. Though the feudal dues were abolished, they continued to pay them. They were obliged to assemble for the purpose of electing mayors; they did so, and begged the *seigneurs* to accept the office. But when the removal of the non-juring priests deprived the peasants of the ministers in whom they had confidence, they were vehemently exasperated, and, as in Bretagne, they ran into the woods and travelled to a considerable distance to attend the ceremonies of a worship, the only true one in their estimation. From that moment a violent hatred was kindled in their souls, and the priests neglected no means of fanning the flames. The 10th of August drove several Poitevin nobles back to their estates; the 21st of January estranged them, and they communicated their indignation to those about them. They did not conspire, however, as some have conceived. The known dispositions of the country had incited men who were strangers to it to frame plans of conspiracy. One had been hatched in Bretagne, but none was formed in the Bocage; there was no concerted plan there; people suffered themselves to be driven to extremity. At length, the levy of three hundred thousand men excited in the month of March a general insurrection. At bottom, it was of little consequence to the peasant of Lower Poitou what France was doing; but the removal of their clergy, and, above all, the obligation to join the armies, disgusted them. Under the old system, it was only those who were urged by a naturally restless disposition to quit their native land, who composed the contingent of the country; but now the law laid hold of all, whatever might be their personal inclinations. Obliged to take arms, they chose rather to fight against the republic than for it. Nearly about the same time, that is, at the beginning of March, the drawing was the occasion of an insurrection in the Upper Bocage and in the Marais. On the 10th of March, the drawing was to take place at St. Florent, near Ancenis, in Anjou. The young men refused to draw. The guard endeavoured to force them to comply. The military commandant ordered a piece of cannon to be pointed and fired at the mutineers. They dashed forward with their bludgeons, made themselves masters of the piece, disarmed the guard, and were, at the same time, not a little astonished at their own temerity. A carrier, named Cathelineau,* a man highly esteemed in that part of the country, possessing great bravery and powers of persuasion, quitting his farm on hearing the tidings, hastened to join them, rallied them, roused their courage, and gave some consistency to the insurrection by his skill in keeping it up. The very same day he resolved to attack a republican post consisting of eighty men. The peasants followed him with their bludgeons and their muskets. After a first volley, every shot of which told, because they were excellent marksmen, they rushed upon the post, disarmed it, and made themselves masters of the position.

Next day, Cathelineau proceeded to Chemillé, which he likewise took, in spite

principles. Crimes were never heard of, and lawsuits were rare."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

* "Jacques Cathelineau was a wool-dealer of the village of Pin en Mauges, who took the resolution of standing up for his King and country, facing the evils which were not to be avoided, and doing his duty manfully in arms. His wife entreated him not to form this perilous resolution; but this was no time for such humanities; so, leaving his work, he called the villagers about him, and succeeded in inducing them to take up arms."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

of two hundred republicans and three pieces of cannon. A gamekeeper at the *château* of Maulevrier, named Stofflet,* and a young peasant of the village of Chanzeau, had on their part collected a band of peasants. These came and joined Cathelineau, who conceived the daring design of attacking Chollet, the most considerable town in the country, the chief place of a district, and guarded by five hundred republicans. Their mode of fighting was this: Favoured by the hedges and the inequalities of the ground, they surrounded the enemy's battalion, and began to fire upon it under cover, and taking steady aim. Having daunted the republicans by this terrible fire, they took advantage of the first moment of hesitation that appeared, to rush upon them with loud shouts, broke their ranks, disarmed them, and despatched them with their cudgels. Such was afterwards their whole system of military tactics; nature taught it them, and it was that best adapted to their country. The troops whom they attacked, drawn up in line and uncovered, received a fire which it was impossible for them to return, because they could neither make use of their artillery, nor charge scattered enemies with the bayonet. In this situation, if they were not inured to war, they could not fail to be soon staggered by a fire so incessant, so true, that no regular fire of troops of the line could ever equal it. When, in particular, they saw these furious assailants rushing upon them, setting up loud shouts, they could scarcely help being intimidated, and suffering their ranks to be broken. It was then all over with them; for flight, so easy to the country people, was impossible for troops of the line. It would, therefore, have required the most intrepid soldiers to surmount so many disadvantages, and those who, in the first danger, were opposed to the rebels, were national guards of the first levy taken from the villages, almost all stanch republicans, and whose zeal carried them for the first time to the fight.

The victorious band of Cathelineau entered Chollet, seized all the arms that it could find, and make cartridges out of the charges of the cannon. It was always in this manner that the Vendeans procured ammunition. By none of their defeats was their enemy a gainer, because they had nothing but a musket or a bludgeon, which they carried with them across the country; and each of their victories was sure to give them a considerable *matériel* of war. The insurgents, when victorious, celebrated their success with the money which they found, and then burned all the papers of the administrations, which they regarded as an instrument of tyranny. They then returned to their villages and their farms, which they would not leave again for a considerable time.

Another much more general revolt had broken out in the Marais and the department of La Vendée. At Machecoul and Challans, the recruiting was the occasion of a universal insurrection. A hairdresser named Gaston killed an officer, took his uniform, put himself at the head of the troop, took Challans, and then Machecoul, where his men burned all the papers of the administrations and committed murders of which the Bocage had furnished no example. Three hundred republicans were shot by parties of twenty or thirty. The insurgents first made them confess, and then took them to the edge of a ditch, beside which they shot them, to spare themselves the trouble of burying the bodies. Nantes instantly sent several hundred men to St. Philibert, but, learning that there was a disturbance at Savenay, it recalled those troops, and the insurgents of Machecoul remained masters of the conquered country.

In the department of La Vendée, that is, to the south of the theatre of this war, the insurrection assumed still more consistence.

The national guards of Fontenay, having set out on their march for Chantonnay, were repulsed and beaten. Chantonnay was plundered. General Verteuil, who commanded the eleventh military division, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, despatched General Marcé with twelve hundred men, partly troops of the line and

* "Stofflet was at the head of the parishes on the side of Maulevrier. He was from Alsace, and had served in a Swiss regiment. He was a large and muscular man, forty years of age. The soldiers did not like him, as he was harsh and absolutely brutal; but they obeyed him better than any other officer, which rendered him extremely useful. He was active, intelligent, and brave, and the generals had great confidence in him."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

partly national guards. The rebels who were met at St. Vincent, were repulsed. General Marcé had time to add twelve hundred more men and nine pieces of cannon to his little army. In marching upon St. Fulgent, he again fell in with the Vendeans in a valley and stopped to restore a bridge which they had destroyed. About four in the afternoon of the 18th of March, the Vendeans, taking the initiative, advanced and attacked him. Availing themselves as usual of the advantages of the ground, they began to fire with their wonted superiority, by degrees surrounded the republican army, astonished at this so destructive fire, and utterly unable to reach an enemy concealed and dispersed in all the hollows of the ground. At length they rushed on to the assault, threw their adversaries into disorder, and made themselves masters of the artillery, the ammunition, and the arms, which the soldiers threw away that they might be the lighter in their flight.

These more important successes in the department of La Vendée properly so called, procured for the insurgents the name of Vendeans, which they afterwards retained, though the war was far more active out of La Vendée. The pillage committed by them in the Marais caused them to be called *brigands*, though the greater number did not deserve that appellation. The insurrection extended into the Marais from the environs of Nantes to Les Sables, and into Anjou and Poitou, as far as the environs of Vihiers and Parthenay. The cause of the success of the Vendeans was in the country, in its configuration, in their skill and courage to profit by it, and finally in the inexperience and imprudent ardour of the republican troops, which, levied in haste, were in too great a hurry to attack them, and thus gave them victories and all their results, military stores, confidence, and courage.

Easter recalled all the insurgents to their homes, from which they never would stay away long. To them war was a sort of sporting excursion of several days: they carried with them a sufficient quantity of bread for the time and then returned to inflame their neighbours by the accounts which they gave. Places of meeting were appointed for the month of April. The insurrection was then general and extended over the whole surface of the country. It might be comprised in a line which, commencing at Nantes, would pass through Pornic, the Isle of Noirmoutiers, Les Sables, Luçon, Fontenay, Niort, and Parthenay, and return by Airvault, Thouar, Doué, and St. Florent, to the Loire. The insurrection, begun by men who were not superior to the peasants whom they commanded, excepting by their natural qualities, was soon continued by men of a higher rank. The peasants went to the mansions and forced the nobles to put themselves at their head. The whole Marais insisted on being commanded by Charette. He belonged to a family of ship-owners at Nantes; he had served in the navy, in which he had become lieutenant, and at the peace had retired to a mansion belonging to his uncle, where he spent his time in field-sports. Of a weak and delicate constitution, he seemed to be unfit for the fatigues of war; but living in the woods, where he passed whole months, sleeping on the ground with the huntsmen, he had hardened, and made himself perfectly acquainted with the country, and was known to all the peasantry for his address and courage. He hesitated at first to accept the command, representing to the insurgents the dangers of the undertaking. He nevertheless complied with their earnest desire, and by allowing them to commit all sorts of excesses, he compromised them and bound them irrevocably to his service. Skilful, crafty, of a harsh disposition, and unconquerably obstinate, he became the most formidable of the Vendean chieftains.* All the Marais obeyed him, and with

* "Charette, who was of a noble and ancient Breton family, and in his thirtieth year, was living upon his estates when the insurgents called on him to take the command. He refused at first, and pointed out to them the perilous consequences of so rash a measure; a second time they came, and were a second time dismissed with the same prudential advice. But a week after Cathelineau had raised the standard in Anjou, the insurgents again appeared and declared they would put him to death unless he consented to be their leader. 'Well,' said he, "you force me to it; I will lead you on; but remember that you obey me, or I will punish you severely.' An oath of obedience was voluntarily taken; and the chief and people swore to combat and die for the re-establishment of their religion and the monarchy. Turreau calls Charette the most ferocious of all the rebel chiefs." —*Quarterly Review.* E.

"Charette was a sensualist. He loved women very much for his own sake—very little for theirs;

fifteen and sometimes twenty thousand men, he threatened Les Sables and Nantes. No sooner were all his men collected than he took possession of the Isle of Noirmoutiers, an important island, which he could convert into his fortress, and his point of communication with the English.

In the Bocage, the peasants applied to Messrs. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée,* and de Laroche-Jacquelein, and forced them from their mansions to place them at their head. M. de Bonchamp had formerly served under M. de Suffren, had become an excellent officer, and combined great intrepidity with a noble and elevated character. He commanded all the insurgents of Anjou and the banks of the Loire. M. d'Elbée had also been in the service, and united to excessive devotion a persevering disposition and great skill in that sort of warfare. He was at the moment the most popular chief in that part of the Bocage. He commanded the parishes around Chollet and Bois-Préau. Cathelineau and Stofflet retained their commands, earned by the confidence which they inspired, and joined Messrs. de Bonchamps and d'Elbée, for the purpose of marching upon Bressuire, where General Quetineau then was. That officer had caused the Lescure family to be carried off from the *château* of Clisson where he suspected it to be conspiring, and confined it at Bressuire. Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein, a young gentleman formerly belonging to the King's guard, and now living in retirement in the Bocage, happened to be at Clisson, with his cousin de Lescure.† He escaped, and raised the Aubiers, where he was born, and all the parishes around Chatillon. He afterwards joined the other chiefs, and with them forced General Quetineau to retreat from Bressuire. M. de Lescure was then set at liberty with his family. He was a young man, of about the age of Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein.‡ He was calm, prudent, possessing a cool intrepidity, that nothing could shake, and to these qualities he added a rare spirit of justice. Henri, his cousin, had heroic and fre-

always won by them, but never subjected, he gave himself up to the impulse of passion, without bending his soul to the insinuating and sometimes perfidious blandishments of a mistress."—*Le Bouvier-Desmortiers.* E.

* "M. de Bonchamp, chief of the army of Anjou, was thirty-two years old, and had served with distinction in India. His valour and talents were unquestioned. He was considered as one of the ablest of the chiefs, and his troops as the best disciplined. He had no ambition, no pretensions, was gentle, of an easy temper, much loved by the army, and possessing its confidence.—In the grand army, the principal chief at one time was M. de'Elbée, who commanded particularly the people round Chollet and Beaupreau. He had been a sub-lieutenant, and retired for some years; he was forty, of a small stature, extremely devout, enthusiastic, and possessed an extraordinary and calm courage. His vanity, however, was easily wounded, which made him irritable, although ceremoniously polite. He had some ambition, but his views were narrow. His tactics consisted in rushing on with these words: 'My friends, Providence will give us the victory.' His piety was very sincere, but, as he found it was a means of animating the peasants, he carried it to a degree of affectation often ridiculous. He carried about his person images of saints, and talked so much of Providence, that the peasants, much as they loved him, used to call him, without meaning a joke, 'General Providence.' But, in spite of these foibles, M. d'Elbée inspired every one with respect and attachment."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

† "The Marquis of Lescure was born in 1766. Among the young people of his own age none was better informed, more virtuous in every respect; he was at the same time so modest, that he seemed ashamed of his own merit, and his endeavour was to conceal it. He was timid and awkward, and, although of a good height and figure, his manners and unfashionable dress, might not be prepossessing at first. He was born with strong passions, yet he conducted himself with the most perfect correctness. He took the sacrament every fortnight, and his constant habit of resisting all external seductions had rendered him rather unsocial and reserved. His temper was always equal, his calmness unalterable, and he passed his time in study and meditation."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

‡ "Henri de Larochejaquelein was twenty years old at the breaking out of the war in La Vendée. He had lived little in the world; and his manners and laconic expressions had something in them remarkably simple and original. There was much sweetness as well as elevation, in his countenance. Although bashful, his eyes were quick and animated. He was tall and elegant, had fair hair, an oval face, and the contour rather English than French. He excelled in all exercises, particularly in horsemanship. When he first put himself at the head of the insurrection, he said to his soldiers, 'My friends, I am but a boy, but by my courage I shall show myself worthy of commanding you. Follow me, if I go forward—kill me, if I fly—avenge me, if I fall.'"—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

quently too impetuous bravery; he was fiery and generous. M. de Lescure now put himself at the head of his peasantry, who collected around him, and all the chiefs joined at Bressuire, with the intention of marching upon Thouars. Their ladies distributed cockades and colours; the people heightened their enthusiasm by songs, and marched as to a crusade. The army was not encumbered with baggage; the peasants who would never stay long away, carried with them the bread requisite for each expedition, and in extraordinary cases, the parishes on being apprized, prepared provisions for those who ran short of them. The army was composed of about thirty thousand men, and was called the royal and catholic grand army. It faced Angers, Saumur, Doué, Thouars, and Parthenay. Between this army and that of the Marais, commanded by Charette, were several intermediate assemblages, the principal of which, under M. de Royrand, might amount to ten or twelve thousand men.

The main army, commanded by Messrs. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée, de Lescure, de Laroche-Jacquelein, Cathelineau, and Stofflet, arrived before Thouars on the 3d of May, and prepared to attack it on the morning of the 4th. It was necessary to cross the Thoué, which almost completely surrounds the town of Thouars. General Quetineau ordered the passages to be defended. The Vendeans kept up a cannonade for some time with artillery, taken from the republicans, and a fire of musketry from the bank, with their usual success. M. de Lescure then resolved to attempt the passage, and advanced amidst the balls by which his clothes were perforated, but could induce only a single peasant to follow him. Laroche-Jacquelein hastened up, followed by his people. They crossed the bridge, and the republicans were driven back into the town. It was necessary to make a breach, but this they had not the means of effecting. Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein, hoisted up on the shoulders of his men, had nearly reached the ramparts. M. d'Elbée made a vigorous attack on his side, and Quetineau, unable to resist, consented to surrender in order to prevent mischief to the town. The Vendeans, owing to their chiefs, behaved with moderation; no outrages were committed upon the inhabitants, and the conquerors contented themselves with burning the tree of liberty and the papers of the administrations. General Lescure repaid Quetineau the attentions which he had received from him during his detention at Bressuire; and strove to persuade him to stay with the Vendean army, in order to escape the severity of the government, which, regardless of the impossibility of resistance would perhaps punish him for having surrendered. Quetineau generously refused, and determined to return to the republicans and demanded a trial.*

These tidings from La Vendée, concurring with those from the North, where Dampierre was receiving checks from the Austrians, with those from the Pyrenees, where the Spaniards assumed a threatening position, with the accounts from several provinces, where most unfavourable dispositions were manifested—these tidings excited the strongest ferment. Several departments contiguous to La Vendée, on learning the success of the insurgents, conceived themselves authorized to send troops to oppose them. The department of L'Herault raised six millions in money and six thousand men, and sent an address to the people of Paris, exhorting them to do the same. The Convention, encouraging this enthusiasm, approved the con-

* "All the chiefs lodged in the same house with General Quetineau. Lescure who had known him a grenadier, and looked on him as a man of honour, took him to his own apartment, and said, 'you have your liberty, sir, and may leave us when you please, but I would advise you to remain with us. We differ in opinion, therefore we shall not expect you to fight for us, but you will be a prisoner on parole, and you shall be well treated. If you return to the republicans, they will never pardon you your capitulation, which was however unavoidable. It is an asylum I offer you from their vengeance.' Quetineau replied, 'I shall be thought a traitor if I go with you; there will then be no doubt that I betrayed the town, although I only advised a capitulation at the moment it was taken by assault. It is in my power to prove that I did my duty: but I should be dishonoured if they could suppose me in intelligence with the enemy.' This brave man continued inflexible in his resolution, although others renewed, but in vain, the proposals M. de Lescure had made him. This sincerity and devotion to his principles acquired him the esteem of all our chiefs. He never lowered himself to any supplication, and always preserved a firm and dignified tone."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

duct of the department of L'Herault, and thereby authorized all the communes of France to perform acts of sovereignty, by raising men and money.

The commune of Paris did not remain behindhand. It declared that it was for the people of Paris to save France, and it hastened to prove its zeal and to exercise its authority by raising an army. It immediately resolved that, agreeably to the *solemn approbation bestowed by the Convention on the conduct of the department of L'Herault*, an army of twelve thousand men should be raised in the city of Paris to be sent against La Vendée. After the example of the Convention, the general council of the commune appointed commissioners to accompany this army. These twelve thousand men were to be taken from the companies of the armed sections, and each company of one hundred and twenty-six was to furnish fourteen. According to the revolutionary practice, a kind of dictatorial power was left to the revolutionary committee of each section, to point out those whose departure would be attended with the least inconvenience. The resolution of the commune was, consequently, thus formed: All the unmarried clerks in all the public offices in Paris, excepting the *chefs* and *sous-chefs*, the clerks of notaries and solicitors, the clerks of bankers and merchants, shopmen, attendants on the offices, &c. . . . shall be required in the undermentioned proportions: out of two one shall go; out of three, two; out of four, two; out of five, three; out of six, three; out of seven, four; out of eight, four; and so on. Such clerks of public offices as go shall retain their places and one-third of their salary. None shall be at liberty to refuse to go. The citizens required shall inform the committee of their section what they need for their equipment, and it shall be supplied forthwith. They shall meet immediately afterwards to appoint their officers, and thenceforth obey their orders.

But it was not enough to raise an army and to form it in such a violent manner; it was necessary also to provide for the expenses of its maintenance, and to this end it was agreed to apply to the rich. The rich, it was said, would not do anything for the defence of the country and of the Revolution; they lived in happy idleness, and left the people to spill their blood for the country; it was right to make them contribute by means of their wealth to the general welfare. To this end it was proposed to raise a forced loan, to be furnished by the citizens of Paris, according to the amount of their incomes. From an income of one thousand francs to fifty thousand, they were to furnish a proportionate sum, amounting from thirty francs to twenty thousand. All those who had above fifty thousand francs were to reserve thirty thousand for themselves, and to give up all the rest. The property, moveable and immoveable, of those who should not have paid this patriotic contribution, was to be seized and sold at the requisition of the revolutionary committees, and their persons were to be considered as suspicious.

Such measures, which would reach all classes, either by laying hold of persons to oblige them to take arms, or of fortunes to make them contribute, could not fail to produce a violent resistance in the sections. We have already seen that there were dissensions among them, and that they were more or less agitated, according to the proportion of the low people that happened to be among them. In some, and especially in the Quinze-Vingts, the Gravilliers, and the Halle-au-Blé, the new recruits declared that they would not march while any federalists and paid troops which served, it was said, as *body-guards* for the Convention, should remain in Paris. These resisted from a spirit of Jacobinism, but many others resisted from a contrary cause. The population of clerks and shopmen reappeared in the sections, and manifested a strong opposition to the two resolutions of the commune. They were joined by the old servants of the fugitive aristocracy, who contributed greatly to agitate Paris; crowds assembled in the streets and in the public places, shouting *Down with the Jacobins! Down with the Mountain!* and the same obstacles which the revolutionary system had to encounter in the provinces, it encountered on this occasion in Paris.

There was then one general outcry against the aristocracy of the sections. Marat said that Messieurs the shopkeepers, the solicitors, the clerks, were conspiring with Messieurs of the right side and Messieurs the rich, to oppose the Revolution; that they ought to be all apprehended as suspicious persons, and reduced to the

class of *sans-culottes, by not leaving them wherewith to cover their loins* (*en ne pas leur laissant de quoi se couvrir le derrière*).

Chaumette, *procureur* of the commune, made a long speech, in which he deplored the wretched state of the country, arising, he said, from the perfidy of the governors, the selfishness of the opulent, the ignorance of the people, the weariness and disgust of many of the citizens for the public cause. He proposed, therefore, and caused a resolution to be passed, that application should be made to the Convention for the means of public instruction, the means of overcoming the selfishness of the rich, and relieving the poor; that there should be formed an assembly composed of the presidents of the revolutionary committees of the sections, and of deputies from all the administrative bodies; that this assembly should meet on Sundays and Thursdays at the commune, to consider of the dangers of the public welfare; that, lastly, all good citizens should be invited to attend the sectional assemblies, in order to give patriotism the predominance there.

Danton, ever prompt at finding resources in moments of difficulty, proposed to form two armies of *sans-culottes*. One was to march to La Vendée, the other to remain in Paris, to curb the aristocracy; to pay both at the expense of the rich; and lastly, in order to secure a majority in the sections, to pay the citizens who should lose their time in attending their meetings. Robespierre, borrowing Danton's ideas, developed them at the Jacobins, and further proposed to form new classes of suspicious persons, not to confine them as before to the *ci-devant* nobles, priests, or financiers, but to include all the citizens who should in any way have exhibited proof of disaffection to the public welfare; to confine them till the peace; to accelerate the action of the revolutionary tribunal; and to counteract the effect of the bad newspapers by new means of communication. With all these resources, he said, they might be able, without any illegal means, without any violation of the laws, to withstand the other party and its machinations.

All these ideas were directed, then, towards one end—to arm the populace, to keep one part of it at home, and to send another away; to arm it at the expense of the rich, and to make it even attend all the deliberative assemblies at their expense; to confine all the enemies of the Revolution under the denomination of suspicious persons, much more largely defined than it had ever yet been; to establish a medium of correspondence between the commune and the sections, and for this purpose to create a new revolutionary assembly, which should resort to new means, that is to say, insurrection. The assembly of the Evêché, previously dissolved, but now revived, on the proposal of Chaumette, and with a much more imposing character, was evidently destined to this end.

From the 8th to the 10th of May, one alarming piece of intelligence succeeded another. In the army of the North, Dampierre had been killed. In the interior, the provinces continued to revolt. All Normandy seemed ready to join Bretagne. The insurgents of La Vendée had advanced from Thouars to Loudun and Montreuil, taken those two towns, and thus almost reached the banks of the Loire. The English, landing on the coasts of Bretagne, were come, it was said, to join them and to attack the very heart of the republic. The citizens of Bordeaux, indignant at the treatment experienced by their deputies, had assumed the most threatening attitude, and disarmed a section to which the Jacobins had retired. At Marseilles, the sections were in full insurrection. Disgusted by the outrages committed upon the pretext of disarming suspected persons, they had met, turned out the commune, transferred its powers to a committee, called the central committee of the sections, and instituted a popular tribunal to prosecute the authors of the murders and pillages. After taking these measures in their own city, they had sent deputies to the sections of the city of Aix, and were striving to propagate their example throughout the whole department. Not sparing even the commissioners of the Convention, they had seized their papers, and insisted on their retiring. At Lyons, too, there were serious disturbances. The administrative bodies united with the Jacobins, having ordered, in imitation of Paris, a levy of six millions in money and six thousand men, having moreover attempted to carry into effect the disarming of suspected persons, and to institute a revolutionary tribunal, the sections had revolted, and were on the point

of coming to blows with the commune. Thus, while the enemy was advancing on the north, insurrection, setting out from Bretagne and La Vendée, and supported by the English, was likely to make the tour of France by Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Marseilles, and Lyons.* These tidings, arriving one after another, in the space of two or three days, between the 12th and 15th of May, excited the most gloomy forebodings in the minds of the Mountaineers and the Jacobins. The measures already proposed were again urged with still greater vehemence: they insisted that all the waiters at taverns and coffee-houses, and all domestic servants, should set off immediately; that the popular societies should march in a body; that commissioners of the Assembly should repair forthwith to the sections to compel them to furnish their contingents; that thirty thousand men should be sent off by post in carriages kept for luxury; that the rich should contribute without delay and give a tenth of their fortune; that suspicious persons should be imprisoned and kept as hostages; that the conduct of the ministers should be investigated; that the committee of public welfare should be directed to draw up an address to the citizens whose opinion had been led astray; that all civil business should be laid aside; that the activity of the civil tribunals should be suspended; that the theatres should be closed; that the tocsin should be sounded and the alarm-gun fired.

In order to infuse some assurance amidst this general consternation, Danton made two remarks: the first was, that the fear of stripping Paris of the good citizens who were necessary for its safety ought not to prevent the recruiting, since there would still be left in Paris one hundred and fifty thousand men, ready to rise and to exterminate the aristocrats who should dare to show themselves; the second was, that the agitation of civil war, instead of being a subject of hope, must on the contrary be a subject of terror to the foreign enemy. "Montesquieu," said he, "has already remarked, with reference to the Romans, that a people all whose hands are armed and exercised, all whose souls are inured to war, all whose minds are excited, all whose passions are changed into a mania for fighting—such a people has nothing to fear from the cold and mercenary courage of foreign soldiers. The weaker of the two parties arrayed against each other by civil war, would always be strong enough to destroy the puppets in whom discipline cannot supply the place of life and fire."

It was immediately ordered that ninety-six commissioners should repair to the sections, in order to obtain their contingents, and that the committee of public welfare should continue its functions for another month. Custine was appointed general of the army of the North, and Houchard† of the army of the Rhine. The distribution of the armies around the frontiers was fixed. Cambon presented a plan for a forced loan of one thousand millions, which should be furnished by the rich, and for which the property of the emigrants should be pledged. "It is one way," said he, "of obliging the rich to take part in the Revolution, by forcing them to purchase a portion of the national domains, if they wish to pay themselves for their credit upon the pledge itself."

The commune, on its part, resolved that a second army of *sans-culottes* should be raised in Paris, to awe the aristocracy, while the first should march against the rebels; that a general imprisonment of all suspected persons should take place; and that the central assembly of the sections, composed of the administrative

* "Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, had declared themselves against the Jacobin supremacy. Rich from commerce and their maritime situation, and, in the case of Lyons, from their command of internal navigation, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of those cities foresaw the total insecurity of property, and, in consequence, their own ruin, in the system of arbitrary spoliation and murder upon which the government of the Jacobins was founded."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "J. N. Houchard was born at Forbach. He entered service very young, was at first a common soldier, obtained rapid promotion during the Revolution, and in 1792 was made colonel of a regiment of calvary hussars. In 1793 he obtained the chief command of the army of the Rhine in the place of Custines, and in the same year passed to that of the North. Without possessing great military talents, Houchard was bold and active, and defeated the allies in several battles. Under pretence that he had neglected his duty, the Jacobins brought Houchard before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to the scaffold in 1793."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

authorities, of the presidents of the sections, of the members of the revolutionary committees, should meet as soon as possible, to make the assessment of the forced loan, and draw up the lists of the suspected persons.

Discord was now at its height. On the one hand, it was alleged that the aristocrats abroad and those at home were leagued together; that the conspirators at Marseilles, La Vendée, and Normandy, acted in concert; that the members of the right side directed that vast conspiracy; and that the tumult of the sections was but the result of their intrigues in Paris: on the other, all the excesses committed in all parts were attributed to the Mountain, to which was imputed a design to convulse France, and to murder the twenty-two deputies. On both sides, people asked how they were to extricate themselves from this peril, and what was to be done to save the republic. The members of the right side mustered their courage, and advised some act of extraordinary energy. Certain sections, such as those of the Mail and the Buttes-des-Moulins, and several others, strongly supported them, and refused to send commissioners to the central assembly formed at the *mairie*. They refused to subscribe to the forced loan, saying that they would provide for the maintenance of their own volunteers, and opposed the new lists of suspected persons, alleging that their own revolutionary committee was adequate to the superintendence of the police within its own jurisdiction. The Mountaineers, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the members of the commune, on the contrary, cried treason; and everywhere repeated that things must be brought to a point, and that it behoved them to unite, and to take measures for saving the republic from the conspiracy of the twenty-two. At the Cordeliers, it was said openly that they ought to be seized, and put to death. In an assembly composed of furious women, it was proposed to take occasion of the first tumult in the Convention, and to despatch them. These furies carried daggers, made a great noise every day in the tribunes, and declared that they would themselves save the republic. The number of these daggers was everywhere talked of; a single cutler in the fauxbourg St. Antoine had made several hundred. People belonging to both parties went armed, and carried about them all the means of attack and defence. There was as yet no decided plot, but the passions were in that state of excitement, at which the slightest occurrence is sufficient to produce an explosion. At the Jacobins, measures of all sorts were proposed. It was alleged that the acts of accusation directed by the commune against the twenty-two did not prevent them from retaining their seats, and that consequently an act of popular energy was required; that the citizens destined for La Vendée ought not to depart before they had saved the country; that the people had the power to save it, but that it was necessary to point out to them the means, and that to this end a committee of five members ought to be appointed, and allowed by the society to have secrets of its own. Others replied, that there was no occasion for reserve in the society, that it was useless to pretend to conceal anything, and that it was high time to act openly. Robespierre, who deemed these declarations imprudent, opposed illegal means, and asked if they had exhausted all the useful and safer means which he had proposed. "Have you organized your revolutionary army?" said he. "Have you done what is needful for paying the *sans-culottes* called to arms or sitting in the sections? Have you secured the suspected? Have you covered your public places with forges and workshops? You have then employed none of the judicious and natural measures which would not compromise the patriots, and you suffer men who know nothing about the public welfare to propose measures which are the cause of all the calumnies poured forth against you! It is not till you have tried all the legal means that you ought to recur to violent means; and even then it is not right to propose them in a society which ought to be discreet and politic. I am aware," added Robespierre, "that I shall be accused of *moderation;* but I am too well known to be afraid of such imputations."

In this instance, as before the 10th of August, people felt the necessity of adopting a course; they roved from scheme to scheme; they called for a meeting wherein they might come to an understanding with one another. The assembly of the *mairie* had been formed, but the department was not present at it; only one of its members, the Jacobin Dufourny, had attended; several sections kept away;

the mayor had not yet appeared, and it had adjourned the consideration of the object of the meeting to Sunday, the 19th of May. Though this object, as fixed by the resolution of the commune, was apparently very limited, yet the same language had been held in that assembly as in everywhere else, and it admitted there, as in all other places, that a new 10th of August was wanted. Nothing more had been ventured upon, however, than foul language and club exaggerations: women had attended along with the men, and this tumultuous assemblage displayed only the same licentiousness of spirit and language as all the other public meetings exhibited.

The 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, passed in agitation, and everything was made an occasion of quarrel and uproar in the Assembly. The people of Bordeaux sent an address, in which they announced their intention of rising to support their deputies. They declared that one portion of them would march to La Vendée to fight the rebels, while the other would march to Paris, to exterminate the anarchists who should dare to offer violence to the national representation. A letter from Marseilles intimated that the sections of that city persisted in their opposition. A petition from Lyons claimed relief for fifteen hundred prisoners, confined as suspected persons, and threatened with the revolutionary tribunal by Chalier and the Jacobins. These petitions excited a tremendous tumult. In the Assembly, as in the tribunes, the parties seemed on the point of coming to blows. Meanwhile the right side, roused by the danger, communicated its courage to the Plain, and a great majority decreed that the petition of the Bordelais was a model of patriotism, annulled every revolutionary tribunal erected by the local authorities, and authorized the citizens, whom any attempt should be made to bring before it, to repel force by force. These decisions kindled at once the indignation of the Mountain and the courage of the right side. On the 18th the irritation had attained the highest pitch. The Mountain, deprived of a great number of its members, sent as commissioners into the departments and to the armies, cried out against oppression. Guadet immediately solicited permission to speak, for the purpose of making an historical application to present circumstances, and he seemed to foretell, in a fearful manner, the destiny of the parties. "In England," said he, "when a generous majority endeavored to oppose the fury of a factious minority, that minority cried out against oppression, and succeeded by means of that cry in oppressing the majority itself. It called around it the patriots *par excellence*. Such was the appellation assumed by a misled multitude, to which it promised pillage and a division of lands. This continued appeal to the patriots *par excellence* against the oppression of the majority, led to the proceeding known by the name of the *purgation of the parliament*—a proceeding in which Pride, who from a butcher had become a colonel, was the chief actor. One hundred and fifty members were expelled from the parliament-house, and the minority consisting of fifty or sixty members were left masters of the state. "What was the result? These patriots *par excellence*, tools of Cromwell, and whom he led to the commission of folly after folly, were expelled in their turn. Their own crimes served as a pretext to the usurper."

Here Guadet, pointing to Legendre, the butcher, Danton, Lacroix, and all the other deputies, accused of dissolute manners and peculations, thus proceeded: "Cromwell went one day to the parliament-house, and, addressing these same members, who alone, according to their own assertions, were capable of saving the country, he bade them begone, saying to one, Thou art a robber; to another, Thou art a drunkard; to this, Thou hast fattened upon the public money; to that, Thou art a whoremaster and frequentest places of bad repute. Begone then, all of you, and give place to godly men. They did give place, and Cromwell took it."

This striking and terrible allusion made a profound impression upon the Assembly, which remained silent. Guadet proceeded, and, in order to prevent such a purgation, proposed various measures of police, which the Assembly adopted amidst murmurs. But, while he was returning to his seat, a scandalous scene took place in the tribunes. A woman had laid hold of a man for the purpose of turning him out of the hall: she was seconded on all sides, and the poor fellow, who struggled hard, was on the point of being attacked by the whole population of the tribunes.

The guard strove in vain to restore tranquillity. Marat exclaimed that this man whom they wanted to turn out was an aristocrat. The Assembly was indignant against Marat, because he increased the unfortunate man's danger, and exposed him to the risk of assassination. He replied that he should not be easy till they were delivered from aristocrats, accomplices of Dumouriez, *statesmen* . . . . so he called the members of the right side on account of their reputation for abilities.

Isnard, the president, took off his hat, and said that he had an important communication to make. The Assembly listened in profound silence. In a tone of the deepest grief, he said, "A plan devised in England, with which it is my duty to acquaint you, has been revealed to me. It is the object of Pitt to arm one point of the people against the other, by urging it to insurrection. This insurrection is to be commenced by women; they will attack several deputies, murder them, dissolve the National Convention, and this moment will be chosen to effect a landing upon our coasts. Such," concluded Isnard, "is the declaration which I owe to my country."

The majority applauded Isnard. His communication was ordered to be printed; it was again decreed that the deputies should not separate, and that they should share all dangers in common. Some explanation was then given respecting the disturbances in the tribunes. It was said that the women who made them belonged to a society called *The Fraternity*, that they came for the purpose of occupying the hall, excluding strangers and the federalists of the departments from it, and interrupting the deliberations by their hootings. Marat, who had kept pacing the corridors, passing from one bench in the hall to another, and talking of *statesmen*, pointed to one of the members of the right side, saying, "Thou art one of them; yes, thou: but the people will do justice on thee and the rest." Guadet then rushed to the tribune, to provoke amidst this danger a courageous determination. He dwelt on all the commotions of which Paris was the theatre, the expressions used in the popular assemblies, the horrid language held at the Jacobins, the plans brought forward in the Assembly which met at the *mairie:* he declared that the tumults which they witnessed had no other design than to bring about a scene of confusion, amidst which the meditated murders were to be executed. Interrupted every moment, he nevertheless contrived to make himself heard till he had finished, and proposed two measures of heroic but impracticable energy.

"The evil lies," said he, "in the anarchical authorities of Paris; I propose to you then, to cashier them, and to replace them by all the presidents of sections.

"The Convention being no longer free, it is requisite that another assembly be convoked in some other place, and that a decree be passed directing all the new deputies to meet at Bourges, and to be ready to constitute themselves there in convention, at the first signal that you shall give them, or on the first intimation they shall receive of the dissolution of the Convention.

At this twofold proposition, a tremendous uproar ensued in the Assembly. All the members of the right side rose, crying out that this was the only medium of safety and seemingly grateful to the bold genius of Guadet which had devised it. The left side also rose, threatened its adversaries, cried out, in its turn, that the conspiracy was at length discovered, that the conspirators were unmasked, and that their designs against the unity of the republic were avowed. Danton would have ascended the tribune, but he was stopped, and Barrère was permitted to occupy it in the name of the committee of public welfare.

Barrère with his insinuating address, and his conciliatory tone, said that if he had been allowed to speak, he could several days before have revealed many facts respecting the state of France. He then stated that a plan for dissolving the Convention was everywhere talked of; that the president of the section had heard Chaumette, the *procureur*, use language which seemed to indicate that intention; that at the Evêché, and at another assembly held at the *mairie*, the same question had been brought forward: that, in order to effect this object, the scheme was to excite a tumult, to employ women to raise it, and to take the lives of thirty-two deputies under favour of the disturbance. Barrère added that the minister for foreign affairs and the minister of the interior must be in possession of information on the subject, and

that it would be right to hear what they had to say. Then, adverting to the proposed measures, he added that he was of the same opinion as Guadet respecting the authorities of Paris; he found a feeble department, sections acting as sovereigns, a commune instigated to all sorts of excesses by Chaumette, its *procureur*, formerly a monk, and a suspicious character, like all the *ci-devant* priests and nobles; but he thought that the cashiering of these authorities would produce an anarchical uproar. As for the assemblage of new representatives at Bourges, that could not save the Convention or furnish a substitute for it. There was, he conceived, a way to ward off the real dangers which surrounded them without plunging into too great inconveniences; this was to appoint a commission of twelve members, empowered to verify the acts of the commune during the last month, to investigate the plots hatched within the republic, and the designs formed against the national representation; to collect from all the committees, from all the ministers, from all the authorities, such information as it should need; and lastly, be authorized to dispose of all the means requisite for securing the persons of conspirators.

The first ebullition of enthusiasm and courage over, the majority eagerly adopted this conciliatory scheme of Barrère. Nothing was more common than to appoint commissions: on every occurrence, on every danger, for every want, a committee was appointed to attend to it; and the moment the individuals were nominated to carry anything into execution, the Assembly seemed to take it for granted that the thing was executed, and that, for its sake, committees would have courage, or intelligence, or energy. This last was not likely to be deficient in energy, and it was composed of deputies almost all belonging to the right side. It included among others, Boyer-Fonfrède, Rabaut St. Etienne, Kervelegan, Henri Larivière,* all members of La Gironde. But the very energy of this committee was fated to prove baneful to it. Instituted for the purpose of screening the Convention from the movements of the Jacobins, it served only to excite them still more, and to increase the danger which it was designed to dispel. The Jacobins had threatened the Girondins by their daily cries; the Girondins replied to the threat by instituting a commission, and this menance the Jacobins finally answered by a fatal stroke, that of the 31st of May and the 2d of June.

No sooner was this commission appointed, than the popular societies raised an outcry, as usual, against the inquisition and martial law. The assembly at the *mairie*, adjourned to Sunday, the 19th, accordingly met, and was more numerous than in the preceding sittings. The mayor, however, was not there, and an administrator of police presided. Some sections did not attend, and there were not more than thirty-five which had sent their representatives. The Assembly called itself the *Central Revolutionary Committee.* It was agreed at the outset to commit nothing to writing, to keep no minutes, and to prevent every one who wished to retire from departing before the sitting was over. The next point was to fix upon the subjects of their future deliberations. Their real and avowed object was the loan and the list of suspected persons; nevertheless, the very first words began with stating that the patriots of the Convention had not the power to save the commonwealth; that it was necessary to make amends for their impotence, and for this purpose to search after suspected persons, whether in the administrations, in the sections, or in the Convention itself, and to secure them for the purpose of putting it out of their power to do further mischief. A member, speaking coldly and slowly, said that he knew of no suspected persons but in the Convention, and it was there that the blow ought to be struck. He therefore proposed a very simple

* "P. F. J. Henri Larivière, a lawyer at Falaise, was, in 1791, deputed from Calvados to the Legislative Assembly. Being re-elected to the Convention, he proposed the exile of Louis till there should be a peace. Shortly afterwards when the struggle arose between the Mountain and the Gironde, he took a decided part in favour of the latter. He was one of the twelve commissioners appointed to put an end to the conspiracies of the municipality of Paris, but gave up the cause, by resigning in the midst of the denunciations directed against it. Having contrived to remain concealed during the Reign of Terror, Larivière joined the council of Five Hundred, and inveighed strongly against the Jacobins. Some time afterwards he went to England, and joined the partisans of the Bourbons."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

method, namely, to seize the twenty-two deputies, to convey them to a house in the fauxbourgs, to put them to death, and to forge letters to induce a belief that they had emigrated. "We will not do this ourselves," added this man; "but with money it will be easy for us to find executioners." Another member immediately replied that this measure was impracticable, and that it would be right to wait till Marat and Robespierre had proposed at the Jacobins their means of insurrection, which would, no doubt, be preferable." "Silence!" cried several voices, "no names must be mentioned." A third member, a deputy of the section in 1792, represented that it was wrong to commit murder, and that there were tribunals for trying the enemies of the Revolution. On this observation, a great tumult arose. The doctrine of the person who had just spoken was condemned; it was said that such men only as could raise themselves to a level with circumstances ought to be tolerated, and that it was the duty of every one to denounce his neighbour if he suspected his energy. The person who had presumed to talk of laws and tribunals was forthwith expelled from the Assembly. It was perceived, at the same time, that a member of the section of La Fraternité, a section very unfavourably disposed towards the Jacobins, was taking notes, and he was turned out like the other. The Assembly continued to deliberate in the same tone on the proscription of the deputies, on the place to be selected for this *Septembrisation*, and for the imprisonment of the other suspected persons, whether of the commune or of the sections. A member proposed that the execution should take place that very night. He was told that it was not possible, on which he replied that there were men in readiness, adding that Coligny was at court at twelve o'clock at night, and dead at one.

Meanwhile, time passed away, and the consideration of these various subjects was deferred till the following day. It was agreed that they should confine themselves to three points: 1, the seizure of the deputies; 2, the list of suspected persons; 3, the purification of the public offices and committees. The meeting adjourned till six in the evening of the next day.

Accordingly, on Monday the 20th, the Assembly again met. This time Pache was present. Several lists, containing names of all sorts, were handed to him. He observed that it was wrong to give them any other designation than lists of suspected persons, which was legal, since those lists had been ordered. Some members observed that they ought to take care, lest the handwriting of any member should be known, and that it would be well to have fresh copies made of the lists. Others said that republicans ought not to be afraid of anything. Pache added that he cared not who knew that he was furnished with these lists, for they concerned the police of Paris, which was under his superintendence. The subtle and reserved character of Pache was duly sustained; and he was desirous of bringing all that was required of him within the limits of the law and of his functions.

A member, noticing these precautions, then said that he was no doubt unacquainted with what had passed in the sitting of the preceding day, and with the order of the questions which it was right to apprize him of; and that the first related to the seizure of twenty-two deputies. Pache observed that the persons of the deputies were under the safeguard of the city of Paris; that any attempt upon their lives would compromise the capital with the departments, and provoke a civil war. He was then asked how it happened that he had signed the petition presented on the 15th of April in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris against the twenty-two. Pache replied that he then did his duty in signing a petition which he had been instructed to present; but that the question now proposed was not comprehended in the powers of the Assembly there met to consider of the loan and of suspected persons, and that he should be obliged to put an end to the sitting if such discussions were persisted in. On these observations, a great uproar ensued; and, as nothing could be done in the presence of Pache, and the Assembly did not choose to confine its attention to the mere lists of suspected persons, it adjourned *sine die*.

On Tuesday the 21st, there were only about a dozen members present. Some would no longer attend the meetings of so tumultuous and so violent an

assembly; others thought that it was not possible to deliberate there with sufficient energy.

It was at the Cordeliers that all the fury of the conspirators vented itself on the following day. Women as well as men uttered horrible threats. It was a prompt insurrection that they required, and, not content with a sacrifice of twenty-two deputies, they insisted on that of three hundred. A woman, speaking with all the vehemence of her sex, proposed to assemble all the citizens in the Place de la Réunion, to go in a body to present a petition to the Convention, and not to stir till they had wrung from it the decrees indispensable for the public welfare. Young Varlet, who had long been conspicuous in all the commotions, presented in a few articles a plan of insurrection. He proposed to repair to the Convention, carrying the rights of man covered with crape, to seize all the deputies who had belonged to the Legislative and the Constituent Assemblies, to cashier all the ministers, to destroy all that were left of the family of the Bourbons, &c. After him Legendre pressed forward to the tribune, for the purpose of opposing these suggestions. The utmost efforts of his voice could scarcely overcome the cries and yells raised against him, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in stating his objections to the inflammatory motions of young Varlet. It was nevertheless insisted that a time should be fixed for the insurrection; it was also proposed that a day should be appointed to go and demand what was required of the Convention; but, the night being now advanced, the meeting broke up without coming to any decision.

All Paris was already informed of what had been said, as well at the two meetings held at the *mairie* on the 19th and 20th, as at the sitting of the Cordeliers on the 22d. Many of the members of the Central Revolutionary Committee had themselves denounced the language used and the motions made there; and the rumour of a plot against a great number of citizens and deputies was universally circulated. The commission of twelve was apprized of what had passed, even to the minutest circumstances, and prepared to act against the designated authors of the most violent propositions.

The section of La Fraternité formally denounced them on the 24th in an address to the Convention; it stated all that had been said and done at the meeting held at the *mairie* and loudly condemned the mayor for having attended it. The right side covered this courageous denunciation with applause, and moved that Pache should be summoned to the bar. Marat replied that the conspirators were the very members themselves of the right side; that Valazé, at whose house they met every day, had advised them to arm themselves; and that they had carried pistols with them to the Convention—"Yes," replied Valazé, "I did give that advice, because it became necessary for us to defend our lives, and most assuredly we should have defended them."—"That we should!" emphatically exclaimed all the members of the right side. Lasource added a very important fact, that the conspirators, apparently conceiving that the execution was fixed for the preceding night, had come to his house to carry him off.

At this moment, intelligence was received that the commission of twelve was in possession of all the information necessary for discovering the plot and prosecuting its orders, and that a report from it might be expected on the following day. The Convention meanwhile declared that the section of La Fraternité had deserved well of the country.

The same evening there was a great uproar at the municipality against the section of La Fraternité, which, it was alleged, had calumniated the mayor and the patriots, in supposing that they had a design to murder the national representatives. Since this project had been only a proposition, opposed besides by the mayor, Chaumette and the commune inferred that it was a calumny to suppose the existence of any real conspiracy. Most certainly it was not a conspiracy, in the true signification of the word. It was not one of those deeply and secretly planned conspiracies which are framed in palaces; but it was one of those conspiracies which the rabble of a great city are capable of forming; it was the commencement of those popular projects, tumultuously proposed and executed by a misled mob,

as on the 14th of July and the 10th of August. In this sense, it was a real conspiracy. But such as these it is useless to attempt to stop, for they do not take ignorant and slumbering authority by surprise, but overpower openly and in the face of day authority forewarned and wide awake.

Next day, two other sections, those of the Tuileries and the Butte-des-Moulins, joined that of La Fraternité in denouncing the same proceedings. "If reason cannot gain the ascendency," said the Butte-des-Moulins, "make an appeal to the good citizens of Paris, and we can assure you beforehand that our section will contribute not a little to make those disguised royalists who insolently assume the name of *sans-culottes*, shrink back again into the dust." The same day, the mayor wrote to the Assembly, to explain what had passed at the *mairie*. "It was not a plot," said he, "it was a mere deliberation on the composition of the list of suspected persons. Some mischievous persons had certainly interrupted the deliberation by certain unreasonable suggestions, but he [Pacha] had recalled to order those who were straying from it, and those movements of excited minds had no result."

Little account was taken of Pache's letter, and the Assembly listened to the commission of twelve, who came to propose a decree of general safety. This decree placed the national representation, and the buildings containing the public treasure, under the safeguard of the good citizens. At the sound of the drums, all were to repair to the rendezvous of the company of the quarter, and to march at the first signal that should be given them. None was to absent himself from the rendezvous; and, till the appointment of a commandant-general, to succeed Santerre, who was gone to La Vendée, the oldest chief of the legions was to have the chief command. The meetings of sections were to break up by ten o'clock, and the presidents were rendered responsible for the execution of this article. The proposed decree was adopted entire, notwithstanding some discussion, and in spite of Danton, who said that, in thus placing the Assembly and the public establishments under the safeguard of the citizens of Paris, they *decreed fear*.

Immediately after proposing this decree, the commission of twelve gave orders at once for the apprehension of two persons named Manino and Michel, administrators of police, who were accused of having brought forward in the meeting at the *mairie* the propositions which caused such a sensation. It also caused Hebert, the deputy of the *procureur* of the commune to be apprehended. This man wrote, under the name of *Père Duchêne*, a paper still more loathsome than that of Marat, and adapted by its hideous and disgusting language to the comprehension of the lowest of the rabble. In this paper, Hebert circulated openly all that Marino and Michel were accused of having proposed verbally at the *mairie*. The commission therefore deemed it right to prosecute both those who preached and those intended to execute a new insurrection. No sooner was the order issued for Hebert's apprehension, than he posted off at full speed to the commune to state what had happened, and to show the general council the order of his arrest. He was torn, he said, from his functions, but he should obey. At the same time the commune ought not to forget the oath it had taken, to consider itself as struck when a blow was given to one of its members. It was not for his own sake that he appealed to this oath, for he was ready to lay down his head on the scaffold, but for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who were threatened with a new slavery. Hebert was greeted with vehement applause. Chaumette, the chief *procureur*, embraced him; and the president kissed him in behalf of the whole council. The sittings was declared permanent till they should have received tidings of Hebert. The members of the council were requested to convey consolation and relief to the wives and families of all those who were or should be imprisoned.

The sitting was permanent, and from hour to hour they sent to the commission of twelve to obtain tidings of the magistrate, torn away, as they said, from his functions. At half-past two in the morning, they learned that he was under examination, and that Varlet had also been apprehended. At four, it was stated that Hebert had been sent to the Abbaye. At five, Chaumette went to the prison to see him, but could not obtain admittance. In the morning, the general council resolved upon

a petition to the Convention, and sent it round by horsemen to the sections, in order to obtain their adhesion. Nearly all the sections were at variance among themselves; they were for changing every moment the bureau and the presidents, for preventing or effecting arrests, for adhering to or opposing the system of the commune, for signing or rejecting the petition which it proposed. At length, this petition, approved by a great number of sections, was presented on the 28th to the Convention. The deputation of the commune complained of the calumnies circulated against the magistrates of the people; it desired that the petition of the section of La Fraternité should be transmitted to the public accuser, that the guilty, if there were any, or the calumniators, might be punished. Lastly, it demanded justice against the commission of twelve, which had committed an attack on the person of a magistrate of the people, by causing him to be withdrawn from his functions, and confining him in the Abbaye. Isnard presided at this moment, and it was his duty to answer the deputation. "Magistrates of the people," said he, in a grave and severe tone, "there is an urgent necessity for you to listen to important truths. France has committed her representatives to the care of the city of Paris. She wishes them to be in safety there. If the national representation were to be violated by one of those conspiracies by which we have been surrounded ever since the 10th of March, and of which the magistrates have been the last to apprize us, I declare, in the name of the republic, that Paris would feel the vengeance of France, and be erased from the list of cities."* This solemn and dignified answer produced a deep impression upon the Assembly. A great number of voices desired that it should be printed. Danton maintained that it was likely to widen the breach which already began to separate Paris and the departments, and that they ought to avoid doing anything that tended to increase the mischief. The Convention, deeming the energy of the reply and the energy of the commission of twelve sufficient for the occasion, passed to the order of the day, without directing the president's answer to be printed.

The deputies of the commune were, therefore, dismissed without obtaining anything. All the rest of the 25th, and the whole of the 26th, were passed in tumultuous scenes in the sections. They were everywhere at variance; and the two opinions had by turns the upper hand, according to the hour of the day and the more or less numerous attendance of the members of each party. The commune continued to send deputies to inquire concerning Hebert. Once he had been found lying down; at another time he had begged the commune to make itself easy on his account. They complained that he had but a wretched pallet to sleep on. Some sections took him under their protection; others prepared to demand anew his release, and with more energy than the municipality had done. Lastly, women, running about the streets with a flag, endeavoured to persuade the people to go to the Abbaye and deliver their beloved magistrate.

On the 27th the tumult had reached the highest pitch. People went from one section to another, to decide the advantage there by knocking each other down with chairs. At length, towards evening, about twenty-eight sections had concurred in expressing a wish for the release of Hebert, and in drawing up an imperative petition to the Convention. The commission of twelve, foreseeing the tumult that was preparing, had desired the commandant on duty to require the armed force of three sections, and had taken care to specify the sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, Lepelletier, and Mail, the most strongly attached to the right side, and ready even to fight for it. These three sections had cheerfully come forward, and, about six in

* "'Listen,' said Isnard, 'to my words. If ever the Convention is exposed to danger; if another of these insurrections breaks out; and we are outraged by an armed faction, France will rise, as one man, to avenge our cause; Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will be compelled to inquire on which bank of the Seine the city stood!' This indignant reply produced at the moment a great impression; and upon the continued refusal of Isnard to liberate Hebert, crowds from the benches of the Mountain rose to drag him from his seat. The Girondins assembled to defend him. In the midst of the tumult, Danton, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed, 'So much impudence is beyond belief! We will resist you. Let there be no longer any truce between the Mountain and the base men who wished to save the tyrant.'"—*Mignet.* E.

the evening of the 27th of May, they were placed in the courts of the National Palace, on the side next to the Carrousel, with their arms, and cannon with lighted matches. They thus composed a respectable force, and one capable of protecting the national representation. But the crowd which thronged about their ranks, and about the different doors of the palace, the tumult which prevailed, and the difficulty there was in getting into the hall, gave to this scene the appearance of a siege. Some deputies had had great trouble to enter; they had even experienced some insults from the populace, and they excited some uneasiness in the Assembly by saying that it was besieged. This, however, was not the case, and, if the doors were obstructed, ingress and egress were not denied. Appearances, however, were sufficient for irritated imaginations, and tumult prevailed in the Assembly. Isnard presided. The section of the Cité arrived, and demanded the liberty of its president, named Dobsen, apprehended by order of the commission of twelve, for having refused to communicate the registers of his section. It demanded also the liberation of the other prisoners, the suppression of the commission of twelve, and insisted that the members composing it should be put under accusation. "The Convention," replied Isnard, "forgives your youth. It will never suffer itself to be influenced by any portion of the people." The Convention approved the reply. Robespierre, on the contrary, was for passing a censure on it. The right side opposed this; a most violent contest ensued, and the noise within, and that without, contributed to produce a most frightful uproar. At this moment, the mayor and the minister of the interior appeared at the bar, believing, as it was the talk in Paris, that the Convention was besieged. At the sight of the minister of the interior, a general cry arose on all sides to call him to account for the state of Paris and the environs of the hall. Garat's situation was embarrassing; for it required him to pronounce between the two parties, which the mildness of his character and his political scepticism alike forbade him to do. Still, as this scepticism proceeded from a real impartiality of mind, he would have felt happy if the Assembly could at that moment listen to and understand him. He addressed it, and went back to the cause of the disturbances. The first cause, in his opinion, was the rumour which was circulated of a secret meeting formed at the *mairie*, for the purpose of plotting against the national representation. Garat then repeated what Pache had stated, that this meeting was not an assemblage of conspirators, but a legal meeting, having a known object; that if, in the absence of the mayor, some overheated minds had made guilty propositions, these propositions, repelled with indignation when the mayor was present, had had no result, and that it was impossible to regard this as a real plot; that the institution of the commission of twelve to investigate this alleged plot, and the apprehensions which had taken place by its order, had become the cause of the commotion which they then witnessed; that he was not acquainted with Hebert, and had received no accounts of him that were unfavourable; that he merely knew that Hebert was the author of a kind of paper, despicable undoubtedly, but which it was wrong to consider as dangerous; that the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies had disdained to notice all the disgusting publications circulated against them, and that the severity exercised against Hebert could not fail to appear new, and perhaps unseasonable; that the commission of twelve, composed of worthy men and excellent patriots, was under the influence of singular prepossessions, and that it appeared to be too much actuated by the desire of displaying great energy. These words were loudly applauded by the left side and by the Mountain. Garat, then adverting to the present situation, declared that the Convention was not in danger, and that the citizens by whom it was surrounded were full of respect for it. At these words, he was interrupted by a deputy, who said that he had been insulted. "Granted," replied Garat, "I cannot answer for what may happen to an individual amidst a crowd composed of persons of all sorts; but let the whole Convention in a body appear at the door, and I answer for it that the people will respectfully fall back before it, that they will hail its presence, and obey its injunctions."

Garat concluded by presenting some conciliatory views, and by intimating, with the greatest possible delicacy, that those who were for repressing the violence of

the Jacobins only ran the risk of exciting it still more. Assuredly Garat was right; by placing yourself upon the defensive against a party, you only irritate it the more and hasten the catastrophe; but, when the conflict is inevitable, ought we to succumb without resistance? Such was the situation of the Girondins; their institution of the commission of twelve was an imprudence, but an inevitable and generous imprudence.

Garat, when he had finished, nobly seated himself on the right side, which was reputed to be in danger, and the Convention voted that his report should be printed and distributed. Pache spoke after Garat. He exhibited things nearly in the same light. He stated that the Assembly was guarded by three sections, which were attached to it and which had been called out by the commission of twelve; he showed that in this the commission of twelve had transgressed its powers, for it had not a right to require the armed force. He added that a strong detachment had secured the prisons of the Abbaye against any infraction of the laws, that all danger was dispelled, and that the Assembly might consider itself in perfect safety. He then begged that the Convention would be pleased to hear the citizens who came to solicit the release of the prisoners.

At these words, loud murmurs arose in the Assembly. "It is ten o'clock," cried a member of the right side; "president, put an end to the sitting."—"No, no," replied voices on the left, "hear the petitioners." Henri Larivière insisted on occupying the tribune. "If you desire to hear any one," said he, "you ought to hear your commission of twelve, which you accuse of tyranny, and which must make you acquainted with its acts, in order to enable you to appreciate them." His voice was drowned by loud murmurs. Isnard, finding it impossible to repress this disorder, left the arm-chair, which was taken by Hérault-Séchelles,* who was greeted by the applause of the tribunes. He consulted the Assembly, which, amidst threats, uproar, and confusion, voted that the sitting should be continued.

The speakers were conducted to the bar, followed by a host of petitioners. They insolently demanded the suppression of an odious and tyrannical commission, the release of the persons in confinement, and the *triumph of virtue*. "Citizens," replied Hérault-Séchelles, "*the force of reason and the force of the people are one and the same thing*."† This dogmatic absurdity was received with thunders of applause. "You demand justice," added he, "justice is our first duty; you shall have it."

Other petitioners succeeded the former. Various speakers were then heard and a *projet* of decree was drawn up by which the citizens imprisoned by the commission of twelve were released, the commission of twelve was dissolved, and its conduct referred for investigation to the committee of general welfare. The night was

* "M. J. Hérault de Séchelles, born at Paris in 1760, began his career at the bar by holding the office of King's advocate at the Châtelet. In the house of Madame de Polignac, where he visited, he met the Queen, who, delighted with his conversation, promised to befriend him. Having eagerly embraced revolutionary notions, he was appointed commissioner of government to the tribunal of cassation, and was afterwards deputed to the original legislature, as also to the Convention, on becoming a member of which, he joined the revolutionary part of that body with uncommon ardour. Hérault was absent from Paris during the King's trial, but wrote a letter to the Convention declaring that he deserved death. In the contest that afterwards took place between the Mountain and the Gironde, Hérault figured in the Convention among the most conspicuous and zealous supporters of the former faction. Having made himself obnoxious to Robespierre, he was sentenced to death in 1794. He then gave himself up for a time to gloomy reflections, walked for above two hours with the other captives in the prison, while waiting the moment of execution, and took leave of them with great tranquillity. Hérault enjoyed a very considerable fortune; his figure was elegant, his countenance pleasing, and his dress studied, which, during the reign of *sans-culottism*, drew on him many sarcasms from his colleagues. In the midst of the blood and tears which drenched France in 1793, he still found leisure for gallantry and poetry, which made no slight impression on the young and beautiful wife of Camille-Desmoulins."—*Biographie Moderne.*

"Hérault de Séchelles was the author of that ridiculous code of anarchy, the constitution of 1793."—*Mercier.* E.

† "It well became Hérault de Séchelles, during the struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, impudently to violate all law, who had previously violated all reason, by exclaiming that 'the powers of the people and of reason were the same!'"—*Prudhomme.* E.

far advanced; the petitioners were introduced in crowds and obstructed the hall. The darkness, the shouts, the tumult, the concourse, all contributed to increase the confusion. The decree was put to the vote, and passed without its being possible to tell whether it had been voted or not. Some said that the president had not been heard, others that there was not a sufficient number of votes, others again that the petitioners had taken the seats of the absent deputies, and that the decree was invalid. It was nevertheless proclaimed, and the tribunes and the petitioners hurried away to inform the commune, the sections, the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, that the prisoners were released and the commission dissolved.*

These tidings produced great popular rejoicing and a momentary tranquillity in Paris. The face of the mayor himself seemed to express sincere satisfaction at seeing the disturbances appeased. The Girondins, however, being determined to fight to the last extremity, and not to resign the victory to their adversaries, met the following day, burning with indignation. Lanjuinais, in particular, who had taken no part in the animosities resulting from personal pride which divided the two sides of the Convention, and who was pardoned for his obstinacy, because he seemed to be actuated by no personal resentment—Lanjuinais came full of ardour and resolution to make the Assembly ashamed of its weakness on the preceding night. No sooner had Osselin moved the reading of the decree and its definitive preparation, in order that the prisoners might be forthwith released, than Lanjuinais rushed to the tribune and desired to be heard, for the purpose of maintaining that the decree was invalid and had never been passed. He was interrupted by violent murmurs. "Grant me silence," said he to the left, "for I am determined to remain here till you have heard me." It was insisted that Lanjuinais had no right to speak except with reference to the wording of the decree: yet, after doubtful trials, it was decided that Lanjuinais should have the benefit of the doubt and be heard. He then commenced his explanation, and asserted that the question before the Assembly was one of the greatest importance for the general safety. "More than fifty thousand citizens," said he, "have been imprisoned throughout all France by your commissioners; more arbitrary arrests have taken place in a month, than in a century under the old government; and yet you complain of the apprehension of two or three men, who are preaching up murder and anarchy in penny publications. Your commissioners are proconsuls who act far away out of your sight, and whom you suffer to act, and your commission, placed by your side, under your immediate superintendence, you distrust, you suppress! Last Sunday it was proposed in the *Jacobinière* to get up a massacre in Paris; the same deliberation is this evening resumed at the Evêché; proofs of this are furnished, are tendered to you, and you reject them! You protect the men of blood!" Murmurs arose at these words and drowned the voice of Lanjuinais. "We can deliberate no longer," exclaimed Chambon; "all that we can do is to retire to our departments." —"Your doors are beset," resumed Lanjuinais. "It is false," cried the left. "Yesterday," rejoined Lanjuinais, with all his might, "you were not free; you were controlled by the preachers of murder." Legendre, raising his voice from his seat said, "They want to make us waste the sitting; I declare that if Lanjuinais continues his lies, I will go and throw him out of the tribune." At this scandalous threat, the Assembly was indignant and the tribunes applauded. Guadet immediately moved that the words of Legendre should be inserted in the minutes (*Procés-verbal*) and published to all France, that it might know how its deputies were treated. Lanjuinais, in continuation, maintained that the decree of the preceding evening had not been passed, for the petitioners had voted with the deputies, or that, if it had been passed, it ought to be repealed because the Assembly was not free. "When you are free," added Lanjuinais, "you do not vote the impunity of crime." On the left, it was affirmed that Lanjuinais was misrepresenting facts, that the petitioners had not voted, but had withdrawn to the passages. The con-

* "The motion was put, that the commission of twelve should be abolished, and Hebert set at liberty; it was carried at midnight amid shouts of triumph from the mob, who constituted the majority, by climbing over the rails, and voting on the benches of the Mountain with the Jacobins." —*Lacretelle.* E.

trary was asserted on the right, and, without settling this point, the Assembly proceeded to vote upon the repeal of the decree. By a majority of fifty-one votes the decree was repealed. "You have performed," said Danton, "a striking act of justice, and I hope that it will be brought forward again before the end of the sitting; but, if the commission which you have just reinstated retains its tyrannical powers, if the magistrates of the people are not restored to liberty and to their functions, I declare to you that, after proving that we surpass our enemies in prudence and discretion, *we will prove that we surpass them in daring and in revolutionary energy.*"* The provisional release of the prisoners was then put to the vote and pronounced unanimously. Rabaut St. Etienne desired permission to speak in the name of the commission of twelve; he claimed attention in the name of the public welfare, but could not obtain a hearing; at length he signified his resignation.

The decree was thus repealed, and the majority, reverting to the right side, seemed to prove that it was only in moments of weakness that decrees could be carried by the left. Though the magistrates whose release had been demanded were set at liberty, though Hebert had been restored to the commune, where he was presented with crowns, still the repeal of the decree had rekindled all the passions, and the storm which seemed to be dispelled for a moment, threatened to burst with aggravated fury.

On the same day, the assembly which had been held at the *mairie*, but ceased to meet there after the mayor put a stop to the propositions of *public safety*, as they were called, was renewed at the Evêché, in the electoral club, to which a few electors occasionally resorted. It was composed of commissioners of sections, chosen from among the committees of *surveillance*, commissioners of the commune, of the department, and of various clubs. The very women had representatives there, and among five hundred persons there were a hundred women, at the head of whom was one notorious for her fanatic extravagances and her popular eloquence.† On the first day, this meeting was attended by the envoys of thirty-six sections only; there were twelve which had not sent commissioners, and a new convocation was addressed to them. The Assembly then proceeded to the appointment of a committee of six members, for the purpose of devising and reporting the next day the means of public welfare. After this preliminary measure, the meeting broke up and adjourned to the following day, the 29th.

The same evening great tumult prevailed in the sections. Notwithstanding the decree of the Convention, which required them to close at ten o'clock, they continued to sit much later, constituting themselves at that hour *patriotic societies*, and by this new title prolonged their meeting till the night was considerably advanced. In some they prepared fresh addresses against the commission of twelve: in others, they drew up petitions to the Assembly, demanding an explanation of those words of Isnard: *Paris will be erased from the list of cities.*

At the commune, Chaumette made a long speech on the evident conspiracy that was hatching against liberty, on the ministers, on the right side, &c. Hebert

* "Danton was afraid to resume the combat, for he dreaded the triumph of the Mountaineers as much as that of the Girondins; accordingly, he wished by turns to prevent the 31st of May, and to moderate its results; but he found himself reduced to join his own party during the combat, and to be silent after the victory."—*Mignet.* E.

† "Theroigne de Mericourt, a celebrated courtezan, born in Luxemburg, acted a distinguished part during the first years of the French Revolution. She was connected with various chiefs of the popular party, and served them usefully in most of the insurrections. Above all, in 1789, at Versailles, she assisted in corrupting the regiment of Flanders, by taking into the ranks other girls of whom she had the direction, and distributing money to the soldiers. In 1790 she was sent to Liege to assist the people to rise there: but the Austrians arrested her in 1791 and took her to Vienna. Here the Emperor Leopold had an exciting interview with her, and set her at liberty in the course of a short time. In 1792 she returned to Paris, and showed herself again on the theatre of the Revolution. She appeared with a pike in her hand at the head of an army of women, frequently harangued the clubs, and particularly signalized herself on the 10th of August. During the Reign of Terror, she was placed in a mad-house; and among the papers of St. Just was found a letter from her, dated 1794, in which is seen the wandering of a disordered imagination."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

arrived, gave an account of his detention, received a crown, which he placed upon the bust of J. J. Rousseau, and then returned to the section, accompanied by the commissioners of the commune, who brought back in triumph the magistrate released from confinement.

Next day, the 29th, the Convention was afflicted by disastrous intelligence from the two most important military points, the North and La Vendée. The army of the North had been repulsed between Bouchain and Cambrai; all communication between Valenciennes and Cambrai was cut off. At Fontenay, the republican troops had been completely defeated by M. de Lescure, who had taken Fontenay itself.* These tidings produced general consternation, and rendered the situation of the moderate party still more dangerous. The sections came in succession with banners, inscribed with the words, *Resistance to Oppression.* Some demanded, as they had announced on the preceding evening, an explanation of the expression used by Isnard; some declared that there was no other inviolability than that of the people; that, consequently, the deputies who had sought to arm the departments against Paris ought to be placed under accusation, that the commission of twelve ought to be suppressed; that a revolutionary army ought to be organized, &c.

At the Jacobins, the sitting was not less significant. On all sides it was said that the moment had arrived, that it was high time to save the people; and whenever a member came forward to detail the means to be employed, he was referred to the commission of six, appointed at the central club. "That commission," he was told, is directed to provide for everything, and to devise the means of public welfare. Legendre, who would have expatiated on the dangers of the moment, and the necessity of trying all legal means before recourse was had to violent measures, was called a sleepy fellow. Robespierre, without speaking out, said that the commune ought to *unite heartily with the people;* that for his part he was incapable of prescribing the means of welfare; that this was given only to a single individual, but it was not given to him, exhausted, by four years of revolution, and consumed by a slow and deadly fever.†

* "On the 24th of May, towards midday, the Vendeans approached Fontenay, and found ten thousand republicans, with a powerful train of artillery, waiting for them. Before the attack, the soldiers received absolution. Their generals then said to them, 'Now, friends, we have no powder; we must take these cannon with clubs.' The soldiers of M. de Lescure, who commanded the left wing, hesitated to follow him. He therefore advanced alone, thirty paces before them. A battery of six pieces fired upon him with case-shot. His clothes were pierced—his left spur carried away—his right boot torn—but he himself was not wounded. The peasants took courage, and rushed on. At that moment, perceiving a large crucifix, they threw themselves on their knees before it. They soon rose, and again rushed on. Meantime, Larochejaquelein, at the head of the cavalry, charged successfully. The republican horse fled; but, instead of pursuing them, they turned on the flank of the left wing, and broke through it. This decided the victory. Lescure was the first to reach the gate of the town with his left wing, and entered it; but his peasants had not courage to follow him. M. de Bonchamp and M. de Foret perceived his danger, and darted forward to his assistance. These three had the temerity to penetrate alone into the streets, but were soon followed by their soldiers. The battle of Fontenay, the most brilliant the Vendeans had yet fought, procured them forty pieces of cannon, many muskets, a great quantity of powder, and ammunition of all kinds. They took also two boxes, one of which contained nearly 900,000 francs, and was kept for the use of their army. There was considerable embarrassment respecting the republican prisoners, whose numbers amounted to three or four thousand. My father proposed to cut off their hair, which would secure their being known again, and punished, if taken a second time; the measure was adopted, and occasioned much mirth among our people."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

† The real sentiments of Robespierre relative to the 31st of May are manifest from the speeches which he made at the Jacobins, where men spoke out much more freely than in the Assembly, and where they conspired openly. Extracts from his speeches at various important periods will show the train of his ideas in regard to the great catastrophe of the days between the 31st of May and the 2d of June. His first speech, delivered on occasion of the pillages in the month of February, affords a first indication.

Sitting of February 25, 1793.

"As I have always loved humanity and never sought to flatter any man, I will proclaim the truth. This is a plot hatched against the patriots themselves. It is intriguers who want to ruin

These words of the tribune produced a powerful effect and drew forth vehement applause. They clearly indicated that he was waiting, like everybody else, to see

the patriots; there is in the heart of the people a just feeling of indignation. I have maintained, amidst persecutions and unsupported, that the people are never wrong; I have dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not yet recognised; the course of the Revolution has developed it.

"The people have so often heard the law invoked by those who were desirous to bring them beneath their yoke, that they are distrustful of that language.

"The people are suffering; they have not yet reaped the fruit of their labours; they are yet persecuted by the rich, and the rich are still what they always were, that is hard-hearted and unfeeling. (*Applause.*) The people see the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see wealth accumulated in their hands, they feel their own poverty, they feel not the necessity of taking the means for attaining their aim; and when you talk the language of reason to them, they listen only to their indignation against the rich, and suffer themselves to be hurried into false measures by those who seize their confidence for the purpose of ruining them.

"There are two causes, the first a natural disposition in the people to relieve their wants, a disposition natural and legitimate in itself: the people believe that, in the absence of protecting laws, they have a right to provide themselves for their necessities.

"There is a second cause. That cause consists in the perfidious designs of the enemies of liberty, of the enemies of the people, who are well aware that the only means of delivering us up to the foreign powers is to alarm the people on account of their supply of provisions, and to render them the victims of the excesses thence resulting. I have myself been an eyewitness of the disturbances. Beside the honest citizens, we have seen foreigners and opulent men, dressed in the respectable garb of *sans-culottes*. We have heard them say, 'We were promised abundance after the death of the King, and now that there is no King we are more wretched than ever.' We have heard them declaim not against the intriguing and counter-revolutionary part of the Convention, which sits where sat the aristocrats of the Constituent Assembly, but against the Mountain, against the deputation of Paris, against the Jacobins, whom they represented as forestallers.

"I do not tell you that the people are culpable; I do not tell you that their riots are a crime; but when the people rise, ought they not to have an aim that is worthy of them? But ought paltry shop-goods to engage their attention? They derived no benefit from them, for the loaves of sugar were taken away by the valets of the aristocracy; and supposing that they had profited by them, what are the inconveniences that might thence result? Our adversaries wish to frighten all who possess any property; they wish to persuade men that our system of liberty and equality is subversive of all order, all security.

"The people ought to rise, not to carry off sugar, but to crush the brigands. (*Applause.*) Need I picture to you past dangers? You had nearly fallen a prey to the Prussians and Austrians; a negotiation was on foot, and those who then trafficked with your liberty are the same that have excited the present disturbances. I declare, in the face of the friends of liberty and equality, in the face of the nation, that in the month of September, after the affair of the 10th of August, it was decided in Paris that the Prussians should advance without obstacle to this capital."

Sitting of May 8, 1793.

"We have to wage an external and an internal war. The civil war is kept up by the enemies of the interior. The army of La Vendée, the army of Bretagne, and the army of Coblentz, are directed against Paris, that citadel of liberty. People of Paris! the tyrants are arming against you, because you are the most estimable portion of humanity; the great powers of Europe are rising against you: all the corrupt men in France are seconding their efforts.

"After you have formed a conception of this vast plan of your enemies, you ought easily to guess the means of defending yourselves. I do not tell you my secret, I have manifested it in the bosom of the Convention.

"I will reveal to you this secret, and were it possible that this duty of the representative of a free people could be deemed a crime, still I would confront all dangers to confound the tyrants and to save liberty.

"I said this morning in the Convention that the partisans of Paris should go forth to meet the villains of La Vendée, that they should take along with them by the way all their brethren of the departments, and exterminate all, yes, all the rebels at once.

"I said that all the patriots at home ought to rise, and take away the capacity for mischief both from the aristocrats of La Vendée, and the aristocrats disguised under the mask of patriotism.

"I said that the rebels of La Vendée had an army in Paris; I said that the generous and sublime people, who for five years have borne the weight of the Revolution, ought to take the necessary precautions that our wives and our children may not be delivered up to the counter-revolutionary knife of the enemies whom Paris contains in its bosom. None dared dispute this principle. These measures are of urgent, of imperative necessity. Patriots, fly to meet the banditti of La Vendée.

"They are formidable only because the precaution had been taken to disarm the people. Paris

what would be done by the municipal authorities at the Evêché. The assembly at the Evêché had met, and, as on the preceding night, it contained a considerable

must send forth republican legions; but, while we are making our domestic enemies tremble, it is not right that our wives and our children should be exposed to the fury of the aristocracy. I proposed two measures: the first that Paris should send two legions sufficient to exterminate all the wretches who have dared to raise the standard of rebellion. I demanded that all the aristocrats, all the Feuillans, all the moderates, should be expelled from the sections which they poisoned with their impure breath. I demanded that all suspected citizens should be put under arrest.

"I demanded that the quality of suspected citizens should not be determined by the quality of *ci-devant* nobles, *procureurs*, financiers, and tradesmen. I demanded that all citizens who have given proof of *incivism* may be imprisoned till the end of the war, and that we may have an imposing attitude before our enemies. I said that it was requisite to procure for the people the means of attending the sections without prejudice to its means of existence, and that, to this end, the Convention should decree that every artisan living by his labour should be paid for all the time that he might be obliged to keep himself under arms, for the preservation of the tranquillity in Paris. I demanded that the necessary millions should be appropriated to the manufacture of arms and pikes, for the purpose of arming all the *sans-culottes* of Paris.

"I demanded that forges and workshops should be erected in the public places, that all the citizens might be witnesses of the fidelity and activity of the operations. I demanded that all the public functionaries should be displaced by the people.

"I demanded that the municipality and the department of Paris, which possesses the confidence of the people should cease to be shackled.

"I demanded that the factious who are in the Convention should cease to calumniate the people of Paris, and that the journalists who pervert the public opinion should be reduced to silence. All these measures are necessary, and to sum up here is the acquittal of the debt which I have contracted towards the people.

"I demanded that the people should make an effort to exterminate the aristocrats who exist everywhere. (*Applause.*)

"I demanded that there should be in the bosom of Paris an army, not like that of Dumouriez, but a popular army, which should be continually under arms to overawe the Feuillans and the moderates; this army to be composed of paid *sans-culottes*. I demand that there be assigned to it sufficient funds for arming the artisans and all good patriots; I demand that they be at all the posts and that their imposing majesty make all the aristocrats turn pale.

"I demand that to-morrow forges be erected in all the public places, where fire-arms shall be manufactured for arming the people. I demand that the executive council be charged with the execution of these measures upon its responsibility. If there be any who resist, if there be any who favour the enemies of liberty, let them to-morrow be driven away.

"I demand that the constituted authorities be charged to superintend the execution of these measures, and that they bear in mind that they are the representatives of a city which is the bulwark of liberty, and whose existence renders counter-revolution impossible.

"In this critical moment duty commands all patriots to save the country by the most vigorous means; if you suffer the patriots to be slaughtered in detail, all that is most virtuous on earth will be annihilated; it is for you to see if you will save the human race."

(All the members rose by a simultaneous impulse, and waving their hats, cried, *Yes, yes, we will.*)

"It is because your glory, your happiness, are at stake, and it is from this motive alone, that I conjure you to watch over the welfare of the country. You conceive perhaps that you ought to revolt, that you ought to assume the air of insurrection: no such thing; it is law in hand that we must exterminate all our enemies.

"It is with consummate impudence that the unfaithful representatives have attempted to separate the people of Paris from the departments, that they have attempted to separate the people of the tribunes from the people of Paris, as if it were a fault in us that we have made all possible sacrifices to enlarge our tribunes for the whole population of Paris. I say that I am speaking to the whole population of Paris, and, if it were assembled in this place, if it were to hear me plead its cause against Buzot and Barbaroux, it is not to be doubted that it would range itself on my side.

"Citizens, people magnify our dangers: they represent the foreign armies united with the rebels of the interior; but what can their efforts accomplish against millions of intrepid *sans-culottes?* And if you adopt this proposition that one freeman is worth a hundred slaves, you may easily calculate that your force surpasses that of all the powers put together.

"You have in the laws all that is requisite for exterminating our enemies legally. You have aristocrats in the sections; expel them. You have liberty to save; proclaim the rights of liberty, and exercise all your energy. You have an immense host of *sans-culottes*, very pure, very vigorous; they cannot leave their work; make the rich pay them. You have a National Convention; it is very possible that the members of that Convention are not all alike friends of liberty and equality; but the greater number are determined to support the rights of the people and to save the republic. The gangrened portion of the Convention will not prevent the people from fighting the aristocrats.

number of women. Its first business was to make proprietors easy by swearing to respect property. "Property," some one exclaimed, "was respected on the 10th

Do you then conceive that the Mountain of the Convention will not have sufficient strength to curb all the partisans of Dumouriez, of Orleans, and of Coburg? Indeed, you cannot think so.

"If liberty succumbs, it will be less the fault of the representatives than of the sovereign! People! forget not that your destiny is in your hands; it is your duty to save Paris and mankind; if you fail to do it, you are guilty.

"The Mountain needs the people; the people are supported by the Mountain. They strive to alarm you in every way; they want to make us believe that the departments are enemies to the Jacobins. I declare to you that Marseilles is the everlasting friend of the Mountain; that at Lyons the patriots have gained a complete victory.

"I sum up, and demand, 1st, that the sections raise an army sufficient to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army, that shall collect all the *sans-culottes* of the departments to exterminate the rebels; 2d, that an army of *sans-culottes* be raised in Paris to overawe the aristocracy; 3d, that dangerous intriguers, that all the aristocrats be put in a state of arrest; that the *sans-culottes* be paid at the expense of the public exchequer, which shall be supplied by the rich, and that this measure extend to the whole of the republic.

"I demand that forges be erected in all the public places.

"I demand that the commune of Paris keep up with all its power the revolutionary zeal of the people of Paris.

"I demand that the revolutionary tribunal make it a duty to punish those who lately have blasphemed the republic.

"I demand that this tribunal bring without delay to exemplary punishment certain generals, taken in the fact, and who ought already to be tried.

"I demand that the sections of Paris unite themselves with the commune of Paris, and that they counterbalance by their influence the perfidious writings of the journalists in the pay of foreign powers.

"By taking all these measures, without furnishing any pretext for saying that you have violated the laws, you will give an impulse to the departments, which will join you for the purpose of saving liberty."

Sitting of Sunday, May 12, 1793.

"I never could conceive how it was possible that in critical moments there should be so many men to make propositions which compromise the friends of liberty, while nobody supports those which tend to save the republic. Till it is proved to me that it is not necessary to arm the *sans-culottes*, that it is not right to pay them for mounting guard, and for assuring the tranquillity of Paris, till it is proved to me that it is not right to convert our public places into workshops for making arms, I shall believe and I shall say that those who, setting aside these measures, propose to you only partial measures, how violent soever they may be, I shall say that these men know nothing of the means of saving the country; for it is not till after we have tried all those measures which do not compromise society that we ought to have recourse to extreme measures; besides, these measures ought not to be proposed in the bosom of a society which should be wise and politic. It is not a moment of transient agitation that will save the country. We have for enemies the most artful and the most supple men, who have at their disposal all the treasures of the republic.

"The measures which have been proposed have not and cannot have any result; they have served only to feed calumny, they have served only to furnish the journalists with pretexts for representing us in the most hateful colours.

"When we neglect the first means that reason points out, and without which the public welfare cannot be brought about, it is evident that we are not in the right track. I shall say no more of that, but I declare that I protest against all those means which tend only to compromise the society without contributing to the public welfare. That is my confession of faith; the people will always be able to crush the aristocracy; let the society only beware of committing any gross blunder.

"When I see the pains that are taking to make the society enemies to no purpose, to encourage the villains who are striving to destroy it, I am tempted to believe that people are blind or evil-disposed.

"I propose to the society to resolve upon the measures which I have suggested, and I regard as extremely culpable those who do not cause them to be carried into execution. How can such measures be disapproved? How can any one help feeling their necessity, and, if feeling it, hesitate for a moment to support them and enforce their adoption? I shall propose to the society to listen to a discussion of the principles of the constitution that is preparing for France; for it must necessarily embrace all the plans of our enemies. If the society can demonstrate the Machiavelism of our enemies, it will not have wasted its time. I demand, therefore, that, setting aside unseasonable propositions, the society permit me to read to it my paper on the constitution."

Sitting of Sunday, May 26, 1793.

"I said to you that the people ought to repose upon their strength, but when the people are op-

of August and on the 14th of July," and an oath was immediately taken to respect it on the 31st of May, 1793. Dufourny, a member of the commission of six, then said that, without a commandant-general of the Parisian guard, it was impossible to answer for any result, and that the commune ought to be desired to appoint one immediately. A woman, the celebrated Lacombe, then spoke; she seconded Dufourny's proposition, and declared that, without prompt and vigorous measures, it would be impossible to save themselves. Commissioners were immediately despatched to the commune, which replied, in Pache's manner, that the mode for the appointment of a commandant-general was fixed by the decrees of the Convention, and that, as this mode forbade it to appoint that officer itself, all that it could do was to form wishes on the subject. This was in fact advising the club to class this measure among the extraordinary measures of public welfare, which it was to take upon itself. The assembly then deliberated upon inviting all the cantons of the department to join it, and sent deputies to Versailles. A blind confidence was demanded in the name of the six, and a promise was required to execute without examination whatever they should propose. Silence was enjoined on every point connected with the great question of *means;* and the meeting adjourned till nine the next morning, then to commence a permanent sitting, which was to be decisive.

The commission of twelve was apprized of everything on the very same evening, and so was the committee of public safety, and it learned moreover, from a placard printed during the day, that secret meetings were held at Charenton, and attended by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The committee of public welfare, taking advantage of a moment when Danton was absent from it, ordered the minister of the interior to cause the strictest search to be made for the purpose of discovering this clandestine meeting. Nothing was discovered, and there is every reason to believe that the rumour circulated concerning it was false. It appears to have been in the assembly of the commune that everything was done. Robespierre earnestly wished for a revolution that should be directed against his antagonists, the Girondins, but he had no need to compromise himself in order to produce it; all that he had to do was not to oppose it, as he had done several times during the month of May.

pressed, when they have nothing left but themselves, he would be a coward who would not bid them rise. It is when all the laws are violated, it is when despotism is at its height, it is when good faith and modesty are trampled under foot, that the people ought to rise. That moment is come: our enemies openly oppress the patriots; they want in the name of the law to plunge the people back into misery and slavery. Never will I be the friend of those corrupt men, what treasures soever they offer me. I would rather die with republicans than triumph with villains. (*Applause.*)

"I know but two modes of existing for a nation; either it governs itself, or it commits this task to representatives. We republican deputies desire to establish the government of the people by their representatives, with responsibility; it is by these principles that we square our opinions, but most frequently we cannot obtain a hearing. A rapid signal given by the president deprives us of the right of expressing our sentiments. I consider that the sovereignty of the people is violated when their representatives give to their creatures the places which belong to the people. On these principles, I am deeply grieved . . . ."

The speaker was here interrupted by the announcement of a deputation. (*Tumult.*)

"I shall continue to speak," resumed Robespierre, "not for those who interrupt one, but for the republicans. I expect every citizen to cherish the sentiment of his rights; I expect him to rely upon his strength and upon that of the whole nation; I exhort the people to put themselves in a state of insurrection in the National Convention against all the corrupt deputies. (*Applause.*) I declare that, having received from the people the right to defend their rights, I regard as my oppressor any one who interrupts me or prevents me from speaking, and I declare that I singly put myself in a state of insurrection against the president and against all the members who sit in the Convention. (*Applause.*) When a culpable contempt for the *sans-culottes* shall be affected, I declare that I will put myself in a state of insurrection against the corrupt deputies. I exhort all the Mountaineer deputies to rally and to fight the aristocracy, and I say that there is but one alternative for them; either to resist with all their might the efforts of intrigues, or to resign.

"It is requisite at the same time that the French people should know their rights; forthe faithful deputies can do nothing without liberty of speech.

"If treason calls the foreign enemy into the bosom of France, if, when our gunners hold in their hands the thunderbolts which are to exterminate the tyrants and their satellites, we see the enemy approach our walls, then I declare that I will myself punish the traitors, and I promise to consider every conspirator as my enemy and to treat him accordingly." (*Applause.*)

Accordingly, his speech delivered during the day at the Jacobins, in which he said that the commune ought to unite with the people and devise the means which it was not in his power to discover, was a real consent given to the insurrection. That was quite sufficient; and there was ardour enough in the central club to render his interference unnecessary. As for Marat, he assisted it by his paper and by the scenes got up by him every day in the Convention, but he was not a member of the commission of six, really and truly charged with the business of insurrection. The only man who can be considered as the secret author of that movement is Danton, but he had opposed it; he desired the suppression of the commission of twelve, but still he had no wish that the national representation should be yet meddled with. Meilhan, meeting him one day at the committee of public welfare, accosted and conversed amicably with him, remarked what a difference the Girondins made between him and Robespierre, and how highly they appreciated his great resources, adding that he might play a high part if he would employ his power in behalf of good, and for the support of honest men. Danton, touched by these words, abruptly raised his head, and said to Meilhan: "Your Girondins have no confidence in me." Meilhan would have proceeded in the same strain. "They have no confidence," repeated Danton, and retired without wishing to prolong the conversation.

These words delineate most correctly the disposition of the man. He despised the municipal populace, he had no liking either for Robespierre or for Marat, and he would much rather have put himself at the head of the Girondins, but they had no confidence in him. Different conduct and principles separated them entirely. Danton, moreover, found neither in their character, nor in their opinion, the energy requisite for saving the Revolution, the grand object which he cherished above all things. Danton, indifferent to persons, sought only to discover which of the two parties was likely to insure to the Revolution the most certain and the most rapid progress. Master of the Cordeliers and of the commission of six, it is to be presumed that he had a great hand in the movement which was preparing; and it appears that he meant first to overthrow the commission of twelve, and then to consider what was to be done in regard to the Girondins.

At length, the plan of insurrection was decided in the heads of the conspirators of the central revolutionary club. They meant not, according to their own expression, to excite a *physical* but only a *purely moral* insurrection, to respect persons and property, in short, to violate, so to speak, in the most orderly manner, the laws and the liberty of the Convention. Their intention was to declare the commune in a state of insurrection, to call out in its name all the armed force which it had a right to require, to surround the Convention with it, and to present to that assembly an address, which should be apparently only a petition, but really and truly an order. They meant, in short, to petition sword in hand.

Accordingly, on Thursday, the 30th, the commissioners of the sections met at the Evêché, and formed what they called the *republican union*. Invested with the full powers of all the sections, they declared themselves in insurrection to save the commonwealth, threatened by the aristocratic faction, the faction oppressive of liberty. The mayor, persisting in his usual circumspection, made some remonstrances on the nature of that measure, which he mildly opposed, and finished by obeying the insurgents, who ordered him to go to the commune and acquaint it with what they had just resolved upon. It was then determined that the forty-eight sections should be called together to give their votes that very day upon the insurrection, and that immediately afterwards the tocsin should be rung, the barriers closed, and the *générale* beaten in all the streets. The sections accordingly met, and the whole day was spent in tumultuously collecting the votes for insurrection. The committee of public welfare, and the commission of twelve, sent for the authorities to obtain information. The mayor, with at least apparent regret, communicated the plan resolved upon at the Evêché. L'Huillier, *procureur syndic* of the department, confessed openly, and with a calm assurance, the plan of a *purely moral* insurrection, and went back quietly to his colleagues.

Thus ended the day, and at nightfall the tocsin rang, the *générale* was beaten in

all the streets, the barriers were closed, and the astonished citizens asked one another if fresh massacres were about to drench the capital in blood. All the deputies of the Gironde and the threatened ministers passed the night out of their own homes.* Roland concealed himself at a friend's house; Buzot, Louvet, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, and Rabaut St. Etienne, intrenched themselves in a sequestered apartment, provided with good weapons, and ready, in case of attack, to defend themselves to the last drop of their blood. At five in the morning, they left their retreat and proceeded to the Convention, where, under favour of the returning daylight, a few members, summoned by the tocsin, had already assembled. Their arms, which were apparent, procured them an unmolested passage through several groups, and they reached the Convention, where there already some Mountaineers were met, and where Danton was conversing with Garat. "See," said Louvet to Guadet, "what a horrible hope beams from those faces!"—"Yes," replied Guadet, "it is to-day that Clodius banishes Cicero." Garat, on his part, surprised to see Danton so early at the Assembly, was attentively watching him. "What is the reason of all this noise, and what do they want?" said Garat. "It is nothing," coolly replied Danton. "They must be allowed to break in pieces a few presses, and be dismissed with that satisfaction." Twenty-eight deputies were present. Fermont took the arm-chair for the moment; Guadet courageously acted as secretary. The number of the deputies increased, and they awaited the moment for opening the sitting.

At this instant the insurrection was consummated at the commune. The envoys of the central revolutionary committee, with Dobsen, the president, at their head, repaired to the Hôtel-de-Ville, furnished with revolutionary full powers. Dobsen, addressing the general council, declared that the people of Paris, injured in their rights, had just annulled all the constituted authorities. The vice-president of the council begged to see the full powers of the committee. He examined them, and finding the wish of thirty-three sections of Paris expressed therein, he declared that the majority of the sections annulled the constituted authorities. In consequence, the general council of the bureau retired. Dobsen and the commissioners took possession of the vacant place, amidst shouts of *Vive la République!* He then consulted the new Assembly, and proposed to it to reinstate the municipality and the general council in their functions, since neither of them had ever failed in their duties to the people. Accordingly, the old municipality and the old general council were forthwith reinstated, amidst the most vehement applause. The object of these apparent formalities was only to renew the municipal powers, and to render them unlimited and adequate to the insurrection. Immediately afterwards, a new provisional commandant-general was appointed: this was one Henriot, a vulgar man, devoted to the commune, and commandant of the battalion of the sans-culottes. In order to insure the aid of the people, and to keep them under arms in these moments of agitation, it was next resolved that forty sous per day should be paid to all the citizens on duty who were in narrow circumstances, and that these forty sous should be taken from the produce of the forced loan extorted from the rich. This was a sure way of calling out to the aid of the commune, and against the *bourgeoisie* of the sections, all the working-people, who would rather earn forty sous by assisting in revolutionary movements than thirty by pursuing their usual occupations.

During these proceedings at the commune, the citizens of the capital assembled at the sound of the tocsin, and repaired in arms to the colours placed at the door of each captain of a section. A great number knew not what to think of these movements; many even asked why they were called out, being still ignorant of the measures taken overnight in the sections and at the commune. In this predicament they were incapable of acting and resisting what might be done contrary to their

* "The Girondins at this period felt without doubt, at the bottom of their hearts, a keen remorse, for the means which they had employed to overturn the throne; and when those very means were directed against themselves; when they recognised their own weapons in the wounds which they received, they must have reflected, without doubt, on that rapid justice of revolutions, which concentrates, in a few instants, the events of several ages."—*Madame de Staël.*

opinion, and they were obliged, even though disapproving of the insurrection, to second it with their presence. More than eighty thousand armed men were traversing Paris with the utmost tranquillity, and quietly allowing themselves to be led by the daring authority which had assumed the command. The sections of the Butte-des-Moulins, the Mail, and the Champs Elysées, which had long been decidedly hostile to the commune and the Mountain, were alone ready to resist, because the danger which they shared with the Girondins gave them rather more courage. They had met in arms, and awaited what was to follow in the attitude of men who conceived themselves to be threatened, and were prepared to defend their lives. The Jacobins and the sans-culottes, alarmed at these dispositions, and exaggerating them in their own minds, hastened to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, saying that these revolted sections were going to hoist the white flag and the white cockade, and that it was necessary to repair with all possible expedition to the centre of Paris, in order to prevent an explosion of the royalists. To produce a more general movement, it was resolved that the alarm-gun should be fired. This gun was placed on the Pont Neuf, and the penalty of death was incurred by any one who should fire it without a decree of the Convention. Henriot gave orders that the gun should be fired; but the commanding officer of the post resisted this order, and demanded a decree. The emissaries of Henriot returned in force, overcame the resistance of the post, and at that moment the pealing of the alarm-gun mingled with the sounds of the tocsin and of the *générale*.

The Convention, meeting early in the morning, as we have seen, had immediately sent to all the authorities to ascertain what was the state of Paris. Garat, who was in the hall, and engaged in watching Danton, first ascended the tribune, and stated what everybody knew, that a meeting had been held at the Evêché, that it demanded reparation for the insults offered to Paris, and the abolition of the commission of twelve. Scarcely had Garat finished speaking, when new commissioners, calling themselves the administration of the department of the Seine, appeared at the bar, and declared that nothing further was intended than a *purely moral* insurrection, having for its object the reparation of the outrages offered to the city of Paris. They added, that the strictest order was observed; that every citizen had sworn to respect persons and property; that the armed sections were quietly traversing the city; and that all the authorities would come in a body in the course of the day to make known to the Convention their profession of faith and their demands.

Mallarmé, the president, immediately afterwards read a note from the commandant of the post at the Pont Neuf, relative to the contest which had taken place on account of the alarm-gun. Dufriche-Valazé instantly demanded that search should be made after the authors of this movement, and the criminals who had sounded the tocsin, and that the commandant-general, who had had the audacity to order the alarm-gun to be fired without a decree of the Convention, should be arrested. At this demand, the tribunes and the left side raised such cries as might naturally be expected. Valazé was not daunted: he declared that nothing should ever make him renounce his character, that he was the representative of twenty-five millions of men, and that he would do his duty to the last; he concluded with moving that the so grossly calumniated commission of twelve should be immediately heard, and that its report should be read, for what was at that moment occurring afforded a proof of the plots which it had never ceased to denounce. Thuriot* attempted to answer Valazé; the struggle commenced and tumult ensued. Mathieu and Cambon endeavoured to act as mediators; they claimed the silence of the tribunes

* "Jacques Alexandre Thuriot Larosiere, a barrister in the parliament of Paris, was appointed, in 1791, deputy from the Marne to the legislature; and being afterwards appointed to the Convention, demanded that the King should be tried within three days, and sentenced to lose his head on the scaffold. In the same year he attacked the Girondins, and accused them of having intrigued to uphold the throne. He was afterwards named president, and then member of the committee of public safety. After the overthrow of Robespierre and his party, Thuriot presided in the Jacobin club, and was, some time afterwards, employed by the Directory in the capacity of civil commissioner to the tribunal of Rheims. In 1805 he was made member of the Legion of Honour."— *Biographie Moderne*. E.

and the moderation of the members of the right; and they represented that a combat at that moment in the capital would prove fatal to the cause of the Revolution; that calmness was the only means of keeping up the dignity of the Convention, and that dignity was the only means that it possessed for commanding the respect of the evil-disposed. Vergniaud, inclined, like Mathieu and Cambon, to employ conciliatory means, said that he too considered the conflict about to commence as fatal to liberty and to the Revolution; he therefore confined himself to a mild censure of Thuriot for having aggravated the danger of the commission of twelve, by describing it as the scourge of France at a moment when all the popular movements were directed against it. He was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved if it had committed arbitrary acts, but that it should be heard first: and, as its report must necessarily excite the passions, he moved that the reading of that report and the discussion upon it should be postponed till a calmer day. This he conceived to be the only means of maintaining the dignity of the Assembly and of proving its liberty. For the moment, it was of consequence to ascertain who had ordered the tocsin to be rung and the alarm-gun to be fired in Paris; it was therefore indispensably necessary that the provisional commandant-general should be summoned to the bar. "I repeat to you," exclaimed Vergniaud, as he concluded, "that whatever be the issue of the conflict which may this day take place, it would lead to the loss of liberty. Let us swear then to adhere firmly to our duty and to die at our posts rather than desert the public cause." The members immediately rose with acclamations, and took the oath proposed by Vergniaud. A discussion then ensued on the suggestion for summoning the commandant-general to the bar. Danton, on whom all eyes were fixed at the moment, and whom Girondins and Mountaineers seemed to ask if he were the author of the movements of the day, appeared at the tribune and immediately obtained profound attention. "The very first thing that requires to be done," said he, "is to suppress the commission of twelve. This is of much greater importance than to summon the commandant-general to the bar. It is to men endowed with some political talents that I address myself. Summoning Henriot will make no change in the state of things, for it is not with the instrument but with the cause of the disturbances that we ought to grapple. Now the cause is this commission of twelve. I pretend not to judge its conduct and its acts; it is not as having ordered arbitrary arrests that I attack it, but as being impolitic that I exhort you to suppress it."—"Impolitic!" exclaimed a voice on the right side, "we do not comprehend that!"—"You do not comprehend it," resumed Danton, "then I must explain it to you. This commission was instituted solely to repress the popular energy; it was conceived entirely in that spirit of *moderatism* which will be the ruin of the Revolution and of France. It has made a point of persecuting energetic magistrates, whose only crime consisted in awakening the ardour of the people. I shall not now inquire if in its persecutions it has been actuated by personal resentments, but it has shown dispositions which this day we ought to condemn. You have yourselves, on the report of your minister of the interior, whose character is so bland, whose mind is so impartial and so enlightened—you have yourselves, released the men whom the commission of twelve had imprisoned. What would you do then with the commission itself, since you are annulling its acts?...The gun has pealed, the people have risen, but the people must be thanked for their energy in behalf of the very cause which we are defending; and if you are *politic legislators*, you will congratulate yourselves on their ardour, you will reform your own errors, and you will abolish your commission. I address myself," repeated Danton, "to those men only who have some notion of our situation, and not to those stupid creatures who, in these great movements, can listen to nothing but their passions. Hesitate not then to satisfy the people!"—"What people?" asked a member on the right. "That people," replied Danton, "that immense people, which is our advanced sentry, which bears a bitter hatred to tyranny and to that base *moderatism* which would bring it back. Hasten to satisfy it; save it from the aristocrats, save it from its own fury; and if, when it shall be satisfied, perverse men, no matter to what party they belong, shall strive to prolong

a movement that is become useless, Paris itself will reduce them to their original nothingness.

Rabaut St. Etienne attempted to justify the commission of twelve on political grounds, and to prove that nothing was more politic than to institute a commission to discover the plots of Pitt and Austria, whose money excited all the disturbances in France. "Down!" cried one, "silence, Rabaut!"—"No," exclaimed Bazire, "let him go on. He is a liar; I will prove that his commission has organized civil war in Paris." Rabaut would have continued. Marat asked permission to introduce a deputation of the commune. "Let me finish first," said Rabaut. Cries of "The commune! the commune! the commune!" proceeded from the tribunes and the Mountain. "I will declare," resumed Rabaut, "that when I would have told you the truth, you interrupted me."—"Well, then, finish," said one. Rabaut concluded with proposing that the commission should be suppressed if they pleased, but that the committee of public welfare should be immediately directed to prosecute all the investigations which it had commenced.

The deputation of the insurrectional commune was introduced, and thus expressed itself. "A great plot has been formed, but it is discovered. The people who rose on the 14th of July and on the 10th of August to overthrow tyranny is again rising to stop the counter-revolution. The general council sends us to communicate the measures which it has taken. The first is to place property under the safeguard of the republicans; the second to give forty sous per day to the republicans who shall remain in arms; the third to form a commission for corresponding with the Convention in this moment of agitation. The general council begs you to assign to this commission a room near your hall, where it may meet and communicate with you."

Scarcely had the deputation ceased speaking when Guadet presented himself to reply to its demands. Among all the Girondins he was not the man whose appearance was most likely to soothe the passions. "The commune," said he, "in pretending that it has discovered a plot, has made a mistake of a single word; it should have said that it has *executed* it." Cries from the tribunes interrupted him. Vergniaud insisted that they should be cleared. A tremendous uproar ensued, and for a long time nothing was to be heard but confused shouts. To no purpose Mallarmé, the president, repeatedly declared that if respect were not paid to the Convention, he must use the authority which the law had conferred on him. Guadet still occupied the tribune, and with difficulty contrived to make himself heard, by delivering now one sentence and then another, during the intervals of this violent commotion. At length, he proposed that the Convention should suspend its deliberations, until its liberty was assured; and that the commission of twelve should be directed to prosecute forthwith those who had rung the tocsin and fired the alarm-gun. Such a proposition was not likely to appease the tumult. Vergniaud would have again mounted the tribune, to endeavour to restore some degree of tranquillity, when a fresh deputation of the municipality came to repeat the demands already made. The Convention, urged afresh, could no longer resist, and decreed that the working men whose services were required for the security of public order and property should be paid forty sous per day, and that a room should be assigned to the commissioners of the authorities of Paris, for the purpose of concerting with the committee of public safety.

After this decree was passed, Couthon* replied to Guadet, and the day, already

* "J. Couthon, surnamed Cato during the Reign of Terror, was born at Orsay in 1756, and was an advocate at Clermont. He was deputed to the legislature and the Convention. Before this period he enjoyed in his own country a reputation for gentleness and integrity; yet he embraced the revolutionary principles with astonishing eagerness, and, during the sitting of the Convention, showed himself the most ardent partisan of sanguinary measures. Prudhomme says, that it was in his chamber at Paris that the Duke of Orleans, Danton, Marat, Petion, Robespierre, and others, assembled to arrange the insurrection of the 10th of August, 1792. In the following year Couthon voted for the King's death, and eagerly opposed delay. He soon afterwards attacked the Girondins, and became the favourite tool of Robespierre. Being sent to Lyons, he presided at the execution of the rebel chiefs, and began to put in force the decree which ordered the demolition of that city. Being afterwards implicated with the party of Robespierre, the armed force came to

far advanced, was spent in discussions without result. The whole population of Paris under arms continued to traverse the city in the most orderly manner, and in the same state of uncertainty. The commune was busy in drawing up new addresses relative to the commission of twelve, and the Assembly still continued to be agitated for or against that commission. Vergniaud, who had left the hall for a short time, and had witnessed the singular spectacle of a whole population not knowing what party to espouse, and blindly obeying the first authority that chose to make a tool of it, thought that it would be right to profit by these dispositions, and he made a motion which had for its object to distingush the agitators from the people of Paris, and to win the attachment of the latter by a token of confidence. "Far be it from me," said he to the Assembly, "to accuse either the majority or the minority of the inhabitants of Paris. This day will serve to show how dearly Paris loves liberty. It is sufficient to walk through the streets, to see the order that prevails there, the numerous patroles passing to and fro; it is sufficient to witness this beautiful sight to induce you to decree that Paris has deserved well of the country!" At these words the whole Assembly rose, and voted by acclamation that Paris had deserved well of the country. The Mountain and the tribunes applauded, surprised that such a motion should have proceeded from the lips of Vergniaud. It was certainly a very shrewd motion; but it was not a flattering testimony that could awaken the zeal of the sections, rally those which disapproved of the conduct of the commune, and give them the courage and unity necessary for resisting insurrection.

At this moment the section of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, excited by the emissaries who had come to inform it that the Butte-des-Moulins had hoisted the white cockade, descended towards the interior of Paris with its cannon, and halted a few paces from the Palais Royal, where the section of the Butte-des-Moulins was intrenched. The latter was drawn up in order of battle in the garden, had locked all the gates, and was ready with its artillery to sustain a siege if it were attacked. Outside, people still continued to circulate a report that it had hoisted the white cockade and flag, and excited the section of the fauxbourg St. Antoine to attack it. Some officers of the latter, however, represented that, before proceeding to extremities, it would be well to satisfy themselves of the truth of the alleged facts, and to endeavour to adjust matters. They went up to the gate, and asked to speak to the officers of the Butte-des-Moulins. They were admitted, and found nothing but the national colours. An explanation ensued, and they embraced one another. The officers returned to their battalions, and, presently afterwards, the two sections, intermingled, were passing together through the streets of Paris.

Thus the submission became more and more general, and the new commune was left to follow up its altercations with the Convention. At this moment, Barrère, ever ready to suggest middle courses, proposed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, to abolish the commission of twelve, but at the same time to place the armed force at the disposal of the Convention. While he was detailing his plan, a third deputation came to express its final intentions to the Assembly, in the name of the department, of the commune, and of the commissioners of the sections, who were then holding an extraordinary meeting at the Evêché.

L'Huillier, *procureur syndic* of the department, was the spokesman. "Legislators!" said he, "the city and the department of Paris have long been calumniated in the eyes of the world. The same men who wanted to ruin Paris in the public

seize him; when he perceived they were going to lay hold of him, he struck himself slightly with a dagger, and feigned himself dead. In the year 1794 he was executed, and suffered horribly before he died; his singular conformation, and the dreadful contraction of his limbs at that time, so incommoded the executioner while fastening him on the plank of the guillotine, that he was obliged to lay him on his side to give the fatal blow; his torture lasted longer than that of fourteen other sufferers."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Couthon was a decrepit being, whose lower extremities were paralyzed—whose benevolence of feeling seemed to pour itself out in the most gentle expressions uttered in the most melodious tones—whose sensibility led him constantly to foster a favourite spaniel in his bosom that he might have something on which to bestow kindness and caresses—but who was at heart as fierce as Danton, and as pitiless as Robespierre."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.*

opinion are the instigators of the massacres in La Vendée; it is they who flatter and keep up the hopes of our enemies; it is they who revile the constituted authorities, who strive to mislead the people, that they may have a right to complain of them; it is they who denounce to you imaginary plots, that they may create real ones; it is they who have demanded the committee of twelve in order to oppress the liberty of the people; finally, it is they who, by a criminal ferment, by contrived addresses, by their correspondence, keep up dissensions and animosities in your bosom, and deprive the country of the most important of benefits, of a good constitution, which it has bought by so many sacrifices."

After this vehement apostrophe, L'Huillier denounced plans of federalism, declared that the city of Paris would perish for the maintenance of the republican unity, and called for justice upon the well known words of Isnard, *Paris will be erased from the list of cities.*

"Legislators!" he exclaimed, "is it possible that an idea of destroying Paris can have been conceived? Would you sweep away this sacred seat of the arts and of human knowledge?" After these affected lamentations, he demanded vengeance against Isnard, against the twelve, and against *many other culprits*, such as Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Buzot, Barbaroux, Roland, Lebrun, Clavières, &c.

The right side continued silent. The left side and the tribunes applauded. Gregoire, the president, in reply to L'Huillier, pronounced an emphatic panegyric on Paris, and invited the deputation to the honours of the sitting. The petitioners who composed it were mingled with a crowd of the populace. Too numerous to find room at the bar, they seated themselves beside the Mountain, which received them cordially, and opened its ranks to admit them. An unknown multitude then poured into the hall and mingled with the Assembly. The tribunes rang with applause at this spectacle of fraternity between the representatives and the rabble. Osselin immediately moved that the petition should be printed, and that they should deliberate upon its contents drawn up *en projet* by Barrère. "President," exclaimed Vergniaud, "consult the Assembly as to whether it chooses to deliberate in its present state." "Vote on Barrère's *projet!*" was the cry on the left. "We protest against all deliberation," cried the right. "The Convention is not free," said Doulcet. "Well," said Levasseur, "let the members of the left side move to the right, and then the Convention will be distinct from the petitioners, and will be able to deliberate." At this suggestion, the Mountain readily moved to the right side. For a moment the two sides were intermingled, and the benches of the Mountain were entirely relinquished to the petitioners. The printing of the address was put to the vote and decreed. The cry of "Vote on Barrère's *projet!*" was then repeated. "We are not free," replied several members of the Assembly. "I move," said Vergniaud, "that the Convention go and join the armed force which surrounds it, seek protection from the violence that it is suffering." As he finished these words, he retired, followed by a great number of his colleagues. The Mountain and the tribunes ironically applauded the departure of the right side; the Plain was alarmed and undecided. "I move," said Chabot immediately, "that the names be called over to mark the absentees who desert their post." At this moment, Vergniaud and those who had followed him returned, with looks of the deepest mortification and dejection, for this proceeding, which might have been grand had it been seconded, became petty and ridiculous, because it was not. Vergniaud wished to speak, but Robespierre would not give up the tribune which he occupied. He kept possession of it, and claimed prompt and energetic measures, in order to satisfy the people; he insisted that the suppression of the commission of twelve should be accompanied with severe measures against its members; he then expatiated at considerable length on the wording of Barrère's *projet*, and opposed the clause which assigned the disposal of the armed force to the Convention. "Conclude, then," said Vergniaud, impatiently. "Yes," replied Robespierre, "I am going to conclude, and against you—against you, who, after the Revolution of the 10th of August, were for bringing to the scaffold those who effected it!—against you, who have never ceased to provoke the destruction of Paris!—against you, who wanted to save the tyrant!—against you who conspired with Dumouriez! . . . . My con-

clusion is the decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez, and against those designated by the petitioners."

After long and loud applause, a decree was drawn up, put to the vote and adopted, amidst a tumult which rendered it almost impossible to ascertain whether it had obtained a sufficient number of votes. Its purport was as follows. The commission of twelve is suppressed; its papers shall be seized and a report made upon them in three days; the armed force is in permanent requisition; the constituted authorities shall give an account to the Convention of the means taken to insure the public tranquillity; proceedings shall be instituted against plots denounced; and a proclamation shall be issued to give France a just idea of this day, which the evil-disposed will undoubtedly strive to misrepresent.

It was ten at night, and the Jacobins and the commune complained that the day was gone without producing any result. The passing of this decree, though it yet decided nothing relative to the persons of the Girondins, was a first success which caused great rejoicing, and at which the oppressed Convention was obliged to rejoice too.* The commune immediately caused the whole city to be illuminated; a civic procession with flambeaux was formed; the sections marched intermingled, that of the fauxbourg St. Antoine with those of the Butte-des-Moulins and the Mail. Deputies of the Mountain and the president were obliged to attend this procession, and the conquerors forced the vanquished themselves to celebrate their victory.

The character of the day was sufficiently evident. The insurgents had wished to do everything according to established forms. They meant not to dissolve the Convention, but to obtain from it what they required, by keeping up the appearance of respect for it. The feeble members of the Plain willingly gave way to this delusion, which tended to persuade them that they were still free, even while obeying. The commission of twelve had been actually abolished and the investigation of its conduct had been deferred for three days, in order to avoid the appearance of yielding. The disposal of the armed force had not been assigned to the Convention, but it had been decided that an account of the dispositions made should be rendered to it, in order that it might still seem to retain the air of sovereignty. Lastly, a proclamation was ordered for the purpose of repeating officially that the Convention was not afraid, and that it was perfectly free.

On the following day, Barrère was directed to draw up the proclamation, and he travestied the occurrences of the 31st of May with that rare skill which always caused his assistance to be sought, in order to furnish the weak with an honourable pretext for yielding to the strong. Too rigorous measures had, he said, excited discontent; the people had risen with energy, but with calmness; they had appeared all day under arms, had proclaimed respect for property, had respected the liberty of the Convention and the life of each of its members, and they had demanded justice which had been cheerfully rendered them. It was thus that Barrère expressed himself concerning the abolition of the commission of twelve, of which he was himself the author.

On the 1st of June, tranquillity was far from being restored; the meeting at the Evêché continued; the department and the commune, still extraordinarily convoked, were sitting; the tumult had not ceased in the sections, and in all quarters people said that they had obtained only half what they wanted, since the twenty-two deputies still retained their seats in the Convention. Paris was in commotion, and it was expected that new scenes would mark the morrow, Sunday, the 2d of June.

The whole force *de facto* was in the insurrectional assembly of the Evêché, and the legal force in the committee of public welfare, invested with all the extraordinary powers of the Convention. A room had been assigned, on the 31st, where the constituted authorities might meet for the purpose of corresponding with the committee of public welfare. In the course of the day of the 1st of June, the committee of public welfare repeatedly summoned the members of the insurrectional assembly to

* "The conspirators were not satisfied with this half triumph. The insurrection became, instead of a moral one, as they styled it, personal—that is to say, it was no longer directed against a power, but against deputies: it escaped Danton and the Mountain, and it fell to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune."—*Mignet.* E.

inquire what more the revolted commune wanted. What it wanted was but too evident, and that was either the expulsion or the arrest of the deputies who had so courageously resisted it. All the members of the committee of public welfare were deeply affected at this design. Delmas, Treilhard, Breard, were sincerely grieved. Cambon, a stanch partisan, as he always declared, of the *revolutionary power*, but strongly attached to legality, was indignant at the audacity of the commune, and said to Bonchotte, the successor of Beurnonville, and who, like Pache, was very complacent to the Jacobins, "Minister at war, we are not blind ; I see clearly that clerks in your office are among the leaders and instigators of all this." Barrère, notwithstanding his accustomed delicacy, began to be indignant, and to say so. "We must see," he observed, on that melancholy day, "whether it is the commune of Paris that represents the French republic, or whether it is the Convention." Lacroix, the Jacobin, Danton's friend and lieutenant, appeared embarrassed in the presence of his colleagues by the attack which was preparing upon the laws and the national representation. Danton, who had gone no further than to approve and earnestly desire the abolition of the commission of twelve, because he was adverse to everything that impeded the popular energy ;—would have wished the national representation to be respected, but he foresaw, on the part of the Girondins, fresh explosions and fresh resistance to the march of the revolution ; and he would have desired some medium of removing, without proscribing them. Garat offered it to him, and he gladly caught at it. All the ministers were present at the committee. Garat was there with his colleagues. Deeply afflicted at the situation in which the leaders of the Revolution stood in regard to one another, he conceived a generous idea, which ought to have had the effect of restoring harmony. "Recollect," said he, to the members of the committee, and to Danton in particular, "the quarrels of Themistocles and Aristides, the obstinacy of the one in refusing what was proposed by the other, and the dangers in which they involved their country. Recollect the generosity of Aristides, who, deeply impressed with the calamities which both of them brought upon their country, had the magnanimity to exclaim, 'O Athenians! ye will never be quiet and happy until ye have thrown Themistocles and me into the Barathrum.' Well," continued Garat, "let the leaders of both sides of the Assembly repeat the words of Aristides, and spontaneously exile themselves in equal number from the Assembly. From that day dissensions will cease ; there will be left in the Assembly sufficient talents to save the commonwealth ; and the country will bless in their magnificent ostracism the men who shall have extinguished themselves to give it peace."

All the members of the committee were moved with this generous idea. Delmas, Barrère, and the ardent Cambon, were delighted with the project. Danton, who in this case would have been the first sacrifice, rose, and, with tears in his eyes, said to Garat, "You are right ; I will go to the Convention, submit to it this idea, and offer myself to be the first to go as an hostage to Bordeaux." They parted full of this noble project, in order to communicate it to the leaders of the two parties. They addressed themselves in particular to Robespierre, to whom such self-denial could not be palatable, and who replied that this was but a snare laid for the Mountain, with a view to remove its most courageous defenders. Of course there was left but one part of this plan that could be carried into execution, namely, the voluntary exile of the Girondins, that of the Mountaineers being refused. It was Barrère who was deputed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, to propose to the one a sacrifice, to which the others had not the generosity to submit. Barrère, therefore, drew up a paper proposing to the twenty-two, and to the members of the commission of twelve, the voluntary abdication of their functions.

At this moment, the assembly at the Evêché was arranging the definitive plan of the second insurrection. Complaints were made there and at the Jacobins, that the energy of Danton had relaxed, since the abolition of the commission of twelve. Marat proposed to go and require of the Convention a decree of accusation against the twenty-two, and he proposed to require it by force. A short and energetic petition was drawn up to this effect. The plan of the insurrection was settled, not in the Assembly, but in the committee of execution, charged with what were called

the *means of public welfare*, and composed of the Varlets, the Dobsens, the Gusmans, and all those men who had been incessantly engaged in agitation ever since the 21st of January. This committee agreed to surround the Convention with the armed force, and to prevent its members from leaving the hall, till it had passed the decree required of it. To this end, the battalions destined for La Vendée, and which had been detained upon various pretexts in the barracks of Courbevoie, were to be recalled to Paris. The committee conceived that it could obtain from these battalions and some others which it had besides, what it might perhaps not have obtained from the guard of the sections. By taking care to surround the National Palace with these devoted men, and keeping, as on the 31st of May, the rest of the armed force in docility and ignorance, it expected easily to put an end to the resistance of the Convention. Henriot was again directed to take the command of the troops about the National Palace.

Such was what the committee had promised itself for Sunday the 2d of June; but, on the evening of Saturday, it resolved to try the effect of fresh requisitions, to see whether it might not obtain something by a last step. Accordingly, on that evening orders were given to beat the *générale* and to sound the tocsin, and the committee of public welfare lost no time in calling upon the Convention to meet amidst this new tempest.

At this moment the Girondins, assembled for the last time, were dining together to consult what course to pursue. It was evident to their eyes that the present insurrection could not have for its object either the *breaking of presses*, as Danton had said, or the suppression of a commission, and that it was a final blow aimed at their persons. Some advised that they should remain firm at their post and die in the curule chair, defending to the last the character with which they were clothed. Petion, Buzot, and Gensonné, inclined to this grave and magnanimous resolution. Barbaroux, without calculating the results, following only the inspirations of his heroic soul, was for going and braving his enemies by his presence and his courage. Lastly, others, and Louvet, was the warmest in supporting this opinion, were for immediately abandoning the Convention, where they could render no further service, where the Plain had not courage enough to give their votes, and where the Mountain and the tribunes were determined to drown their voices by yells. They proposed to retire to their respective departments, to foment insurrection which had all but broken out there, and to return in force to Paris, to avenge the laws and the national representation. Each maintained his opinion and they knew not which to adopt. The sound of the tocsin and the *générale* obliged the unfortunate party to leave the table, and to seek an asylum before they had come to any resolution. They first repaired to the abode of one of them, Meilhan, who was least compromised and not included in the famous list of the twenty-two, who had before received them, and who had very spacious lodgings, where they could meet in arms. Thither they repaired in haste, excepting some who had other means of concealing themselves.

The Convention had assembled at the sound of the tocsin. Very few members were present, and all those of the right side were not there. Lanjuinais alone, resolved to brave every danger, had gone thither to denounce the plot, the revelation of which gave no new information to any one. After a very stormy but very brief sitting, the Convention answered the petitioners that, in consequence of the decree which enjoined the committee of public welfare to make a report to it on the twenty-two, it could take no further measure on the new demand of the commune. It broke up in disorder, and the conspirators deferred till the next morning the definitive execution of their design.

The *générale* and the tocsin kept pealing the whole night between Saturday and Sunday the 2d of June, 1793. The alarm-gun was fired, and at daybreak all the population of Paris was in arms. Nearly eighty thousand men were drawn up around the Convention, but more than sixty-five thousand took no part in the event, and merely attended with muskets on their shoulders. Some trusty battalions of gunners were ranged, under the command of Henriot,* around the National Palace.

* "Henriot, commander-general of the armed force of Paris, was a fierce, ignorant man, entirely devoted to the Jacobin interest."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

They had one hundred and sixty-three pieces of cannon, caissons, furnaces for heating balls, lighted matches, and all the military apparatus capable of awing the imagination. It was contrived that the battalions, whose departure for La Vendée had been delayed, should enter Paris early in the morning; they had been irritated by being persuaded that there existed plots, that they had been discovered, that the leaders were in the Convention, and that they must be torn from its bosom. These battalions, thus tutored, had marched from the Champs Elysées to the Madeleine, from the Madeleine to the boulevard, and from the boulevard to the Carrousel, ready to execute whatever the conspirators should command.

Thus the Assembly, surrounded by no more than a few thousand enthusiasts, appeared to be besieged by eighty thousand men. Without being really besieged, however, it was not the less involved in all the dangers of a siege; for the few thousands immediately about it were ready to commit any act of violence against it.

The deputies of every side had repaired to the sitting. The Mountain, the Plain, the right side, occupied their benches. The proscribed deputies, most of whom were at Meilhan's, where they had passed the night, were desirous also of repairing to their post. Buzot struggled hard to get away from those who held him, that he might go and expire in the bosom of the Convention. Barbaroux alone, having succeeded in escaping, had gone to the Convention to display on that day great moral courage. The others were prevailed upon to remain together in their retreat, and there to await the issue of that terrible sitting.

The sitting commenced, and Lanjuinais, bent on making the utmost efforts to enforce respect for the national representation,—Lanjuinais, whom neither the tribunes, nor the Mountain, nor the imminence of the danger, could daunt—was the first to demand permission to speak. At this demand the most violent murmurs were raised. "I come," said he, "to submit to you the means of quelling the new commotions with which you are threatened!" There were shouts of "Down! down! he wants to produce a civil war."—"So long," resumed Lanjuinais, "as it is allowed to raise one's voice here, I will not let the character of representative of the people be degraded in my person! Thus far you have done nothing, you have suffered everything; you have sanctioned all that was required of you. An insurrectional assembly meets, it appoints a committee charged to prepare revolt, a provisional commandant charged to head the revolters: and all this you suffer—this assembly, this committee, this commandant!" Tremendous cries every moment interrupted the speech of Lanjuinais: at length, so strong became the rage which he excited, that several deputies of the Mountain, Drouet,* Robespierre the younger, Julien,† and Legendre, ran to the tribune, and attempted to

* "Jean Baptiste Drouet, postmaster at St. Menehould, was born in 1763. It was he who recognised the King in his flight, and caused him to be arrrested at Varennes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention and voted for the death of Louis. In the autumn of the following year he was sent to the army of the North, was taken prisoner, and carried to Moravia; where, having attempted to escape by springing from a window, he broke his leg, and was retaken. In 1795 he obtained his liberty, and entered the council of Five Hundred. Dissatisfied with the moderate system which then prevailed in France, he became, with Babœuf, one of the leaders of the Jacobin conspiracy, on which account he was arrested, but made his escape into Switzerland. He was finally acquitted, and returned to France. In 1799 he was sub-prefect at St. Menehould. During the "Hundred Days" he was a member of the chamber of deputies, but, in 1816, was banished from France as a regicide."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† "Julien of La Drome, a rank Jacobin, was commissioner of the committee of public safety during the Reign of Terror. After the establishment of the Directory, he edited a journal entitled the 'Plebeian Orator,' the expenses of which were defrayed by government. He accompanied the expedition to Egypt as war commissioner; and, in the year 1806, was sub-inspector of the revenues."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Julien, when only eighteen years of age, was sent from Paris on a mission to Bordeaux, to prevent an insurrection against the Mountain, and to inquire into the conduct of Ysabeau and Tallien. Here he made himself notorious by his cruelties, and was even heard to exclaim one day in the popular society, that if milk was the food of old men, blood was that of the children of liberty, who rested on a bed of corpses."—*Prudhomme.* E.

drag him from it. Lanjuinais resisted, and clung to it with tenacity. All parts of the Assembly were agitated, and the howls of the tribunes contributed to render this the most frightful scene that had yet been exhibited. The president put on his hat, and succeeded in gaining a hearing. "The scene which has just taken place," said he, "is most afflicting. Liberty will perish, if you continue to behave thus. I call you to order, you who have made such an attack on the tribune!" Some degree of order was restored, and Lanjuinais, who was not afraid of chimerical propositions when they evinced courage, moved that the revolutionary authorities of Paris should be dissolved—or, in other words, that those who were disarmed should control those in arms. Scarcely had he concluded, when the petitioners of the commune again made their appearance. Their language was more laconic and more resolute than ever. "The citizens of Paris have been under arms for these four days. For four days past they have been claiming of their representatives their rights, unworthily violated; and for four days past their representatives have been laughing at their calmness and their inaction. . . . It is necessary to put the conspirators in a state of provisional arrest: it is necessary to save the people forthwith, or the people will save themselves!" No sooner had the petitioners ceased speaking, than Billaud-Varennes, and Tallien, demanded a report on the petition, before any other business was taken up. Others, in great number, called for the order of the day. At length, the Assembly, roused by the danger, rose amidst tumult, and voted the order of the day, on the ground that the committee of public safety had been ordered to present a report in three days. On this decision the petitioners withdrew, shouting, making threatening gestures, and evidently carrying concealed arms. All the men who were in the tribunes retired, as if for the purpose of executing some plan, and the women alone were left. A great noise without was heard, together with repeated cries of "*To arms! to arms!*" At this moment several deputies represented to the Assembly that the determination which it had taken was imprudent, that an end ought to be put to a dangerous crisis by granting what was demanded, and ordering the provisional arrest of the twenty-two accused deputies. "We will all, all of us go to prison," exclaimed Lareveillère-Lepeaux.* Cambon then informed the Assembly that in half-an-hour the committee of public safety would make its report. The report had been ordered in three days, but the danger becoming more and more pressing, had induced the committee to use despatch. Barrère accordingly appeared at the tribune, and proposed Garat's idea, which had the evening before moved all the members of the committee, which Danton had warmly embraced, which Robespierre had rejected, and which consisted in the voluntary and reciprocal exile of the leaders of the two parties. Barrère, as he could not propose it to the Mountaineers, proposed it to the twenty-two. "The committee," said he, "has not had time to investigate any fact, to hear any witness; but, considering the political and moral state of the Convention, it conceives that the voluntary secession of the deputies in question would be productive of the happiest effect, and save the republic from a disastrous crisis, the issue of which it is frightful to anticipate."

No sooner had he finished speaking, than Isnard mounted the tribune. He said that, since an individual was to be put in the balance against the country, he should no longer hesitate, and that he was ready to give up, not only his functions, but his life, if necessary. Lanthenas followed the example of Isnard, and resigned

* "Lareveilliére-Lepeaux, born in 1753, studied at Angers, and afterwards went to Paris, intending to become an advocate there. Instead of this, however, he returned to his native place, devoted himself to botany, and became professor of that science at Angers, where he established a botanic garden. Being deputed to the States-general, he excited attention by the hatred he showed to the higher orders. On being appointed a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's death. Though attached to the Gironde, he managed to escape the proscription of that party, and lay concealed during the whole Reign of Terror. He afterwards became one of the council of the Ancients, and then of the Directory. He was unwearied in labour, but his want of decision always excluded him from any influence in important affairs, and he made himself ridiculous by his whim of becoming the chief of the sect of the Theophilanthropists. In 1799 he was driven from the Directory, and returned again to his favourite books and plants."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"It was well known that the fear of being hanged was Lareveilliére-Lepeaux's ruling sentiment." *Lacarriere.* E.

his functions. Fauchet offered his resignation and his life to the republic. Lanjuinais, who was not convinced of the propriety of yielding, appeared at the tribune. I conceive," said he, "that, up to this moment, I have shown resolution enough for you not to expect of me either suspension or resignation." At these words, cries burst from the Assembly. He cast a look of assurance at those who interrupted him. "The sacrificer of old," said he, "when he dragged a victim to the altar, covered it with flowers and chaplets, and did not insult it. The sacrifice of our powers is required; but the sacrifice ought to be free, and we are not free. We cannot leave this place either by the doors or the windows; the guns are pointed; we dare not utter our sentiments: I shall say no more." Barbaroux followed Lanjuinais, and with equal courage refused the resignation required of him. "If," said he, "the Convention enjoins my resignation, I will submit; but how can I resign my powers when a great number of the departments write to me, and assure me that I have used them well, and exhort me to continue to use them? I have sworn to die at my post, and I will keep my oath." Dussaulx* offered his resignation. "What!" exclaimed Marat, "ought we to allow culprits the honour of devoting themselves. A man must be pure to offer sacrifices to his country; it is for me, a real martyr, to devote myself: I offer, then, my suspension from the moment that you shall have ordered the arrest of the accused deputies. "But," added Marat, "the list is faulty; instead of that old gossip, Dussaulx, that weak-minded Lanthenas, and Ducos,—guilty only of some erroneous opinions, Fermont and Valazé, who deserve to be there, but are not, ought to be placed in it."

At this moment a great noise was heard at the doors of the hall. Lacroix entered in violent agitation, loudly complaining that the assembly was not free; that he attempted to leave the hall, but had been prevented. Though a Mountaineer and a partisan of the arrest of the twenty-two, Lacroix was indignant at the conduct of the commune, which had caused the deputies to be shut up in the National Palace.

After the refusal to take any proceedings upon the petition of the commune, the sentries at all the doors had been ordered not to suffer a single deputy to depart. Several had in vain attempted to slip away. Gorsas alone had contrived to escape, and hastened to warn the Girondins who had remained at Meilhan's to conceal themselves wherever they could, and not to go to the Assembly. Boissy d'Anglas,† having gone to one of the doors, was grossly ill-treated, and returned showing his clothes rent in pieces. At this sight the whole assembly was filled with indignation, and even the Mountain was astonished. The authors of this order were sent for, and an illusory decree was passed summoning the commandant of the armed force to the bar.

Barrère then spoke, and expressed himself with a resolution that was not usual with him. He said that the assembly was not free; that it was deliberating under

* "J. Dussaulx, born at Chartres in 1728, was the son of a lawyer. He served in the campaign of Hanover, under Marshal Richelieu, and gained the esteem of King Stanislaus. Returning to Paris, he brought out a translation of Juvenal, and in 1776 was made a member of the Academy of Inscriptions. Becoming a member of the Convention, he voted for the King's detention and his banishment on a peace. In 1796 he was appointed president of the council of Ancients. He died in 1799 after a long and afflicting illness. He was the author of several works of which the best is his translation of Juvenal's satires."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Boissy d'Anglas, barrister in the parliament, maitre d'hotel to Monsieur, was in 1789 deputed to the States-general. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, and voted for the King's detention, till banishment should be thought proper. Having survived the Reign of Terror, he was chosen secretary to the tribune, and particularly intrusted with the care of watching that Paris was properly supplied with provisions. In 1795, at the moment when he was beginning a report on this subject, he was interrupted by a mob of both sexes who, having broken through the guard, were crying out, 'Bread, bread, and the constitution of 1793.' This tumult having been quelled, a fresh one broke out a few days after, when Boissy d'Anglas, who was seated in the president's chair, was several times aimed at by twenty guns at once. One of the rioters placed himself right before him, carrying at the end of a pike the head of the deputy Ferraud, when Boissy showed a coolness which was not without effect upon the mob, and for which next day he received the universal applause of the tribune. In 1796 he was appointed president of the council of Five Hundred: and in 1805 became a member of the senate, and commandant of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

the control of concealed tyrants; that in the insurrectional committee there were men who could not be relied on, suspected foreigners, such as Gusman, the Spaniard, and others; that at the door of the hall five-livre assignats were distributing among the battalions destined for La Vendée; and that it was right to ascertain whether the Convention was yet respected or not. In consequence, he proposed that the whole Assembly should go in a body among the armed force, to satisfy itself that it had nothing to fear and that its authority was still recognised. This proposal already made by Garat on the 25th of May, and renewed by Vergniaud on the 31st, was immediately adopted. Hérault-Séchelles, to whom recourse was had on all difficult occasions, was put at the head of the assembly as president, and the whole right side and the Plain rose to follow him. The Mountain alone kept its place. The last deputies of the right turned back and reproached it for declining to share the common danger. The tribunes, on the contrary, made signs to the Mountaineers not to leave their seats, as if some great danger threatened them outside the hall. The Mountaineers, nevertheless, yielded from a feeling of shame; and the whole Convention, with Hérault-Séchelles at its head, proceeded into the courts of the National Palace, and to the side towards the Carrousel. It arrived opposite to the gunners, at the head of whom was Henriot. The president addressed him, and desired him to open a passage for the Assembly. "You shall not leave this place," said Henriot, "till you have delivered up the twenty-two." —"Sieze this rebel!" said the president to the soldiers. Henriot backed his horse and turned to his gunners. "Gunners, to your pieces!" said he. Some one, immediately grasping Hérault-Séchelles firmly by the arm, drew him another way. The Assembly proceeded to the garden to experience the same treatment. Some groups were shouting "*The nation for ever!*" others "*The Convention for ever!*" "*Marat for ever!*" "*Down with the right side!*" Outside the garden, battalions otherwise disposed than those which surrounded the Carrousel, made signs to the deputies to come and join them. The Convention was advancing for the purpose to the Pont Tournant, but there it found another battalion, which prevented its egress from the garden. At this moment, Marat, surrounded by a few boys crying "*Marat for ever!*" approached the president, and said to him, "I summon the deputies who have quitted their post to return to it."

The Assembly, whose repeated attempts only served to prolong its humiliation, accordingly returned to the hall of its sittings, and each resumed his place. Couthon then ascended the tribune. "You see clearly," said he, with an assurance which confounded the Assembly "that you are respected, obeyed by the people, and that you can vote on the question which is submitted to you. Lose no time, then, in complying with their wishes." Legendre proposed to exempt from the list of the twenty-two those who had offered their resignation; and from the list of the twelve, Boyer-Fonfrède* and St. Martin, who had opposed the arbitrary arrests; and to put in their stead Lebrun and Clavières. Marat insisted that Lanthenas, Ducos, and Dussaulx should be erased from the list, and Fermont and Valazé added to it. These suggestions were adopted and the assembly was ready to proceed to vote. The Plain, being intimidated, began to say that, after all, the deputies placed under arrest at their own homes were not so very much to be pitied, and that it was high time to put an end to this frightful scene. The right side demanded a call of the Assembly, to make the members of the *belly* ashamed of their weakness; but one of them pointed out to his colleagues an honest way of extricating themselves from this dilemma. He said that he should not vote, because he was not free. The others following his example, refused to vote. The Mountain alone, and some other members, then voted that the deputies denounced by the commune should be put under arrest.

Such was the celebrated scene of the 2d of June, better known by the name of the 31st of May. It was a real 10th of August against the national representation;

* "Boyer Fonfrède was born at Bordeaux. Being appointed deputy from the Gironde to the Convention, he vigorously opposed Marat and the Mountain. He escaped the first proscription of the Girondins, but perished on the scaffold in 1793."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

for, the deputies once under arrest at their own homes, there was nothing more to do than to make them mount the scaffold; and that was no difficult task.

Here finishes one principal era of the revolution, which served as a preparation to the most terrible and the most important of all; and of the whole of which it is necessary to take a general survey in order to form a due estimate of it.

On the 10th of August, the Revolution no longer able to repress its distrust, attacked the palace of the monarch to deliver itself from apprehensions which had become insupportable. The first movement was to suspend Louis XVI., and to defer his fate till the approaching meeting of the National Convention. The monarch being suspended, and the power remaining in the hands of the different popular authorities, the question then arose how this power was to be employed. The dissensions which had already begun to manifest themselves between the partisans of moderation and those of inexorable energy, then broke forth without reserve. The commune, composed of all the energetic men, attacked the legislature, and insulted it by threatening to sound the tocsin. At this moment, the coalition, instigated by the 10th of August, hastened to advance. The increasing danger provoked a still greater degree of violence, caused moderation to be decried, and impelled the passions to their greatest excesses. Longwy and Verdun fell into the hands of the enemy. On the approach of Brunswick, the advocates of energetic measures anticipated the cruelties which he had threatened in his manifestoes, and struck terror into his hidden partisans by the horrible days of December. Presently, France, saved by the admirable coolness of Dumouriez, had time to agitate once more the grand question of a moderate or a merciless use of power. September became a grievous subject of reproach. The moderates were indignant, the violent wished them to be silent concerning evils which they declared to be inevitable and irreparable. Cruel personalities added individual animosities to animosities of opinion. Discord was excited to the highest degree. Then came the moment for deciding upon the fate of Louis XVI. An experiment of the two systems was made upon his person: that of moderation was vanquished, that of violence proved victorious; and, in sacrificing the King, the Revolution broke definitively with royalty and with all thrones.

The coalition, instigated by the 21st of January, as it had been by the 10th of August, began to bestir itself again, and caused us to sustain reverses. Dumouriez stopped in his progress by contrary circumstances and by the derangement of all the administrations, was exasperated against the Jacobins, to whom he attributed all his reverses: throwing off his political indifference, he suddenly declared himself in favour of moderation, compromised it by employing his sword and foreigners in its behalf, and was at length wrecked upon the Revolution, after placing the republic in the greatest danger. At this moment, La Vendée rose. The departments, hitherto moderate, became threatening. Never had the Revolution been in greater danger. Reverses, treasons, furnished the Jacobins with a pretext for calumniating the moderate republicans, and a motive for demanding a judicial and executive dictatorship. They proposed the experiment of a revolutionary tribunal and of a committee of public safety. Warm disputes on this subject ensued. On these questions, the two parties proceeded to the utmost extremities. They could no longer exist together. On the 10th of March the Jacobins aimed a blow at the leaders of the Girondins, but their attempt being premature, failed. They then prepared themselves better. They provoked petitions, they excited the sections, and urged them into illegal insurrection. The Girondins resisted by instituting a commission authorized to investigate the plots of their adversaries; this commission acted against the Jacobins, roused their vengeance, and was swept away in a storm. Replaced on the following day, it was again swept away by the tremendous tempest of the 31st of May. Finally, on the 2d of June, its members and the deputies whom it was to defend, were torn from the bosom of the national representation, and, like Louis XVI., reserved for a period until the violence should be sufficient to send them to the scaffold.

Such then is the space that we have traversed between the 10th of August and the 31st of May. It is a long conflict between the two systems on the employment

of means. The continually increasing danger imparted continually increasing virulence and rancour to the quarrel: and the generous deputation of the Gironde, exhausted by its efforts to avenge September, to prevent the 21st of January, the revolutionary tribunal, and the committee of public welfare, expired when the still greater danger had rendered violence more urgent and moderation less admissible. Now, all legality being overcome, all remonstrance stifled with the suspension of the Girondins, and the danger having become more alarming than ever, by means of the very insurrection that attempts to avenge the Gironde, violence breaks forth without obstacle or measure, and the terrible dictatorship, composed of the revolutionary tribunal and the committee of public safety is completed.

Here commence scenes a hundred times more awful and more horrible than any of those which roused the indignation of the Girondins. As for them, their history is finished. All that remains to be added to it, is the account of their heroic death. Their opposition was dangerous, their indignation impolitic; they comprised the Revolution, liberty, and France; they comprised moderation itself, by defending it with acrimony; and in dying they involved in their ruin all that was most generous and most enlightened in France. Yet, who would not have acted their part? who would not have committed their faults? Is it possible, in fact, to suffer blood to be spilt without resistance and without indignation?*

* "Thus fell, without a blow struck or sword drawn in their defence that party in the Convention which claimed the praise of acting upon pure republican principles; which had overturned the throne, and led the way to anarchy merely to perfect an ideal theory. They fell, as the wisest of them admitted, dupes to their own system, and to the impracticable idea of ruling a large and corrupt empire by the motives which may sway a small and virtuous community. They might, as they too late discovered, have as well attempted to found the Capitol on a bottomless and quaking marsh, as their pretended republic in a country like France. Their violent revolutionary expedients, the means by which they acted, were turned against them by men, whose ends were worse than their own."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"Thus fell the Gironde, the true representatives of liberty; men of enlightened minds, of patriotic sentiments, and mild and moderate principles; but who necessarily gave place to those men of violence and blood, who, rising out of the perilous and unnatural situation in which the republic was placed, were perhaps alone fitted, by their furious fanaticism and disregard of all ordinary feelings, to carry the Revolution triumphantly through its difficulties, by opposing remorseless hatred to the persevering efforts of tyranny without, and cruelty and the thirst of vengeance, to treachery and malice within. Virtue was not strong enough for this fiery ordeal, and it was necessary to oppose the vices of anarchy to the vices of despotism."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

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"This work is calculated to support the well-earned fame of its Author, whose many useful and laborious publications have been long before the public. It is very well got up, and is written in a remarkably clear, though concise manner, explaining all the mysteries and technicalities of Domestic Architecture in such language as to render them perfectly comprehensible to the before-uninitiated reader. This is as it should be; the days of quackery are past—we are no longer satisfied with the mere dicta of an architect; we wish to know the rationale of his art; and, instead of accepting the declaration of his intention as law, we require him to give his reasons for the plans he proposes, in order that we may be enabled to judge of it for ourselves. This the book before us is admirably calculated to enable us to do. . . . . One great advantage possessed by this work is, that in the Critical and Analytical Remarks on each Design, wood-cuts are introduced showing the effects of different alterations and improvements, such as adding additional rooms, or another story, or a veranda, &c. This appears to us extremely useful; not only for the reasons given by the author, viz., to illustrate the principles laid down, and to teach the reader how to apply them; but, practically, as affording hints for the improvement of dwellings already erected. Plans for Cottage Gardens, with directions for laying them out and planting them, are subjoined to the Designs."—*New Monthly Magazine.*

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RURAL SPORTS

By DELABERE P. BLAINE, Esq., Author of "Outlines of the Veterinary Art," "Canine Pathology," &c., &c.

Illustrated by numerous beautifully-executed Engravings on Wood, by R. BRANSTON, from Drawings by ALKEN T. LANDSEER, and other eminent Artists.

RURAL SPORTS have, in all ages, constituted a favourite amusement of large portions of mankind; and that the progress of civilization and refinement has rather strengthened than subdued the passion for these exhilarating pursuits is sufficiently evinced by their present popularity among all ranks of society,—from the peer who pursues the royal stag, to the peasant who lays springs for humbler game.

The popularity of Rural Sports in former times led to the production of several books, whose chief object was to furnish practical instruction in the arts and contrivances necessary to the formation of the accomplished Sportsman, and recently some publications have appeared which have discussed more scientifically particular branches of the subject; but no writer hitherto has taken that comprehensive view of the entire range of Rural Sports, which seems to be demanded by the increased and still increasing number of their admirers and votaries.

The work here offered to the Public is no hasty production, more than seven years of assiduous labour having been devoted to its completion. It has been throughout the Author's aim to combine rational amusement with correct and extensive information; and in the prosecution of his plan, the Author has allowed himself an ample field, that he might introduce and illustrate all the more important and material facts. In tracing Rural sports to their origin, he has carried his researches back to the infancy of society, when man was compelled in self-defence to make war upon the wild animals by which he was surrounded; and he has described the simple methods, first in use, by which they were ensnared or overcome. Descending with the stream of time, he has developed the gradual progress of improvement in the construction of implements, and in the adoption of aggressive and defensive plans, until they have reached their present state of comparative excellence, bringing down the history of Rural sports to the period when those pursuits, which were originally embraced for purposes of personal security, were converted into a means of recreation and amusement.

In reference to modern times the reader will find in the work a detailed description of the Rural Sports of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as of all Foreign Countries, comprehending those of RACING, COURSING, SHOOTING, HUNTING, HAWKING, FISHING, &c.: nor have the ATHLETIC EXERCISES of the British Isles been omitted.

It may be added, that the FOREIGN SPORTS, hitherto in a great measure untrodden ground, form a new and important feature of this work.

A succinct but accurate sketch of the Natural History, Anatomical Structure, Physiological Peculiarities, and Geographical Distribution of the chief Animals of the Chase, has been given. The natural history of the Horse also, embracing every variety in use among Sportsmen—his breeding, rearing, breaking, and training,—his proper treatment in the stable and

in the field,—the important subject of "summering the hunter,"—the effective methods of bringing horses into condition, and of keeping them in that state,—the management of the feet, both in a healthy and diseased condition,—the varieties of shoes worn, and the proper methods of shoeing, have been fully discussed. The treatment of Dogs too, both in health and sickness, and particularly those two canine scourges—"Distemper" and "Madness," have engaged a considerable portion of attention.

In the Embellishments no expense has been spared to render the work both useful and highly attractive. Drawings have been executed by Alken T. Landseer, and other eminent Artists; and the Engravings on wood by Branston. In conclusion, the Author ventures to express the hope, that the novelty and comprehensiveness of the plan of this work, and the accuracy of its execution, will secure for it a permanent place in the public favour.

A DICTIONARY,

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COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL NAVIGATION.

By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq.

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*** *To be published in* 1840.

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*** *To be published early in* 1840.

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